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INVESTIGATION OF
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AND PROPAGANDA

REPORT

OF THE

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 282

(75th Congress)



JANUARY 3, 1939.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House
on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed

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Union Calendar No. 2

76TH CONGRESS }
1st Session }

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES }

REPORT
No. 2

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES AND PROPAGANDA

JANUARY 3, 1939.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the
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Mr. DIES, from the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American
Activities and Propaganda in the United States, submitted the
following

REPORT

[Pursuant to H. Res. 282, 75th Cong.]

I. INTRODUCTION

On May 26, 1938, the House of Representatives adopted House
Resolution 282, authorizing the Speaker—

to appoint a special committee to be composed of seven members for the purpose
of conducting an investigation of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-
American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the
United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from
foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of
government as guaranteed by our Constitution; and (3) all other questions in
relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

After the adoption of this resolution, the House of Representatives
on June 9, 1938, adopted House Resolution 510 authorizing the ex-
penditure of \$25,000 for the conduct of the investigation and provid-
ing as follows:

and the head of each executive department is hereby requested to detail to said
special committee such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators
as said committee may from time to time deem necessary.

After the committee was appointed, the chairman thereof, acting
under the instructions of the full committee, wrote the following letter
to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, on June 17, 1938:

HON. HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

SIR: In accordance with House Resolution 510, which requests the head of
each executive department to detail to the Committee on Un-American Activities,
of which I am chairman, such number of legal and expert assistants and investi-
gators as said committee may from time to time deem necessary, I am requesting
you to detail to our committee as soon as possible as many investigators as you

can spare and also some lawyer in your Department. I have written to the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover and requested his cooperation in this matter.

Some time ago your Department conducted an investigation of the German-American Bund, and I am anxious to secure your files and report in reference to this matter, and to have detailed to our committee the same investigators who did this work.

As our committee was only given \$25,000, we will largely depend upon such assistance as your Department may be able to give us in accordance with the resolution of Congress.

As I plan to leave here in a few weeks I am anxious to get the investigation organized, and under way so that hearings can begin within 6 weeks. I will therefore appreciate a prompt reply to this letter.

Very sincerely yours,

MARTIN DIES.

On June 17, 1938, the chairman also wrote the following letter to the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation:

Hon. J. EDGAR HOOVER,

Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. HOOVER: Under House Resolution 510, the head of each executive department is requested to detail to the Committee on Un-American Activities, of which I am chairman, such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as said committee may from time to time deem necessary.

I am requesting you and the Attorney General to detail to our committee some investigators to assist us in our inquiry. I am sure that you have some men that have had experience in connection with the investigation of the German-American Bund and also communistic activities.

I will appreciate the courtesy if you will arrange to do this in the near future so that I can discuss the matter with these investigators and map out the course of procedure.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN DIES.

On June 21, 1938, the chairman received the following answer from the Honorable J. Edgar Hoover.

Hon. MARTIN DIES,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 17, 1938, in which you request that special agents of this Bureau be detailed to assist you in your investigation which is being made under House Resolution 510. Inasmuch as the decision as to whether agents of this Bureau might be available is a question which must necessarily be passed upon by the Attorney General, I am referring your inquiry to him.

With expressions of my highest esteem and best regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, *Director.*

On June 27, 1938, the chairman received the following answer from Thurman Arnold, Acting Attorney General of the United States:

Hon. MARTIN DIES,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This acknowledges your letter of June 17, in which you request this Department to assign to the Committee on Un-American Activities such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as the committee might from time to time find necessary. I note specifically that you request at this time as many investigators as can be spared, and also some lawyer from this Department.

While I should like to be of service to you, I regret to say that I am unable to assign to your committee any special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, owing to the fact that they are required to devote all of their services to the performance of the specific functions of the Bureau. As of course you are aware, the principal duties of the Bureau are the investigation of violations of laws of the United States, and the apprehension of persons charged therewith.

I find it equally difficult to comply with your request that an attorney from this Department be assigned to your committee. The limited appropriations for this Department, and the restrictions imposed by the Congress on the purposes for which they may be used, unfortunately preclude me from doing so.

I should be very glad were I in a position to be of assistance to you in this matter, and it is a source of regret to me that circumstances prevent my doing so.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

THURMAN ARNOLD,
Acting Attorney General.

On June 30, 1938, the chairman replied to Mr. Arnold's letter by the following letter:

HON. THURMAN ARNOLD,
Acting Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 27 and to express my deep regret that you have not seen fit to respect the wishes of Congress with reference to the assignment of investigators to our Committee on Un-American Activities.

Your failure to do this will greatly handicap us in the thorough investigation which Congress intends us to conduct. We were limited by the Accounts Committee to \$25,000 and were told that since we could use some of the investigators and attorneys in the Department of Justice, we would not need more than \$25,000.

Very truly yours,

MARTIN DIES.

Then on July 6, 1938, the chairman wrote the following letter to the Honorable Homer S. Cummings, Attorney General of the United States, which is as follows:

HON. HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Attorney General, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CUMMINGS: On June 17, 1938, I requested you to furnish our committee with the reports of your Department on Nazi activities in the United States, including the German-American Bund. I have received no reply to my letter with reference to this matter and I am at a loss to account for this attitude.

Will you please advise me by return mail whether or not you intend to let us have these reports.

Very truly yours,

MARTIN DIES.

On July 11, 1938, Attorney General Homer S. Cummings replied to the chairman's letter by the following letter:

HON. MARTIN DIES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: This acknowledges your letter of July 7, in which you state that you have received no reply to your letter of June 17, 1938. I find that under date of June 27 Acting Attorney General Arnold replied to your letter. For your convenience I am sending you a copy of Mr. Arnold's letter.

With kind personal regards,
Sincerely yours,

HOMER S. CUMMINGS,
Attorney General.

On August 18, 1938, the chairman received the following letter from Robert H. Jackson, Acting Attorney General:

HON. MARTIN DIES,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN DIES: In accordance with your request on behalf of your committee, we are enclosing to you a report made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation upon the German-American Bund and its affiliated organizations.

While there is a well-established and wise policy upholding investigative reports confidential within the Department, it is our view that this request from

your regularly constituted committee can be complied with under the circumstances in this case, without jeopardy to any interest of the Government.

We would ask, however, that this be held exclusively for the use and guidance of the committee itself.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT H. JACKSON,
Acting Attorney General.

On August 24, 1938, in compliance with instructions from the full Committee on Un-American Activities and Propaganda, the chairman wrote the following letter to the President of the United States:

HON. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT,
President of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Under House Resolution 510 the head of each executive department is requested to detail to our Committee on Un-American Activities and Propaganda such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as the committee may from time to time deem necessary.

On June 17 the chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities and Propaganda requested, in writing, Hon. J. Edgar Hoover to assign to the committee some investigators in accordance with the resolution. On June 21 Mr. Hoover informed the chairman that the decision as to whether agents of the Bureau might be available to the committee would have to be passed upon by the Attorney General. On June 17 the chairman of the committee, in a letter to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings, requested the Department of Justice to assign legal and expert assistants and investigators to the committee, in accordance with the resolution adopted by Congress, and to deliver to the committee the reports on the German-American Bund investigation conducted by the Department of Justice. On June 27 Mr. Arnold, Acting Attorney General, declined to assign to the Committee on Un-American Activities and Propaganda any special agents of the Bureau of Investigation or any attorney of the Department of Justice. However, a few days ago the reports of the investigation conducted by the Department of Justice with reference to the German-American Bund were turned over to the committee.

After the House of Representatives, by an overwhelming majority, had authorized and directed this investigation the Committee on Un-American Activities requested the Committee on Accounts to allot \$100,000 for the investigation. However, the Committee on Accounts only allotted \$25,000, but provided for the use of special investigators, attorneys, and clerical help to be obtained from the appropriate departments. Our committee was told that in view of this provision we would not need more than \$25,000.

The committee has definite proof that the Department of Justice and the Works Progress Administration have been carrying on their pay rolls investigators for the La Follette committee. It is, therefore, clear that the precedent has been established and we respectfully urge you to request the Department of Justice and the Works Progress Administration to place upon their pay rolls the names of 12 investigators, which we will submit to them, and several stenographers, and at least 1 attorney. This will enable us to conduct a thorough investigation in accordance with the popular demand, which is evidenced by the many letters and telegrams we are receiving from all parts of the country. Unless we receive this aid which has been extended to another committee we will be greatly handicapped in the prosecution of this inquiry. The committee has only four investigators, but does not have any paid secretary or clerks. For a short period the committee had a stenographer, but has not been able to afford an attorney. Therefore, it will be readily seen that our personnel is wholly inadequate to do the work directed by the House of Representatives.

The hearings thus far have revealed a startling situation which should arouse the active interest of every patriotic citizen. The testimony thus far heard tends to indicate that foreign governments are influencing, if not directing, policies and activities of certain organizations in the United States and that those foreign governments are using these organizations in the United States as fronts to advance their cause and interests in the United States. The evidence further tends to indicate that the overwhelming majority of the memberships of these organizations are entirely innocent and have been merely duped into lending their influence and financial assistance to the cause of foreign nations. It is apparent, however, that these foreign countries have succeeded in transferring their quarrels and "isms" to our shores.

Of course, some of the testimony must be discounted due to bias, the natural tendency to exaggerate when dealing with this subject, and to other factors. But, after making due allowances for all these factors, the fact remains that the situation is sufficiently serious to justify a thorough and fearless investigation which will accord to all sides a full opportunity to be heard to the end that the truth with regard to all un-American activities and propoganda may be ascertained once and for all.

Every member of this committee is willing to devote himself tirelessly to the investigation and, if we can be supplied with a staff of competent and efficient investigators, stenographers, and attorneys to be designated by the committee and placed upon the pay roll of the appropriate departments, we are convinced that we will be able to present to Congress and the Nation an accurate report based upon the truth whatever it may be.

Therefore, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives and the precedent heretofore established, we appeal to you to direct or request the appropriate departments to cooperate with us with reference to these matters.

Very sincerely yours,

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
By MARTIN DIES, *Chairman*.

ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary*.

Attest:

On August 27, 1938, the President replied to the preceding letter as follows:

HON. MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. DIES: I have received your letter of August 25, requesting that the Department of Justice and the Works Progress Administration place upon their pay rolls the names of 12 investigators, several stenographers, and at least one attorney. I understand that during the past year the Department of Justice assigned to other congressional committees special experts, who were already employed by the Department of Justice, and it is possible, though I have no record with me at Hyde Park, that the Works Progress Administration assigned stenographers and others who were on the relief rolls. This, however, presents an entirely different picture from your request that the department or agency funds be employed to pay people already in the employ of your committee.

However, I shall be glad to take the matter up with the Department of Justice and the Works Progress Administration, and I will advise you of their replies at a later date.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

The chairman heard nothing further from the President until October 1, 1938, when he received the following letter transmitting a letter dated September 17, 1938, from Harry L. Hopkins to the President, and a letter dated September 1, 1938, from the Acting Attorney General to the President. The letter of the President to the chairman dated October 1, 1938, and the two letters transmitted by the President to the chairman are set forth as follows:

HON. MARTIN DIES,
*Chairman, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. DIES: I am a little tardy in sending you the enclosed copies of letters from the Acting Attorney General and Mr. Hopkins. I have been so much occupied during the past two weeks with the international situation that I have only just gotten down to enclosing these letters.

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

Enclosures.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Referring to your joint memorandum of August 27, 1938, to the Attorney General and to me, concerning the request of Congressman Dies to place upon the pay rolls of the Department of Justice and of this administration the names of 12 investigators to be named by his committee, several stenographers, and at least one attorney, it is my opinion that I would not be justified, legally or otherwise, should I do this.

House Resolution 510, adopted June 9, 1938, provides that "the head of each executive department is hereby requested to detail to said special committee such number of legal and expert assistants and investigators as said committee may from time to time deem necessary." It will be seen that this does not authorize the employment of additional personnel for the sole purpose of detail to the committee, but merely permits the detail of such personnel as is already on the pay rolls of the departments. As the present staffs of my legal and investigative divisions are limited strictly to the absolute minimum requirements for the conduct of their functions, it would seriously hamper their activities should I be required to detail any part to the committee. One of our employees was recently assigned to the special committee of which Congressman Dies is chairman, but I express the hope that you will not require me to make additional details.

It is true that at one time the Works Progress Administration did loan some of its employees to the Committee on Education and Labor in connection with its investigation of violations of free speech and rights of labor, but the administration did not employ special personnel for the sole purpose of detailing the same to that committee. I may add, however, that the act, approved February 9, 1937, making appropriation for the work relief program, contained a specific provision prohibiting this practice.

Respectfully,

HARRY L. HOPKINS, *Administrator.*

The PRESIDENT,
The White House, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I take pleasure in acknowledging your memorandum of August 27, addressed jointly to the Attorney General and to Hon. Harry L. Hopkins and enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to you by Congressman Martin Dies, dated August 24, 1938, and a copy of your reply, dated August 27, 1938.

Congressman Dies has heretofore requested this Department to assign investigators to his committee. We were constrained to decline to comply with this request. For your information, a copy of the letter sent to Congressman Dies on this subject, dated June 27, 1938, is enclosed herewith.

It has been the policy of the Department of Justice to decline to assign agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to committees of Congress. Requests of that kind have been made by almost every investigating committee appointed by either House. To comply with some of these requests and not with others would obviously lead to embarrassment. On the other hand, to attempt to comply with all of them would absorb a considerable portion of the staff of the Bureau.

Some time ago, at your request, this Department assigned two attorneys to the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee. This, however, was a rather exceptional situation. Moreover, no agents or investigators were detailed to the committee. Mr. Dies appears to be incorrectly informed on this matter.

It is suggested that in any further reply that you make to Congressman Dies you may care to refer to the fact that he is misinformed if he is under the impression that the Department of Justice has carried on its pay roll any investigators for the La Follette committee, or for any other committee, and that the action of the Department of Justice in respect to the request of his committee is in accordance with the customary practice.

Respectfully,

Acting Attorney General.

Enclosure No. 2235.

The chairman also requested the Department of Labor to assign to the committee some investigators, which the Department of Labor failed to do.

The only offer of assistance came from the secretary of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, who telephoned the chairman that he could secure departmental aid for the committee. Two men, sent by the secretary of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee tendered their services to the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive session. One had been placed on the Works Progress Administration pay roll, as was admitted by Harry L. Hopkins, in his letter of September 17, to the President. The other was on the pay roll of either the Department of Justice or the La Follette Committee. The chairman had both of these men appear before the committee in executive session and both of them admitted that they had been sent by the secretary of the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee.

One of the men admitted that he had been placed upon the pay roll of the Works Progress Administration and the other man was uncertain as to whether or not he was on the pay roll of the Department of Justice or the La Follette Committee. The committee did not accept the services of these two men because it was convinced that these men were assigned to the committee for the purpose of sabotaging the investigation.

From the above letters and statements, it will be seen that these departments of the Government refused to comply with the request of the House of Representatives as contained in the resolution referred to above. Not only did the heads of these respective departments refuse to carry out the resolution of Congress, but some of them deliberately sought to discredit the investigation by ridicule and misrepresentation. As an illustration of the deliberate misrepresentation of the testimony by certain Cabinet officers, I wish to cite one instance. J. B. Matthews, a witness who appeared before our committee, testified as follows:

The Communist Party relies heavily upon the carelessness or indifference of thousands of prominent citizens in lending their names for its propaganda purposes. For example, the French newspaper *Ce Soir*, which is owned outright by the Communist Party, recently featured hearty greetings from Clark Gable, Robert Taylor, James Cagney, and even Shirley Temple. The League of Women Shoppers boasts of the membership of Miriam Hopkins and Bette Davis. A list of such persons could be expanded almost indefinitely. No one, I hope, is going to claim that any one of these persons in particular is a Communist. The unfortunate fact, however, remains that most of them unwittingly serve, albeit in this slight way, the purposes of the Communist Party. Their names have definite propaganda value which the party is quick to exploit.

This was the only testimony by anyone in which the name of Shirley Temple was mentioned. Here is what Secretary of the Interior, Harold F. Ickes, said in a public speech:

They've (Committee on Un-American Activities) gone into Hollywood and there discovered a great red plot. They have found dangerous radicals there, led by little Shirley Temple. Imagine the great committee raiding her nursery and seizing her dolls as evidence.

Here is what Secretary of Labor Francis Perkins said:

Perhaps it is fortunate that Shirley Temple was born an American citizen and that we will not have to debate the issue raised by the preposterous revelations of your committee in regard to this innocent and likeable child.

The above testimony of Mr. Matthews has never been denied and in fact was admitted by some of the screen stars mentioned.

We could cite many other instances of deliberate misrepresentation on the part of high-ranking Government officials, as well as numerous radical writers, but the above instance is taken at random to illustrate that not only did the heads of the respective departments refuse to comply with the request of the House of Representatives, but that they actually went out of their way to hamstring and discredit the investigation.

It must be borne in mind that the committee did not appoint any investigators until after the department heads refused to cooperate with the committee in accordance with the resolution of Congress. This is important to remember in view of the charges that have been made to the effect that the committee sought to discredit the New Deal. If the committee had ever had any such intention, it would certainly not have offered to let the New Deal appointees do the investigating.

Most of the hearings were held in the city of Washington, but sub-committee hearings were conducted in New York and Detroit. More than a hundred witnesses from various States and towns were heard by the committee and a vast quantity of documents and written and printed evidence was submitted. With the exception of a few witnesses who appeared at the request of certain national organizations, all of the witnesses who appeared before the committee were located by our investigators and subpoenaed. These witnesses were furnished transportation by the committee and paid the usual fee which the law allows in such cases.

While there have been a large number of offers of financial assistance from individuals throughout the country, out of consideration of public policy, the committee has refused such offers in every case and has not accepted any contribution from any source. The contributions that were sent to the committee in the form of cash and checks were promptly returned.

We have heard over 100 witnesses from nearly every section of the country and from nearly every walk of life. We have heard from officials and members of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress for Industrial Organization. Ministers, lawyers, judges, college professors, newspaper reporters and editors, laboring people, policemen, national guardsmen, merchants, and the heads of such great organizations as the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Boy Scouts of America, and many others have appeared as sworn witnesses before our committee. Some of the witnesses have been Democrats, some Republicans; others have been Communists, Progressives, Socialists, and Farmer Laborites. We have heard from Jews and Gentiles, and from Protestants and Catholics.

We know of no committee which has heard a more representative group of American citizens than we have, although we do not assume responsibility for the credibility of every witness any more than a court. Some of the testimony may be discarded because of bias or the tendency to exaggerate. None of our findings are predicated upon such testimony or upon opinions or hearsay. We have also received a mass of documentary evidence, most of which is absolutely authentic and would be admissible in any court.

We have devoted considerable time and effort to the investigation of Nazi and Fascist activities in the United States. A large part of

the \$25,000 placed at our disposal has been spent to uncover Nazi and Fascist activities. We secured a mass of documentary evidence with reference to Nazi and Fascist activities and propaganda. After much difficulty we finally secured from the Department of Justice its report on Nazi activities in the United States. While there was very little in this report that we did not have, we were able to secure some leads, which we developed so that the record of hearings and this report will give the public the benefit of the combined investigation of Nazi activities conducted by our committee and by the Department of Justice.

There is one astonishing fact which we have discovered. Witnesses from widely separated areas corroborate each other, and the oral testimony of some witnesses is supported by documentary evidence which they have never seen. While Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America, branded Ralph Knox, an official of that union, as a "screwball," when you read the testimony of both you will find that they testified to substantially the same facts and described the same situation. We further find that witnesses like Martin, Dobrzynski, Eagar, McCartney, and others who are either bona fide members or officials of the C. I. O. and, therefore, cannot be accused of being prejudiced against the C. I. O., corroborate the testimony of other witnesses.

In the beginning, the committee employed six investigators, but, due to diminishing funds, the committee was compelled to discharge three of these investigators. This left three investigators to do the work. The committee has never employed any lawyer, and most of the work has been done with a minimum of stenographic help.

While the committee has unearthed some startling facts, it has been greatly handicapped in its work, due to insufficient funds and the refusal of the heads of the respective departments to comply with the request of the House. The committee has been able to hear only a few of the numerous witnesses that can be subpoenaed. In fact, the committee has only scratched the surface, and what we have already proved is merely a preface to what can be proved if we are given a fair and decent opportunity. Much of the oral testimony is supported by documentary proof. It is interesting to note that many of the facts found by the committee were also found by the United Mine Workers and Mr. John L. Lewis in 1924 when they investigated un-American activities, as will be shown by their published report which will appear in the record of our hearings.

The committee has largely confined its investigation to communism, fascism, and nazi-ism. In connection with its investigation of communism, the committee has given careful consideration to the numerous front organizations of the Communist Party which are under the control or influence of the Communist Party of the United States. The committee has also heard considerable evidence with reference to the permeation of labor unions by Communists and their seizure of strategic positions in such labor unions. In its consideration of nazi-ism and fascism the committee has heard evidence with reference to other organizations which preach and advocate racial and religious hatred.

It must be emphasized that this committee is nonpartisan. It has not been deterred by partisan or political consideration from the fearless performance of its duty and functions. The committee has felt that it is its sworn duty and solemn obligation to the people of this

country to focus the spotlight of publicity upon every individual and organization engaged in subversive activities regardless of politics or partisanship.

II. WHAT ARE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES?

(A) AMERICANISM DEFINED

In order to determine what activities and propaganda are un-American, we must first define Americanism. No scientific definition will be attempted, but we will undertake to set forth in simple and understandable language what some of the chief principles of Americanism are. In the first place, Americanism is the recognition of the truth that the inherent and fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from governments, societies, dictators, kings, or majorities. This basic principle of Americanism is expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where our immortal forefathers said that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, chief among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. From this declaration and the well-established interpretations that have been put upon it from the beginning of the Republic down to the present moment, it is clear that Americanism recognizes the existence of a God and the all-important fact that the fundamental rights of man are derived from God and not from any other source. Among these inalienable rights which are the gifts of man from his Creator are: (1) Freedom of worship; (2) freedom of speech, (3) freedom of press; (4) freedom of assemblage; (5) freedom to work in such occupation as the experience, training, and qualifications of a man may enable him to secure and hold; (6) freedom to enjoy the fruits of his work, which means the protection of property rights; (7) the right to pursue his happiness with the necessary implication that he does not harm or injure others in the pursuit of this happiness. Upon this basic principle, the whole structure of the American Government was constructed. The system of checks and balances in the Constitution was wisely conceived and ingeniously constructed to provide every possible guaranty that every citizen of the United States would enjoy and retain his God-given rights. First, the Federal Government was specifically enjoined from exercising any power that was not expressly or by necessary implication granted to it in the Constitution. Second, such powers as the Federal Government was authorized to wield were wisely distributed between the three great departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. The essence of Americanism is therefore class, religious, and racial tolerance. It should be emphasized in the strongest language possible that the maintenance of these three forms of tolerance is essential to the preservation of Americanism. They constitute the three great pillars upon which our Constitutional Republic rests, and if any one of these pillars is destroyed, the whole structure of the American system of government will crumble to the earth. Therefore, the man who advocates class hatred is plainly un-American even if he professes racial and religious tolerance. The converse of this proposition is equally true. It is as un-American to hate one's neighbor he has more of this world's material goods as it is to hate him because he was born into another race or worships God according to a different faith.

The American Government was established to guarantee the enjoyment of these fundamental rights. It therefore follows that in America the Government is the servant of the people. The rights of the people are protected through laws and their strict enforcement. For this reason, law and order are essential to the preservation of Americanism while lawlessness and violence are distinctly un-American.

Americanism means the recognition of the God-given rights of man and the protection of those rights under the Constitution through the instrumentality of an independent Congress, an untrammelled judiciary, and a fair and impartial Executive operating under the American system of checks and balances. Americanism likewise means the protection of an unorganized majority from an organized minority as well as the protection of a helpless minority from an inconsiderate and thoughtless majority.

The characteristic which distinguishes our Republic from the dictatorships of the world is not majority rule but the treatment of minorities. Dictatorships muster huge majorities at the polls, through intimidation and high-powered government propaganda, but these majorities are used for ruthless tyranny over minorities. The majority rule of the American form of government is distinguished by its recognition of certain rights of minorities which majorities cannot alienate.

All of these definitions of Americanism are based upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

(B) AMERICANISM CONTRASTED WITH COMMUNISM, FASCISM, AND NAZI-ISM

The simplest and at the same time the most correct definition of communism, fascism, and nazi-ism is that they all represent forms of dictatorship which deny the divine origin of the fundamental rights of man. Since all of these forms of dictatorship deny the divine origin of the rights of man, they assume and exercise the power to abridge or take away any or all of these rights as they see fit. In Germany, Italy, and Russia, the state is everything; the individual nothing. The people are puppets in the hands of the ruling dictators. Rights which we have come to regard as elementary, such as freedom in its sevenfold aspect, either do not exist or if they do exist to any degree are subject to the whims and caprice of the ruling dictators. In all of these countries where these philosophies of government hold sway, the citizen has no rights that the government is required to respect or protect. While the foundation of Americanism is class, racial, and religious tolerance, and the foundation of nazi-ism and fascism is racial and religious hatred, the foundation of communism is class hatred. Americanism is a philosophy of government based upon the belief in God as the Supreme Ruler of the Universe; nazi-ism, fascism, and communism are pagan philosophies of government which either deny, as in the case of the communist, or ignore as in the case of the fascist and nazi, the existence and divine authority of God. Since nazi-ism, fascism, and communism are materialistic and pagan, hatred is encouraged. Since Americanism is religious, tolerance is the very essence of its being.

III. COMMUNISM

(A) PRINCIPLES

Communism may be defined as an organized movement which works for the overthrow by force or violence of the governments of countries which are not yet under the control of the Communists, and establishment in place thereof of (a) a regime termed proletarian dictatorship, and (b) an economic system based upon the substitution of communal ownership of property for private ownership.

Communism is a world-wide political organization advocating: (1) the abolition of all forms of religion; (2) the destruction of private property and the abolition of inheritance; (3) absolute social and racial equality; (4) revolution under the leadership of the Communist International; (5) engaging in activities in foreign countries in order to cause strikes, riots, sabotage, bloodshed, and civil war; (6) destruction of all forms of representative or democratic government, including civil liberties such as freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage; (7) the ultimate objective of world revolution to establish the dictatorship of the so-called proletariat into a universal union of soviet socialist republics with its capital at Moscow; (8) the achievement of these ends through extreme appeals to hatred.

The Communists, like the Nazis and Fascists, believe and advocate that it is the duty of government to support the people and the right of government to exact blind obedience on all matters from the people. All three of these systems seek to regiment the people under bureaucratic and paternalistic governments through a system of planned economy. In the place of individual initiative, ambition, and effort, they seek to establish a collectivism which will transform the individual into a slave of the state. Intolerance and hatred are preached in order to gain the people's adherence to the collectivistic philosophy, and the promise of economic security is constantly dangled before their eyes to lure them into slavery. The economic security of collectivism is the security of a prison. People are asked to sacrifice their fundamental rights in return for the false promise that they will gain material comfort and economic security.

It follows, therefore, that communism is diametrically opposed to Americanism. It also follows that a scheme or philosophy of government or a teaching which embraces all or any essential part of the principles of communism is un-American. From a consideration of the above principles, it would appear that the following conclusions are justified: (1) Any organization or individual who believes in or teaches the destruction of our sevenfold freedom is un-American; (2) any organization or individual who preaches or promotes class, religious, or racial hatred is un-American; (3) Any organization or individual who believes in or advocates the destruction of the God-given rights of man is un-American; (4) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates disrespect for or the violent overthrow of our constituted authorities is un-American; (5) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates a system of political, economic, or social regimentation based upon a planned economy is un-American; (6) any organization or individual who believes in or advocates the destruction of the American system of checks and balances with its three independent coordinate branches of government is un-American.

It must be borne always in mind, however, that, unlike Russia, Germany, or Italy, Americanism permits American citizens to believe in, advocate, and teach doctrines which are contrary to it. In America, citizens have a right to believe in and advocate communism, fascism, nazi-ism, or any other system of government that they approve, subject to certain restrictions and regulations which in nowise destroy the principles of freedom. In this connection, however, it must be remembered that the right to teach or advocate communism, fascism, or nazi-ism does not extend to aliens who occupy the status of guests and can be deported under such laws as Congress may see fit to enact.

While Congress does not have the power to deny to citizens the right to believe in, teach, or advocate, communism, fascism, and nazi-ism, it does have the right to focus the spotlight of publicity upon their activities and to outlaw any organization which is found to be under the control of, or subject to the dictation of a foreign government. Congress also has the right to require such organizations to make periodic reports to some governmental agency which shall furnish detailed information with regard to the true names of the members of such organizations, the amount of money collected, from whom collected, and the manner in which the money is expended.

(B) HISTORY

Manifesto of the Communist Party.—Modern communism begins with the Manifesto of the Communist Party, by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, which appeared in January 1848. The manifesto, which is also the bible of modern socialism, is, therefore, an important world document, as it is the foundation of the struggle of the working class for industrial and political emancipation.

To comprehend either communism or its half-brother, socialism, it is essential to understand the main principles enunciated by Marx and Engels. When the manifesto made its first appearance in the world the proletarian movement was confined to a limited field of operation. The basic thought underlying the manifesto is as follows:

The history of all human society, past and present, has been the history of class struggles; incessant warfare between the exploited and exploiter, between oppressed classes and ruling classes at various stages in the evolution of society; the struggle has now reached a stage of development when the exploited and oppressed class [the proletariat] cannot free itself from the dominion of the exploiting and ruling class [the bourgeoisie] without at one and the same time and forever ridding society of exploitation, oppression, and class struggles.

Engels stated later that Marx, and Marx alone, was the originator of this fundamental thought. The guiding motif of the manifesto is "Proletarians of all lands, unite."

The concluding paragraph reads:

Communists scorn to hide their views and aims. They openly declare that their purpose can only be achieved by the forcible overthrow of the whole extant social order. Let the ruling classes tremble at the prospect of a Communist revolution. Proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Proletarians of all lands, unite.

First International.—The First International Association of Workers based partially on the manifesto, was established on September 28, 1864, at St. James Hall, London, largely through the efforts of Karl

Marx, and was known as the First International. The statute of the International Association of Workers reads as follows:

That the emancipation of the working class is to be attained by the working class itself; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working class does not mean struggle for class privileges and monopolies but a struggle for equal rights and equal obligations for the abolition of every kind of class domination.

The First International survived for only 9 years. In 1872 Marx withdrew his support because the anarchists were becoming too powerful and he was bitterly opposed to them, as they were against any system of government including that proposed by Marx. He preferred to pull down the house he himself had built rather than let the anarchist element control.

Second International.—The Second International was formed at Paris in 1889, 6 years after Marx's death, but it was based more firmly on his doctrines than the First International and became the fountainhead of international socialism.

The World War led to a temporary disruption of the Second International, as the Socialists, with few exceptions, put patriotism before their party doctrines. The Second International is still in existence but was repudiated by the extreme radical element, of which Nicholas Lenin, a Russian disciple of Marx who had been exiled for revolutionary activities, was the leader.

Abdication of the Czar and formation of provisional government.—There is still considerable misunderstanding regarding the part played by the Communists in forcing the abdication of the Czar in March 1917, and in the creation of the provisional government. The fact is that the Communists played practically no part in the overthrow of the Czar's government. When Czar Nicholas II abdicated he did so to the representatives of the Duma, elected by the people. At that time Lenin was in exile in Switzerland and Trotsky was living in the Bronx, N. Y., and most of the other leading Communists were either in exile from Russia or in the prison camps of Siberia.

No matter how justifiable a revolution against the Czar's regime may have been, no credit can be claimed by the Communists in order to secure sympathy from liberals throughout the world. The provisional government, composed of liberal members of the Duma and headed by Prince Lvov, took over the control of Russia. The United States was the first nation to recognize the provisional government of Russia, which was organized on the same democratic principles as our own.

The Communists, under instructions from Lenin and Trotsky, prepared carefully for an armed revolt and, when they struck the first blow on October 25, 1917 (old Russian calendar; November 7, our calendar), there were probably not more than 30,000 Communists in all of Russia; yet with the help of thousands of deserters from the army and the navy they quickly routed the demoralized forces of the provisional government, driving Kerensky into exile and seizing control of the entire government. Members of the former government were either killed or exiled. The constituent assembly, which had been called by the Kerensky government, was elected over a month after the October revolution. However, in view of the fact that the Communists failed to elect a majority of the members of the constituent assembly, it was dissolved by order of Lenin, thus officially placing the Communists on record as being opposed to popular government

by liquidating the representatives elected directly by the people, although under soviet auspices.

Third International.—The Third or Communist International was organized by Lenin at Moscow in March 1919 to carry out the revolutionary purposes of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union. It is the revolutionary international of the working class and there is no denying the fact that it has tremendous influence among the more radical workers in every nation in the world. It had its beginning in 1915 and 1916 at conferences in Switzerland of the radical groups of the Second International. At these conferences Nikolai Lenin first came into prominence as the international revolutionary leader of the left-wing Socialists or Communists.

In January 1919 the Russian Communist Party sent out a call for a congress to be held at Moscow to form the Third or Communist International. This invitation was sent to some 40 Communist, revolutionary, and left-wing Socialist groups throughout the world.

Thus, the Communist International, known in Russia as the Comintern, came into full-fledged being at Moscow in March 1919, and has ever since been the medium of instigating class warfare and social revolution in all countries, in order to establish a world Soviet Union, with the capital at Moscow.

Overthrow of the provisional government.—One month after the establishment of the provisional government the German general staff sent Nikolai Lenin and a score of his radical followers in a closed car from Switzerland through Germany back into Russia. This was a master stroke of strategy, as Lenin rapidly undermined the loyalty of the war-weary troops by promising a separate peace, bread, and a division of the lands among the soldiers and peasants. The Communists under the aggressive leadership of Lenin, Trotzky, Zinoviev, and Stalin, became the center of disloyal activities against the provisional government headed by Kerensky, a Socialist. In July 1917 the Communists were unsuccessful in an uprising in St. Petersburg, and its leaders, including Lenin, had to flee to Finland. However, with the failure of the Russian Army offensive in Galicia the difficulties of the provisional government increased. The Communists infiltrated back into Russia, and became bolder and more aggressive. Kerensky, who was a weak and vacillating leader, was afraid to arrest the revolutionary Communists, or to call upon the army commanders for assistance.

Principles of the Communist International.—The main principles of the Communist International are as follows: Overthrow and annihilation of so-called capitalist governmental power and its replacement by proletarian power; dictatorship of the working class; confiscation of property; arming of the proletariat; armed conflict by the proletariat against capitalism; no compromise with Socialists remaining in the Second International.

The main objective of the Communist International is to promote world revolution, in order to bring about a world-wide union of Soviets, or dictatorship of the proletariat, with the capital at Moscow.

The Communist International and the Soviet Government.—The Communist International is dominated by the Russian Communist Party and soviet officials, and could not exist without the wholehearted support of the leaders of the Russian Communist Party and the financial backing of the Soviet Government.

The two most important and powerful men in Russia, Joseph Stalin, the Communist dictator who now holds two soviet posts, and Viacheslaf M. Molotoff (or Molotov) chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars, are on the presidium or select committee that plans and controls all the policies of the Communist International, for spreading revolutionary propaganda in foreign countries in order to intensify class hatred and cause strikes, riots, sabotage, and revolutionary activities, leading to civil war and revolution.

The Communist International is actually part and parcel of the Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Government. For diplomatic reasons, the Soviet Government denies that it is responsible for the propaganda that emanates from the Communist International, but this pretense has long been apparent and has again been unmasked by the recent appointment of its two outstanding leaders, Stalin and Molotoff, to important positions in the Soviet Government.

The leaders of the Communist Party and the government called the conference for the formation of the Third International and the Soviet Government immediately contributed 2,000,000 rubles (\$1,000,000) to enable the Communist International to carry out its principles and put into effect its program for revolution in all the nations of the world.

The Soviet Government.—The Government of Russia, which is known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U. S. S. R.), is an autocratic self-constituted dictatorship by a small group of self-perpetuating revolutionists. Joseph Stalin, the secretary general of the Communist Party, is the actual dictator. The Communist Party consists of 1,500,000 members, out of 150,000,000 people in Russia, but it controls the Soviet Government and the Communist International.

The Communist Party.—The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party or the Politbureau, is composed of 10 of the outstanding Communist leaders, including Stalin and Molotoff, and is the real power in Russia, effectively controlling and directing (1) the Soviet Government, which carries out the policies laid down by the Politbureau and administers the affairs of Soviet Russia; and (2) the Comintern, or Communist International, which is the vehicle for the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda and directs and stimulates revolutionary activities throughout the world.

The legislative power is vested in the Congress of Soviets, which meets every 2 years, listens to speeches, adopts resolutions, and selects a central executive committee of between four and five hundred members to represent it during the intermission. The central executive committee in turn selects a smaller group, known as the presidium, which is the real legislative authority and appoints the commissars and judicial officers of the Government. The presidium is closely affiliated with the politbureau, and many of its members are the same, again including Stalin and Molotoff.

At a meeting of the American commission of the Comintern at Moscow, in the month of May 1929, Stalin delivered two speeches, which the soviet press was careful not to divulge until January 1930 (Communist International, Russian edition, March 20, 1930). Stalin stated:

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 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 real revolutionary cadres and leaders of the proletariat who will be capable of leading the millions of American workers toward the revolutionary class wars.

Molotov, member of the presidium of the Communist International and president of the Council of Peoples Commissars, read a detailed report on "The Communist International and the Revolutionary Thrust" at the tenth session of the executive committee of the Comintern, with reference to the United States, in part as follows:

The Comintern has given particular attention to the situation in the Communist Party of the United States.

A special delegation of the executive committee of the Comintern was sent to the last congress of this party (Communist Party of the United States). Afterward, for several weeks, there sat at Moscow a commission of the presidium of the executive committee of the Communist International which specially studied the situation in the Communist Party of the United States. The presidium of the executive committee of the Communist Party radically renewed the direction of the American Communist Party and created within it the conditions of a real Bolshevik development of the party and of a reinforcement of its authority among the working masses.

Formation of the Communist Party in America.—Immediately after the creation of the Communist International at Moscow, in March 1919, a call was issued for the organization of the Communist Parties throughout the world and their adhesion to the Communist International. A convention of extreme American radicals was called in Chicago, in September 1919, made up of left-wing members of the old Socialist Party and other radicals. It was here that the Communist Party of America was founded as part of the Communist International.

Political activities in the United States.—The Communists in the United States openly admit their allegiance to the Communist International at Moscow, and glory in the fact that they obey all the orders issued from there immediately and implicitly.

The Communist Party in the United States was first organized in Chicago, in September 1919, and was composed mostly of foreign-born workers, and had but little contact or influence with the great masses of the workers in American industries. Its principal function then was that of a propaganda organization for the Communist International, in support of a communist society to be achieved by means of a proletarian revolution and dictatorship.

Almost as soon as the American Communist Party was organized it was driven under cover on account of its illegality. In December 1921, the Workers' Party of America was formed as a camouflage for the real Communist Party of America, which maintained its existence underground. In 1925 the official name was changed to Workers' (Communist) Party of America, and at a convention held in March 1928, the Communists finally threw off all camouflage and boldly came out into the open as the Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International, which is their present name.

The Government, by use of the provisions of the war-time legislation, drove the Communist Party underground, where it remained in an illegal status until 1924, when the repeal of the war measures and the consequent halting of Government activities by the agents of the Department of Justice, permitted it to reappear. The Communists came more and more into the open until today they flaunt their revolutionary activities throughout the country. Since 1925 the Department of Justice has had no power, no authority, or no funds from the Congress to investigate Communist propaganda or activities. During the period that the Department of Justice had actual authority the Communist Party was driven underground where it could not function successfully. Just so long as the agents of the Department of Justice were active the movement remained comparatively stationary and innocuous. At the present time the Communist Party of the United States is thoroughly and highly organized, nationally and locally, and is extremely active.

The following is part of the testimony of William Z. Foster, twice candidate of the Communist Party for President of the United States, before the Fish committee in which he explains some of the principles of his party:

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind stating to the committee the aims and principles of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. The aims and principles of the Communist Party, briefly stated, are to organize the workers to defend their interests under the capitalist system and to eventually abolish the capitalist system and to establish a workers' and farmers' government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, can you tell us more definitely if the principles of the Communist Party, as advocated in this country, or anywhere else, are the same?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the Communist Party advocate the confiscation of all private property?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the confiscation of the social necessities of life; that is, the basic industries and other industries for producing the means of livelihood for the people. By the property of individuals, personal belongings, and so on, no; that is, in the sense of their personal property.

The CHAIRMAN. When you refer to the capitalist system, just what do you mean?

Mr. FOSTER. I mean the system under which the industries of society are owned by private individuals and are used for the exploitations of the workers employed in those industries, for the profit of those who own the industries, and that this system is maintained by the Government as the major central function of the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party advocate the abolition and destruction of religious beliefs?

Mr. FOSTER. Our party considers religion to be the opium of the people, as Karl Marx has stated, and we carry on propaganda for the liquidation of these prejudices amongst the workers.

The CHAIRMAN. To be a member of the Communist Party, do you have to be an atheist?

Mr. FOSTER. In order to be—there is no formal requirement to this effect. Many workers join the Communist Party who still have some religious scruples, or religious ideas; but a worker who will join the Communist Party, who understands the elementary principles of the Communist Party, must necessarily be in the process of liquidating his religious beliefs and, if he still has any lingerings when he joins the party, he will soon get rid of them. But irreligion, that is atheism, is not laid down as a formal requirement for membership in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes. Eight or nine times.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar, then, with the workings of the Communist Party in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Reasonably.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, can members of the Communist Party in Russia be married in the church and maintain religious beliefs of that nature, and practice them?

Mr. FOSTER. My opinion is that a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who would be married in a church would not be of any value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Could he maintain his membership in the party?

Mr. FOSTER. He would not.

The CHAIRMAN. He would be put out of the party?

Mr. FOSTER. Eventually, if not for that specific act.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it not be the same in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. As I stated before, workers who would be so imbued with religious superstitions that they would be married in a church would be of no value to the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same thing would happen to them in this country that happens to them in Russia?

Mr. FOSTER. Of course.

The CHAIRMAN. Does your party believe in the promotion of class hatred?

Mr. FOSTER. This is a peculiar question. What do you mean by "class hatred"?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean stirring up and exciting class antagonism and hatred of the working class against the other classes, so called?

Mr. FOSTER. Our party believes in developing the class consciousness of the workers; to educate the workers to an understanding of their class interests and to organize them to defend that class interest which, inevitably, brings them into conflict with the capitalist class in its whole system of ideology.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the Communists in this country advocate world revolution?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes; the Communists in this country realize that America is connected up with the whole world system, and the capitalist system displays the same characteristics everywhere—everywhere it makes for the misery and exploitation of the workers—and it must be abolished, not only on an American scale but on a world scale.

The CHAIRMAN. So that they do advocate world revolution; and do they advocate revolution in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that the Communists advocate the abolition of the capitalist system in this country and every other country; that this must develop out of the sharpening of the class struggle and the struggle of the workers for bread and butter.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, are the Communists in this country opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. The capitalist democracy—most assuredly. We stand for a workers' and farmers' government; a government of producers, not a government of exploiters. The American capitalist Government is built and controlled in the interests of those who own the industries, and we say that the Government must be built and controlled by those who work in the industries and who produce.

The CHAIRMAN. They are opposed to our republican form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. Most assuredly.

The CHAIRMAN. And they desire to overthrow it through revolutionary methods?

Mr. FOSTER. I would like to read from the program of the Communist International at this point. The Communist International program says—

Mr. BACHMANN. From what page are you reading?

Mr. FOSTER. Page 34—

"The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The bourgeoisie resorts to every means of violence and terror to safeguard and strengthen its predatory property and political domination. Like the feudal nobility of the past, the bourgeoisie can not abandon its historical position to the new class without a desperate and frantic struggle; hence the violence of the bourgeoisie can only be suppressed by the stern violence of the proletariat."

The CHAIRMAN. Just what is the Third International?

Mr. FOSTER. The Communist International is the world party of the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the Communist Party of the United States connected with it?

Mr. FOSTER. It is.

The CHAIRMAN. In what way?

Mr. FOSTER. It is the American section.

The CHAIRMAN. You take your orders from the Third International; do you?

Mr. FOSTER. The question, "Do we take our orders from the Communist International?" is a question which reveals the utter distance of the capitalist conception of organization from that of the worker. The Communist International is a world party, based upon the mass parties in the respective countries. It works out its policy by the mass principles of these parties in all its deliberations. It is a party that conducts the most fundamental examination of all questions that come before it and, when a decision is arrived at in any given instance, this decision the workers, with their customary sense of proletarian discipline, accept and put into effect.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do take the orders and carry them out, as decided in Moscow by the Third International of the Communist Party?

Mr. FOSTER. I stated it is not a question of taking orders.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, putting them into effect?

Mr. FOSTER. It is a question of working out policies with the Comintern, in the Comintern, as part of this proletarian organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they have to carry out those orders; do they not?

Mr. FOSTER. Carry out the policies?

The CHAIRMAN. Carry out the orders and policies as initiated by the Third International of the Communist Party over in Moscow?

Mr. FOSTER. We carry out the policies in the way I have stated.

The CHAIRMAN. You believe that by advocating the substitution of the soviet system of government for the republican form of government you are operating under the law?

Mr. FOSTER. I, of course, do not say we derived our theories from the Declaration of Independence, but the Declaration of Independence says that when a government demonstrates that it no longer represents the interests of the masses it is not only the right but the duty of these masses to dispose of that government and to establish one that will represent their interests—to abolish that government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, what you advocate is a change of our republican form of government and the substituting of the soviet form of government?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated that a number of times.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if I understand you, the workers in this country look upon the Soviet Union as their country; is that right?

Mr. FOSTER. The more advanced workers do.

The CHAIRMAN. Look upon the Soviet Union as their country?

Mr. FOSTER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They look upon the soviet flag as their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag and that is the red flag. That is the flag of the proletarian revolution; it was also, incidentally, the flag of the American Revolution in its earlier stages. The red flag has been the flag of revolution for many years before the Russian revolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the workers of this country consider, then, the Soviet Government to be their country. Do they also consider the red flag to be their flag?

Mr. FOSTER. I have answered quite clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you owe allegiance to the American flag; does the Communist Party owe allegiance to the American flag?

Mr. FOSTER. The workers, the revolutionary workers, in all the capitalist countries are an oppressed class who are held in subjection by their respective capitalist governments and their attitude toward these governments is the abolition of these governments and the establishment of soviet governments.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they do not claim any allegiance, then, to the American flag in this country?

Mr. FOSTER. That is, you mean the support of capitalism in America—no.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean if they had to choose between the red flag and the American flag, I take it from you that you would choose the red flag; is that correct?

Mr. FOSTER. I have stated my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want to force you to answer if it embarrasses you, Mr. Foster.

Mr. FOSTER. It does not embarrass me at all. I stated very clearly the red flag is the flag of the revolutionary class, and we are part of the revolutionary class.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that.

Mr. FOSTER. And all capitalist flags are flags of the capitalist class, and we owe no allegiance to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that answers the question.

(The above testimony of Foster and the history of the Communist Party are taken from the Fish Report.)

(C) LAWS OF COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

We will turn now to some of the laws of the Communist International. Here is where we find the attempt to disguise the "force and violence" plans of the Communists. The Program of the Communist International, printed in English by the Communist Party of the United States of America, contains the following statement:

Expressing the historical need for an international organization of revolutionary proletariat—the gravediggers of the capitalist order—the Communist International is the only international force that has for its program the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and that openly comes out as the organizer of the international proletarian revolution. The ultimate aim of the Communist International is to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism.

The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peacefully "capturing" the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of a parliamentary majority. The conquest of power by the proletariat is the violent overthrow of bourgeois power, the destruction of the capitalist state apparatus (bourgeois, armies, police, bureaucratic hierarchy, the judiciary, parliament, and so forth), and substituting in its place new organisms of proletarian power, to serve primarily as the instruments for the suppression of the exploiters.

This document then shows that the Communist program includes the confiscation of everything and then the setting up of an iron-fisted bureaueracy of communism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn fight—bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, pedagogical and administrative * * *.

The party advances certain transitional slogans and partial demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power and of overthrowing bourgeois capitalist society. The party must neither stand aloof from the daily needs and struggle of the working class, nor confine its activities exclusively to them. The task of the party is to utilize these minor everyday needs as a starting point from which to lead the working class to the revolutionary struggle for power * * *.

The mass action includes a combination of strikes and armed demonstrations, and finally the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the State power * * *.

It further states that during the "revolutionary upsurge" the Communist parties must—

advance partial slogans and demands * * *, linking them up with the fundamental tasks of the Communist International.

It concludes as follows:

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all the existing social conditions * * *. Let the ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution * * *. Workers of all countries, unite!

The Constitution of the Communist International, also published in English by the Communist Party of the United States of America, contains the following statements:

The Communist International * * * is a union of Communist parties in various countries; it is the world Communist Party. As the leader and organizer of the world revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the protagonist of the

principles and aims of communism, the Communist International fights for the establishment of a world union of Socialist soviet republics * * *.

Each of the various parties affiliated with the Communist International is called the Communist Party of (name and country—section of the Communist International). Membership in the Communist Party and in the Communist International is open to all those who accept the program and the rules of the respective Communist parties and of the Communist International, who * * * abide by all decisions of the party and of the Communist International * * *.

After a decision has been taken by the Communist International * * * the decision must be unreservedly carried out even if a part of the party membership or the local party organizations are in disagreement with it.

The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are obligatory for all the sections of the Communist International and must be carried out * * *. The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to expel from the Communist International entire sections, groups, and individual members who violate the program and constitution of the Communist International or the decisions of the executive committee * * *.

In its constitution, the Communist International reserves the above rights; and, in addition, it states:

The executive committee of the Communist International has the right to establish permanent bureaus—

in all parts of the world—

for the purpose of establishing closer contact with the various sections of the Communist International and in order to be better able to guide their work * * *. The sections must carry out the instructions of the permanent bureaus * * *. The executive committee of the Communist International and its presidium have the right to send their representatives to various sections of the Communist International * * *. Such representatives receive their instructions from the executive committee of the Communist International or from its presidium and are responsible to them for their activities.

The executive committee of the Communist International or its presidium also have the right to send instructors to the various sections of the Communist International. The powers and duties of instructors are determined by the executive committee of the Communist International, to whom the instructors are responsible in their work.

The central committees of the sections affiliated to the Communist International and the central committees of affiliated sympathizing organizations must send to the executive committee of the Communist International the minutes of their meetings and reports of their work.

This control by the Communist International over its sections, such as the Communist Party of the United States of America and sympathizing organizations, is shown by many laws written into the constitution of the Communist International, even to the holding of meetings.

Congresses of the various sections, ordinary and special, can be convened only with the consent of the executive committee of the Communist International * * *.

Members of sections may—

pass from one country to another—

only with the consent of the central committee.

This committee had indisputable evidence to prove the admission of Communists that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist International at Moscow, and that the international does issue special decrees to the sections in this country, and that the sections here have carried out those decrees. (See Milestones in the History of the Communist Party of the United States of America.)

The Communist Party of the United States of America adopted what it called a "new constitution" for the American section to its May

1938 congress, held in New York City. This, Communists called Twentieth Century Americanism. The following statement is to be found in this constitution:

The new constitution is profoundly connected with the political life of America and is realizing in practice the instructions of Comrade Dimitrov (international secretary of the Communist International), who called on us at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International to learn as quickly as possible how to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle * * *

The emblem of the party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle * * * with a circular inscription, having at the top "Communist Party of the U. S. A.," and in the lower part "affiliated to the Communist International * * *"

The Communist Party of the United States of America is affiliated with its fraternal Communist parties of other lands through the Communist International and participates in international congresses, through its national committee, * * *. Resolutions and decisions of the international congress shall be acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the United States of America, the national conventions, or between conventions, by the national committee.

At the Communist congress, held in New York City, at which this new "Trojan horse" constitution was adopted, resolutions were also adopted, one of which, in the form of a cable to Moscow which stated (Imprecor, No. 32, June 25, 1938, pp. 769-770):

The tenth national convention laid down as the most important task for the party the further struggle for united action of all forces of the working class, for the purpose of securing joint action of all democratic elements of the country. The convention indicated the concrete forms of the struggle for unity of the working class; in the first place to overcome the split in the trade-union movement in the United States of America, by creating a uniform confederation of labor. The convention formulated the program of the democratic front, the program of uniting the American people.

A few days later, the "Trojan horse" made its appearance again when the Communists began explaining why now they were singing the Star-Spangled Banner and using American flags, along with the Internationale (the Communist song) and red flags. Here is their explanation:

[Daily Worker, July 4, 1938]

When we sing the Star-Spangled Banner and the Internationale together, when we decorate our platform today with the American flag and the red flag of the Socialist revolution * * * this is the way we express the fusion of our Communist program for socialism and the American tradition.

This recalls to the minds of members of this committee the instructions of the Communist International "to learn as quickly as possible how to sail on the turbulent waters of class struggle" and their attempted remolding of the Communist Party into something which might appear too small as an "American front." Communists are merely carrying out the instructions of the Communist International made public at the last international Congress to adopt the "Trojan horse" methods. This is explained by the Communist International in the following statement:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics. * * *

The above statement was made by George Dimitrov in an address to the seventh congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow on August 20, 1935. It may be found in *The Working*

Class Unity Bulwark Against Fascism, printed by the Workers' Library Publishers.

The Communist Party explained the real meaning of this when it said:

The tenth national convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America sends its warmest revolutionary greetings to the Communist International and its helmsman, George Dimitrov, true comrade-in-arms of Stalin, leader of the struggle against fascism and war, hero of all anti-Fascists, hero and leader of the working class.

We have learned from you how to rekindle that fire. We have learned from you how to fuse the internationalism of our socialist heritage with the best traditions of the revolutionary patriots of past history.

The international working class under your leadership is building unity * * *, and at the head of the forces of peace stands the Soviet Union, the socialist country. * * * Our convention pledges to you and to the Communist International our steadfast determination to be worthy of the model you have set for us * * * the goal of the leadership of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin—the winning of a socialist world * * *.”—(Daily Worker, June 1, 1938, official organ of the Communist Party of the United States of America.)

IV. COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

(A) CONTROL BY COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

It was established, through reputable witnesses who submitted unimpeachable and voluminous evidence, a portion to which we will refer in each instance, that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist (Third) International which has its international headquarters in Moscow. This connection was not only shown by original copies of the membership books (1938) of the Communist Party of the United States of America, on which the words “The Communist Party of the United States of America, section of the Communist International” appear, as if water-marked on each page, but also by the words, “Communist Party of the United States of America is a section of the Communist International.” This statement appears in the editorial heads of the official organs published in the United States by the Communist Party in the United States of America, and it is emphasized in most of their literature.

It was also established, through witnesses who presented authentic evidence, particularly the Communist Party Manual on Organization and Milestones in the History of the Communist Party, in addition to other Communist documents, that those joining the Communist Party of the United States of America not only join the Communist Party as a unit, but also as a section of the Third International. The following statement appears on the 1938 membership card of the Communist Party, originals of which were introduced as evidence before the Committee:

The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the Communist International and of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and agrees to submit to the discipline of the party and to engage actively in its work.

On page 42 of the Communist Party Manual on Organization, published by the Communist Party of the United States of America for circulation among its members, the following statement may be found:

The Communist International is the international organization of the Communist Parties in all countries. It is the world Communist Party. The Communist Parties in the various countries, affiliated with the Comintern (Communist International), are called sections of the Communist International.

On page 43 of this same document, this statement is made:

The decisions of the executive committee of the Communist International are binding for all parties belonging to the Comintern (Communist International), and must be promptly carried out.

Pages 8 and 9 of the manual contain this statement:

As the leader and organizer of the proletariat, the Communist Party of the United States of America leads the working class in the fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the establishment of a socialist soviet republic in the United States.

* * * Our party realizes that certain conditions must exist before the outworn capitalist system can be overthrown.

For a revolution it is essential that a majority of the workers, not a majority of the people as they would lead you to believe they mean, should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes, not the class to which they usually refer as capitalists, be in a state of crisis which draws even the most backward masses into politics, weakens the government and makes possible for the revolutionists to overthrow it rapidly.

It continues on pages 12, 13, and 14:

The state is an instrument in the hands of the ruling class for suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. In this respect the dictatorship of the proletariat in no way differs, in sense, from the dictatorship of any other class * * * The dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be "complete" democracy, a democracy for all * * * Pure democracy—"perfect" democracy—and the like are but bourgeois screens * * * The revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system is the historic mission of the working class.

As a section of the Third International, the Communist Party of the United States of America entered into an agreement entitled "Twenty-one Conditions of Admission Into the Communist International," by O. Piantnitsky. It was published in this country by the Communist Party and circulated among members of the party, states:

1. The entire propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely communistic character and agree with the program and the decisions of the Third International. All the press organs of the party must be managed by responsible Communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat.

The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be talked about as if it were an ordinary formula learned by heart, but it must be propagated for in such a way as to make its necessity apparent to every plain worker, soldier, and peasant through the facts of daily life, which must be systematically watched by our press and fully utilized from day to day * * *

2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate with the Communist International must regularly and systematically remove the reformist and centrist elements from all the more or less important posts in the labor movements (in party organizations, editorial offices, trade unions, parliamentary groups, cooperative, and municipal administrations) and replace them with well-trying Communists, without taking offense at the fact that, especially in the beginning, the places of experienced opportunists will be filled by plain workers from the masses * * *

It is their duty to create everywhere a parallel illegal organization machine which at the decisive moment will be helpful to the party in fulfilling its duty to the revolution * * *

4. The duty of spreading Communist ideas includes the special obligation to carry on a vigorous and systematic propaganda in the Army. Where this agitation is forbidden by exceptional laws it is to be carried on illegally. Renunciation of such activities would be the same as treason to revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership in the Third International * * *

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Third International is obligated to unmask not only open social patriotism, but also the dishonesty and hypocrisy of social pacifism, and systematically bring to the attention of the workers the

fact that without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no kind of an international court of arbitration, no kind of an agreement regarding the limitation of armaments, no kind of a democratic innovation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent fresh imperialistic wars * * *

9. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop a communistic agitation within the trade-unions, the workers' and shop councils the consumers' cooperatives, and other mass organizations of the workers * * *

10. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International is obligated to offer unqualified support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the counterrevolutionary forces. The Communist Parties must carry on a clean-cut program of propoganda for the hindering of the transportation of munitions of war to the enemies of the Soviet Republic; and, furthermore, they must all use means, legal or illegal, to carry propoganda, etc., among the troops sent to throttle the workers' republic * * *

As a rule the program of every party belonging to the Communist International must be sanctioned by the regular congress of the Communist International or by its executive committee. * * *

16. All decisions of the congresses of the Communist International as well as the decisions of its executive committee, are binding upon all the parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, which is working under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be constructed along much more centralized lines than was the case with the Second International. * * *

17. In connection with this, all parties wishing to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party wishing to belong to the Communist International must bear the name Communist Party of such and such a country (section of the Third International). The question of name is not only a formal matter, but is to a high degree a political question of great importance. * * *

21. Those party members who, on principle, reject the conditions and theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party. The same thing applies especially to delegates to the special party convention.

We have shown the connection between the Communist Party of the United States of America and the Third International, and that the Communist Party of the United States of America is bound by the laws of the Third International.

(b) PRESENT-DAY TACTICS

We have shown that communism is a world-wide revolutionary movement aiming ultimately at the setting up of a world union of soviet socialist republics. This is a proposition which is beyond dispute. It is substantiated by voluminous literature of the Communists themselves.

In this plan for world revolution, the Communists have omitted no country or people as too small or insignificant to command their attention. They have, on the other hand, taken the logical position of concentrating their attention upon the richest and most populous countries of the earth. Among these the Communists recognize the United States of America as the foremost. The Communist's conquest of the earth will be far less than complete until it has conquered America and destroyed our free institutions.

It follows logically from the Communist International's plan of world conquest that every possible tactic, device, maneuver, and intrigue would be employed to gain such an end as the communization of America. These tactics, devices, maneuvers, and intrigues are both boldly open and patiently subtle, both violent and insidious. The tactics and maneuvers for revolutionary ends are the meat and drink of a Communist. They are the very air he breathes.

This committee has received voluminous and substantial evidence both in the form of authentic Communist literature and in the form of testimony from those who have been active in the Communist movement. This evidence has turned the spotlight of publicity upon Communist tactics, devices, maneuvers, and intrigues to such an extent that the whole American people is better acquainted with the nature and purposes of communism than it was at the beginning of the work of this committee.

Many of these tactics deserve some elaboration in this report.

1. TROJAN HORSE TACTICS

In 1935 the Communists changed their strategy and tactics to what is now known as the "Trojan Horse tactics." Georgi Dimitrov, in an address to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in August 1935, said:

Comrades, you remember the ancient tale of the capture of Troy. Troy was inaccessible to the armies attacking her, thanks to her impregnable walls, and the attacking army, after suffering many sacrifices, was unable to achieve victory until with the aid of the famous Trojan horse it managed to penetrate to the very heart of the enemies' camp. We revolutionary workers, it appears to me, should not be shy about using the same tactics.—(Printed by the Workers Library Publishers, New York City, a Communist publishing house, in reporting the full text of Dimitrov's addresses to the Congress of the Communist International, July 25 to August 21, 1935.)

The new tactics have proven to be very effective and successful. Instead of conducting labor organizations of their own, as they formerly did, the Communists have found it much more effective to penetrate legitimate trade unions and to seize strategic positions and offices in those unions. Under the new policy, the Communists form units or fractions within labor unions especially in the heavy industries. These units work in complete unison and harmony under instructions. Their members were well trained in organizing work. In addition to this, they are actuated by a fanatical zeal. When the industrial unions sprang up like mushroom growths in the heavy industries, there was a scarcity of trained and skilled organizers. Having permeated the organizations, the Communists stepped into the roles of organizers and found it easy to seize strategic positions in the unions. Many of the Communists became organizers, stewards, and members of the executive boards.

The same tactics of penetration or "boring from within" were used successfully in other organizations, such as political parties. Formerly the Communists had their own candidates and their own ticket which they actively and openly supported. Now the Communists either do not put up candidates or, if they do, it is for the purpose of deception. Actually the Communists actively support "left wing" elements in other political parties.

Not only do the Communists penetrate other organizations, but they set up numerous organizations with high-sounding titles and laudable objectives. These are known as the "front" organizations of the Communist Party. The majority of members of these organizations are unaware of the Communist control or influence, but we invariably find outstanding Communists occupying strategic positions within the organizations. From these vantage points they are able

to subtly shape or influence the policies of the "front" organizations and direct their activities. The ease with which Communists are able to infiltrate these organizations and seize important positions would be unbelievable if we did not have before us the most convincing proof. The explanation is that many of the non-Communist members are inactive and indifferent while the tightly organized group of Communists within the organization are well organized and fanatically zealous. It is the old story of a well-organized minority being able to outmaneuver an unorganized and indifferent majority. Herein is typified the genius of Communist strategy. They have simply put into effect what has been demonstrated time and time again; namely, that an active and disciplined minority is always able to outmaneuver a disorganized majority. The Communist influence in the United States cannot, therefore, be measured by its size. The Communist program does not call for large numbers. When the Communists seized control of Russia they comprised less than 1 percent of the population of Russia.

Their real influence must be measured in terms of their ability to direct or influence other organizations and groups who have many times the membership that the Communist Party claims. The effectiveness of the Communists in the United States must be gaged by their ability to infuse the poison of class hatred into the blood stream of the Nation. It is not the open and undisguised activity of the Communists that we need fear. It is not their direct influence which should occasion alarm. It is rather the subversive and insidious way in which they go about their destructive work; the penetration of other organizations; the seizure of strategic positions in other organizations and in the Government itself; the subtle and indirect influence which they exert—these are the things which constitute the Communist menace to America. If the Communists worked in the open there would be nothing to fear, but when through policies of deception and tactics that are cleverly concealed they pursue their destructive plans, it becomes important to reckon with them as menacing factors in our national life. Many of the activities and tactics of the Communists appear ridiculous to the average American and, by reason of this fact, he is prone to discredit the seriousness of these activities. He is apt to overlook the important fact that the minds of most Communists are diseased and that their thinking and process of reason are fantastic and often border on insanity. Indeed the very philosophy of communism is fantastic and unreal. There is nothing in the experience or reason of man to justify it; it is the product of mental warping. It is, therefore, natural that minds which can seriously entertain such a destructive philosophy, and such an unreasonable conception of man in the universe, should be productive of fantastic schemes and activities. It is strange but true that this irrationalism affords the Communists their most effective guise because the average American is inclined to "laugh it off." The Communist is cunning enough to take advantage of this attitude on our part so that he may prosecute his subversive work unmolested.

2. ETHICS

It is impossible to understand many of the tactics and statements of Communists and their fellow travelers unless their very special code of ethics be understood. Communists repudiate in its entirety

the Christian code of ethics and indeed any other code of ethics which has appealed to the decent sentiment of mankind.

Lenin summarized the Communist ethical code when he said:

Our morality is entirely subordinated to the interest of the class struggle of the proletariat. * * * For the Communist, morality consists entirely of compact united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in eternal morality, and we expose all the fables about morality.—(Lenin's Speech to Youth, International Publishers, 1936, pp. 13, 16.)

In practical terms, this means that the individual Communist's ethical judgment is rigidly subordinated to the will of the Communist Party, and the will of the Communist Party is in turn whatever its most politically powerful member decides it shall be. It means, furthermore, that Communist morality is subordinated to the main goal which is the destruction, in this country, of the American form of government and the setting up in its place of the proletarian dictatorship. In both its theory and its practice, the Communist code of ethics says that truth, respect for law, and tolerance must give way to class advantage. The Communists have put the world on notice that their word, whether under oath or not, has no value whatsoever.

The Communist code of ethics not only permits, but actually glorifies as virtuous, such immoralities as perjury, destruction of property, the beating and maiming of workers who refuse to follow the dictates of Communists, shootings, stabbings, kidnappings, and bombings. It is even a matter of boasting among Communists that Stalin robbed banks in the days before the Communist regime was set up in Russia.

To summarize: The Communist code of ethics is based upon the principle that the ends of revolution justify any means, no matter how lawless, violent, dishonest, or indecent from the standpoint of accepted American standards of morality.

3. USE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES TO DESTROY LIBERTIES

Communists make a great deal of noise about their civil liberties in this country, despite the evidence that no other country on the face of the earth is so devoid of all civil liberties as Russia, the country to which Communists look for inspiration and from which they take their instructions.

We have only to quote from the Communists' own authoritative writings to prove that the Communist conception of civil liberties is diametrically opposed to the American view. In his book, *The State and Revolution*, Lenin wrote:

The dictatorship of the proletariat produces a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of oppressors, the exploiters, and the capitalists. We crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force.—(*The State and Revolution*, p. 73.)

In his book, *Two Tactics*, the supreme author of the Russian revolution, Lenin, wrote:

In the final analysis, force alone can settle the great problems of political liberty and class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organize this force and to use it actively, not only for defensive purposes, but also for the purpose of attack.—(*Two Tactics*, p. 21.)

In summary, it is clear that Communists are interested in the civil liberties which are guaranteed by the American Bill of Rights only

that they may use these rights as a tool with which to destroy all civil liberties.

4. THE USE OF THE RED-BAITING CHARGE AGAINST CRITICS

In the experiences of this committee, nothing could be clearer than that Communists hate the light of publicity, which exposes their aims and methods. A recent editorial in the *Daily Worker*, official newspaper of the Communist Party, demands that the work of this committee to investigate un-American activities must not go on. Communists have good reasons to fear criticism which focuses the attention of the American people upon their sinister purposes and reprehensible methods.

Communism will not be able to advance one step in the face of a fearless and complete exposure of its true nature.

The most common device used by Communists in their attempts to silence all criticism is to charge their critics with "red" baiting. It appears that a few spineless Americans who like to think of themselves as liberals, cower before the Communist charge of "red" baiting. To that extent, the tactics of charging "red" baiting is effective. As one of the witnesses who appeared before this committee put it, "A twentieth century American 'liberal' would rather face the charge of slapping his grandmother than to be accused of 'red' baiting."

There is hardly any limit to the campaigns of smearing and ridicule which Communists organize systematically and on a large scale for the purpose of trying to discredit any American who dares to stand up and criticize communism.

5. IN POLITICAL COALITIONS

In the former tactics of the Communist Party it was the invariable rule to place its own unmistakably labeled candidates before the electorate. It was easy then for the voter to make his choice between Communist and non-Communist candidates. Today, however, there are new tactics. The Communist Party has adopted the practice of boring from within the major political parties. It presents its candidates to the public with Democratic and Republican labels, with grave political confusion resulting.

It is one of the major aims of the Communist International, in the present world situation, to form what are called People's Fronts. In both Spain and France this aim has been achieved, with consequences known to all the world. This same aim dominates the present strategy of the Communist Party in the United States, and it is toward the formation of the People's Front here that the Communists have adopted the practice of entering their political candidates with the labels of the two major parties.

The strategy of the Communist Party looks toward the eventual formation of a national farmer-labor party in the United States. While remaining a relatively small minority within such a farmer-labor party, the Communists would nevertheless seek to dominate the whole of it. The theory behind such political coalitions is to divide American political thought along class lines, with the avowed object of intensifying and embittering class conflict. All of this the Communists conceive to be a necessary prelude to class warfare and the final emergence of its dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Communist Party aims especially at the disintegration and final destruction of liberal political parties by making within those parties a coalition with political elements which are working for a planned economy even though they do not use any one of the European labels for such economy.

6. IN FEDERAL PROJECTS AND AGENCIES

Our committee devoted considerable time to the investigation of certain phases of the Works Progress Administration, such as the Federal Theater Project and the Federal Writers Project.

We heard some of the employees and former employees in the Federal Theater Project in New York. These witnesses testified that Communist activities have been carried on in the Federal Theater Project for a long time; that Communist meetings have been held on the project during work hours; that some of the employees had participated in these Communist meetings during their work hours; that Communist literature had been distributed on the project from time to time, and that Communist posters had been printed on the official bulletin board; that all of these activities had been carried on in the premises of the Federal Theater Project and during the very time that the employees were paid to work. From the testimony we heard, we are convinced that a rather large number of the employees on the Federal Theater Project are either members of the Communist Party, or are sympathetic with the Communist Party. It is also clear that certain employees felt under compulsion to join the Workers' Alliance in order to retain their jobs.

To illustrate the success of Communist penetration in the Federal Writers Project, we wish to cite one instance. The committee received in evidence a book entitled "People's Front," by Earl Browder, which had been autographed by 103 avowed Communist Party members who were working on a Federal Writers Project, 6 of whom held positions as supervisors on the project. The total number of employees on this Writers Project was about 300. It is therefore astonishing to find that one-third of the total number of writers employed by the Government in this project were admitted Communists. We think that the explanation of the thoroughness with which the Communists have penetrated the Federal Writers Project is that they recognized this project as a splendid vehicle for the dissemination of class hatreds. The evidence is very conclusive that Communist activities were carried on openly in the Federal Writers Project. Even Henry Alsberg admitted on the witness stand that he had had considerable trouble with Communist activities in the Writers Project. He did not deny that a substantial number of the total employees were admitted Communists, and that they had been very active on the project, but Mr. Alsberg stated that he did everything within his power to stop these activities.

When it is considered that much of our evidence with reference to Communist activities in the Works Progress Administration consists of documentary proof, and the testimony of employees, it must be admitted that the committee received a very accurate picture with reference to the extent of Communist activities in these projects of the Works Progress Administration.

The committee secured galley proofs of the guide books for New Jersey and Montana. The chairman read into the record excerpts

from some of these galley proofs to illustrate the subtlety and cleverness which the Communists tried to use to disseminate class-hatred propaganda through the medium of State guides. While the committee does not have jurisdiction to condemn ordinary propaganda which appears in Government publications, it does have jurisdiction to expose and condemn class-hatred propaganda which forms an important part of the general strategy of the Communist Party. A great deal of the material sent from Montana and New Jersey Federal Writers Projects to the Works Progress Administration in Washington, D. C., reveal a consistent and clever plan of using the guidebooks to disseminate class hatred. We refer the readers of this report to some of the excerpts which we placed in the record which show that there was a well-organized plan to portray certain classes in an unfavorable light, and to portray other classes in the most favorable manner possible. Since the foundation of Communism is class hatred, and since their principal strategy is the promotion of class hatred, it became very pertinent to our inquiry to determine the extent the Communists in the Federal Writers Project and Federal Theater Project had succeeded in emphasizing the class-struggle angle in the preparation of State-guide material.

Mr. Henry G. Alsberg, who was very frank with the committee, admitted that some of this material which had been received from the State offices was calculated to promote class hatred and he assured the committee that before the final publication of the State guide books all material of this kind would be deleted, and that the State guide books would present a fair and impartial picture.

The testimony of some of the employees of the Washington office of the Federal Writers Project indicate that certain officials were aiding and abetting the plan to use the State guides as vehicles for class-hatred propaganda. It must be remembered that these officials were very close to the administration of the Federal Writers Project; and that they testified with reference to conversations which they had heard, and produced copies of letters from official files.

Mrs. Louise Lazell testified that before she went with the Federal Writers Project, she had spent 1 year from September 1935 to September 1936, in the Democratic National Committee, where she wrote speeches and gave out information for the women's division; that she was transferred from there to Stanley High's Good Neighbor League; that Mrs. Woodward asked her to become associated with the Federal Writers Project about 14 months ago, where she has been ever since. She further testified:

She (Mrs. Woodward) felt that I would read impartially. I had experience as a publisher's reader and as a writer myself, and she told me because of the grave criticism of the Massachusetts Guide in connection with the *Sacco-Vanzetti* case, because they had given a partisan slant to it, she wished me to read very carefully all the publications of the Writers Project from that time on, which I have done.

The CHAIRMAN. What was there about the version of the *Sacco-Vanzetti* case that she considered partisan?

Mrs. LAZELL. The comment in the end. I understood at the time I took over it was all right to have a report on any event, but that our books, as Government publications, should refrain from editorializing; that is, giving a point of view for or against.

The CHAIRMAN. What point of view did that article give?

Mrs. LAZELL. It is published, and anyone can see it, but it was quite evidently partisan against the Government, as it were, and it was a Government publication.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, it was in favor of Sacco and Vanzetti?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Representing that they had not gotten a square deal?

Mrs. LAZELL. I believe in phraseology which made it seem like a Communist comment. Then I have had repeatedly to delete phraseology that would otherwise make The Guide look very partisan.

The CHAIRMAN. I will get to that in a moment. You have been with the Federal Writers Project how long?

Mrs. LAZELL. Fourteen months.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your duties?

Mrs. LAZELL. Reading for policy. In addition to that, Mr. Alsberg has asked me to comment, if I felt the publication itself was not up to par in a literary way, because I am supposed to have some literary judgment as well.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have authority to delete any portion of it?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have authority to recommend the deletion. Mr. Alsberg retains the right of final judgment.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you have been engaged in that work, have you seen any instances of an effort to place in the Guide Communist teachings, or phraseology?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you in your own language to give us instances of that. But first, tell us what the Guide is.

Mrs. LAZELL. The Guide is an experiment in giving a guidebook for tourists to every State in the Union. In addition to that it has essays which cover history, archeology, labor, commerce, etc. The labor essays almost always had to be toned down.

The CHAIRMAN. Who first prepares the Guide for a particular State?

Mrs. LAZELL. Local people do.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the local people on the Federal Writers Project?

Mrs. LAZELL. The State office. In many cases the State office material has been perfectly acceptable and they have been told to add material.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to that in a minute.

Mrs. LAZELL. The State office prepares the material first. It comes to the Washington office. There is a great deal of rewriting done there, a great deal of insertions, and some deletions.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the Federal Writers' Project for New York, will send material from the offices in New York?

Mrs. LAZELL. Just a moment. The Federal Writers' Project of New York has been acting as an independent unit except for Mr. Henry Alsberg's control. It has not gone through the Federal headquarters here except that Mr. Alsberg has read it and he has sent it to me for comment.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of New York, every State office of the Federal Writers' Project send its material to Washington?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And Washington rewrites it?

Mrs. LAZELL. A great deal.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you tell us in your own language just what you have seen with reference to the deletion of material or the addition of material by the editor on the Federal Writers' Project here in Washington?

Mrs. LAZELL. In most cases the deletion is warrantable in that they send too much material or not well-arranged material. In many cases the insertions have been such that I have had to quarrel with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Explain to us what has been the character of these insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. For instance, insertions in the New Jersey Guide; I wish to give this as an instance of the increasing difficulty that I have of reading for policy. The New Jersey Guide, which naturally would be a very controversial piece of literature, was assembled in the spring. In that case the State people put a great deal of material in that I felt would not be permissible in a nonpartisan Government publication. I took the matter up with Mr. Alsberg so strenuously that I stated to him that if it came out in that form I was afraid it would be the last guide we would publish. He took my criticism, as he has up till now, and acted upon it, in that he sent a very able editor up to New Jersey to rewrite the material. It came back and received my O. K. I heard nothing more about it for sometime.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not said what those insertions were. Give us some idea of them.

Mrs. LAZELL. In speaking of one commercial organization it said that it was the biggest buyer of tear gas in the State. It has never used any tear gas and in one little strike that they had only sticks and stones were thrown. But I think

the implication was that it was holding a cellar full of tear gas in reserve. I thought that was not the sort of thing that was a factual story.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some other instances of insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. These were not insertions, because the New Jersey people are quite radical in their expressions.

The CHAIRMAN. What other statements did you notice in the material sent in by New Jersey?

Mrs. LAZELL. I believe I have some of it here. I do not want to quote from memory, because, after all, memory is not so good. I believe I have some of the material here. Some of these were not communistic; some were attacks on Mr. Hague. I am trying to be impartial and wipe out any hearsay stuff about anybody. You see, my reading is not pro-Fascist, pro-Communist or pro anything except a decent government manuscript. So at one place it said this about "our friend Ilague": "He can at will produce a Democratic majority of more than 125,000 in Hudson County."

As I say, that was hearsay and not factual material for a guide.

Now, I also deleted other stuff, communistic things.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you got any instance of the communistic material; can you tell us any instances of that?

Mrs. LAZELL. I will try to find something. Unfortunately at this time I was having so much work to do I did not always write in complete quotes. I only said "Please delete from here to here." But I will try to find something.

The CHAIRMAN. I will just ask you this question. Were there communistic statements in the material sent from New Jersey that you were employed to delete?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; and which the separate editors agreed with me was dynamite. They were perfectly willing to cooperate with me.

The CHAIRMAN. These statements were appeals to class hatred?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Inflammatory statements?

Mrs. LAZELL. Inflammatory statements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them go so far as to advocate revolution?

Mrs. LAZELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any of them go so far as to advocate a complete change in our system of government?

Mrs. LAZELL. No; only criticism; no, they would not go that far.

Mr. MASON. Would you say the tenor of them was communistic propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. Incendiary rather than definite communistic propaganda. Here is something from California that is quite explicit.

The CHAIRMAN. I will get to that in a moment.

Mrs. LAZELL. I wish to make this final statement on the New Jersey situation. While I have seen the Tours with the insertions and have made some comments, the rest of the New Jersey copy, with many insertions made by Mr. Coy, has gone up to the publisher without my seeing it, which is unusual. I suppose they will show it to me later and say that they were in a hurry or something. But I usually see it before it goes into the stage where it is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that any of the material as finally approved by the Washington office or by Mr. Alsberg constituted appeals to class hatred?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. When you recommended that certain portions be deleted, was that recommendation acted favorably upon every time?

Mrs. LAZELL. So far; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as what?

Mrs. LAZELL. I mean so far as today, yes, but—I want to give you a "Yes, but—" before I am through, and then I have given all, because I can only speak of policy, and not of what is happening in general. I have got a "Yes, but—" that I think is a very strong "Yes, but—"

The CHAIRMAN. Tell me what that "Yes, but—" is.

Mrs. LAZELL. California.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to get to that in a moment. Has Mr. Alsberg placed insertions in the material from New Jersey?

Mrs. LAZELL. I think Mr. Coy has done it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he has done it upon more than one occasion?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes; there were a number of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you seen that material with the insertions?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have seen one insertion which I did not like because I thought it was incendiary, but I have not seen the whole of it because it was not sent to my desk. Mrs. Shreve has seen it, because it goes by her desk.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you go so far as to say that the tenor of the Guide from New Jersey has been class hatred and incendiary propaganda?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And would you say that that propaganda would have the effect of starting up class hatreds?

Mrs. LAZELL. I should think it would; at least they expect it to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did that Guide invariably condemn business and industry?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And picture them as pro-Fascist?

Mrs. LAZELL. As being the enemy.

The CHAIRMAN. As being the enemy of the masses of the people?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the material always took a partisan slant?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In favor of organized labor, we will say?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The C. I. O. particularly?

Mrs. LAZELL. Well, not the C. I. O., but I should say more the radical element in the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. The radical element in the C. I. O. was championed in this Guide?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. While the business people and industrial classes were pictured as enemies of the mass of the people.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. I wish you would subpoena the Viking Press. They have the galleys which have just been sent to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about Mr. Coy having inserted inflammatory or incendiary statements?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have seen only one copy of this. I have been told so, and it is in line of what I have seen of insertions in other things.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, we have dealt with New Jersey: What has been the case in New York?

Mrs. LAZELL. So far they have written only the New York panorama. There were one or two instances where my strictures were accepted. That is so far as the manuscript has come along, but I do not know how long that will continue.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you found, or do you know as a fact, that Mr. Coy and Mr. Alsberg, at the headquarters of the Federal Writers Project, have shaped their material for propaganda purposes?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Against business and against industry as a class?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; and against the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Against the Government itself?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. While you have been successfully deleting a great deal of that, has some of it been passed over your objection?

Mrs. LAZELL. There are some I cannot absolutely remove. For instance, there was something about criminal syndicalism that was taken out of the Iowa Guide. There was something about the criminal syndicalism law of Iowa which is of particular interest to people who want to destroy the Government. We have had them wire back that they insisted that we put it back, and we spent several weeks trying to soften it. So far it has received no comment.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in a number of cases the best you can do is to soften language that is intended to stir up hatred in the United States.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. I told some Communist sympathizers that in the end they would not gain anything by any such warfare.

The CHAIRMAN. I was simply going to ask you with reference to all of the States except California. You have passed on it for all the States?

Mrs. LAZELL. All of the States have not come in yet. Some have come in from Michigan, containing a terrific tirade against Henry Ford. I want to know how they got this far with it. It was too terrible, and we sat on it.

Mr. MASON. It does show, however, that in the State headquarters they prepare such propaganda to be sent in.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mrs. LAZELL. That is true in some States, but in other States they are finding ways to make the copy clean. The Montana copy came in nice. There is one comment that came through to me finally. I do not know whether I will lose that fight.

The CHAIRMAN. What other States have sent in communistic or inflammatory material?

Mrs. LAZELL. Very few States have sent such material in. Michigan has sent in some.

The CHAIRMAN. New Jersey and Michigan have sent in such material?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And Iowa?

Mrs. LAZELL. Just a little. I do not know who that was. Most of the Iowa copy is very acceptable. More than one work on it. I am not positive that the criminal syndicalism matter came from Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you mention any other States that have sent in communistic material?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, sir; not on the whole. Most of the State officers resist it. In Tennessee there were rejected 10 or 15 pages of instructions as to the Negro's rights and their labor troubles. It related to Negro and labor troubles there.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, I understand you to say that the officials of the Department have written back for more material on the Negro question and on labor troubles, so that, is it correct to say, that those in charge here in Washington have invited propoganda for the purpose of stirring up strife between capital and labor and between the races?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. Would you say those in charge here in Washington, or some in charge?

Mrs. LAZELL. Some in charge.

Mr. MASON. Undoubtedly some of them down there are clean.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir. Mr. George Cronin, who was associate director with Mr. Alsberg, until last November, was demoted. I think you should subpoena Mr. Cronin. They made a lot of fuss about it. He was named associate director with Joe Baker, with Henry. He made a fine stand.

Mr. MASON. Was he demoted because he protested?

Mrs. LAZELL. He protested openly at several meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have covered the situation in those States. You have tried to do a clean job, but have received orders from the national office to send in more of that kind of material.

Mrs. LAZELL. More material on labor and strikes. Almost every day we get them. I said to one person, "You do not realize that you are hurting labor." Labor is in serious war with capital. I know there are fine labor people who will object to this stuff.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you have covered all of the States except California: Now tell us what you found with reference to California.

Mrs. LAZELL. As to California, I have something in writing here. This is the statement I have. This is something that will happen later, but I will give it to you. I hope you will use it without quoting it. If you quote it, it simply means my job. I am on this Federal Writers job under Henry Alsberg, and I will do the job as long as I can do it honestly. When the California copy is going through, I think that will be the time that I may not continue. The National Almanac for Thirty-Niners is going through. We are getting out that Almanac. The Almanac is coming out. The Almanac for Thirty-Niners is the predecessor of the Guide. This thing appears in it, without rhyme or reason. This is an opportunity which Henry Alsberg has taken, and this is an item which will show what I am up against right now.

The CHAIRMAN. What was to appear in it?

Mrs. LAZELL. I have the language here. On pages 9 and 10, directly following Saturday, January 28, is a letter and comment on the Mooney trial that I said that we should not on any account print. This is a letter and comment on the Mooney trial, which I quoted to Mr. Alsberg. I stated that it was something that we should on no account print in this Government publication. It was quoted from the Historic Document Department, which is one of our departments. The letter, with bad spelling and all, is as follows:

GRAYVILLE, ILL.

Mr. ED RIGALL,

DEAR ED: Has been a long time since I hurd from you. I have a chance for you to cum to San Frico as a Expert Wittnes in a very important case, you will only haf to answer 3 & 4 questions and I will Post you on them. You will get milegag and all that a witness can draw. Proibly 100 in the clear. So if you will come ans me quik in care of this Hotel And I will mänge the Balance. It is all OK but I need a wittense. Let me know if you can come, Jan. 3, is the dait set for trile. Please keep this confidential.

Answer hear,

Yours truly

F. C. OXMAN.

The "very important case" was the Preparedness Day bombing trial of January 1917, which sent San Francisco labor leader, Thomas J. Mooney, to prison for life. State's chief witness against Mooney was F. C. Oxman.

Imagine that appearing in a Government publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that an authentic letter?

Mrs. LAZELL. How do we know? It was being printed, and it came from our historic document department. Mr. Alsberg called me, and Mr. Coy was there on one side. He is in California a part of the time. Alsberg said, "I am very sorry." I thought we were coming to the end of the row with him. He said, "I am sorry you have agreed with Mrs. Lazell." He said this is a very serious matter. He said, "Take it out, but be sure, though, that the whole account be printed in the San Francisco Guide."

That has not gone through yet, and the proof of my position will be the California Guide. Mr. Alsberg will see to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you furnish us a copy of the California Guide when it is completed?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; they are doing work on it now. There is one more thing about this: They give the story of the Massacre of the Innocents, and of the funeral afterward. I suggested that the line reading, "Floral offerings from the police were returned," be deleted. That should be cut out, and it should be smoothed down.

Mr. MASON. Your statement is that such material is to be in the California Guide?

Mrs. LAZELL. Such material and more of it may appear in the California Guide. Mrs. Woodward sent me to do this job, and she is no "red."

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go to California?

Mrs. LAZELL. No, sir; I have been editing it as this material comes in. If this goes out, my job is gone. I can prove that by the Guide when it comes out. Until it comes to me, this "red" stuff stays in. Henry Alsberg let the New Jersey stuff remain mostly until it got to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Has Henry Alsberg ever made any statement to you that would lead you to believe that he was a Communist sympathizer? We want you to tell us exactly the truth. We are not going to give publicity to your testimony at this time, but, of course, eventually it will have to come out.

Mrs. LAZELL. All right; it is my job.

The CHAIRMAN. This committee will do everything in its power to protect you against discharge. If any effort is made to discharge you, the entire committee will protest it to the whole country.

Mrs. LAZELL. I will give you a perfect example of a thing that happened.

The CHAIRMAN. You tell us frankly and candidly the whole truth, and this committee will do everything in its power to see that you are not punished for it.

Mrs. LAZELL. I think the grand attack will be made on the other thing anyway. Wherever I have been in these 4 years, I have tried to be American in what I did. Last spring a little book from South Dakota, called Unfinished Histories, that was published at Mitchell, S. Dak., came up. It was just about little incidents at little towns. It was sent in, and I read the proofs. The stuff was badly marked up. About 6 weeks later, the page proofs came through. This was the first and only time they rejected the radical thing about the book. I did not read the manuscript carefully, word for word, and I put my O. K. on Unfinished Histories without realizing there was matter in it that was not in the other; but a little later I was called up before Mr. Alsberg's assistant, and they were very much upset. There was a little article in it called Home Guards that showed how a bunch of citizens got together and chased the I. W. W. out of town. To them that was horrible. There was nothing horrible about it. In fact, it was rather humorous. Nobody was hurt or killed, but Mr. Alsberg was shocked. This must be suppressed! He said, "What will the New Masses say if they get hold of it?"

The CHAIRMAN. That is what he said to you?

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The New Masses is a well-known Communist publication.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; that was suppressed because of that one story, and a revised edition is out now. The story is out now, with no other change.

Mr. MASON. In all these other publications, they have encouraged the selection of accounts of atrocities.

Mrs. LAZELL. Yes, sir; but they were shocked when some good Americans chased a bunch of toughs out of town.

We have quoted at length from the testimony of Mrs. Louise Lazell because we think that in view of her position with the Federal Writers Project, she is in a position to speak authoritatively.

Another witness who testified in executive session was Mr. Jeremiah Tax, who reads proof for the Federal Writers Project. Because of the importance of this testimony, we are setting it forth. * * *

Mr. TAX. I read material that goes into the guide books which have already been set up in proof form, in galley proof form or page proof form.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the testimony of the two preceding witnesses, have you not?

Mr. TAX. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What can you add to that testimony?

Mr. TAX. I cannot add anything in fact, because anything that I have noted in the galleys and in the material that was to go into the guide books, I have taken up with Mrs. Shreve and she has made copies of all of them, and she has given her testimony. All I can add is that I can answer "yes" to every question that you have asked, on whether or not the stirring up of race hatred and the stirring up of class struggle between labor and capital, between the working classes and the owning classes, is being disseminated in the United States through those guides. I can answer "yes" to that every time.

I have read proof of the Minnesota Guide Book, the Montana Guide Book, and the New Jersey Guide Book, and in each instance I have noticed the insertion of material which definitely had no place in a Government book, specifically for the purpose of printing facts.

In every one of those books I have noticed, not only in the essays which deal with labor or with commerce or with industry, but throughout all the books, throughout the tours, descriptions of buildings, descriptions of monuments, there is inserted definite, absolute propaganda for the labor movement against capital and toward stirring up hatred between the two classes. And as I have noted these things I have given them to Mrs. Shreve and she has told you what she has done with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they appeared notwithstanding, most of them?

Mr. TAX. I have only read proof on three books and none of those books has been printed yet, I believe; the Minnesota, the New Jersey, and the Montana books.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with what communism is, are you not?

Mr. TAX. Oh, yes, indeed.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with the tactics and strategies of the Communists?

Mr. TAX. I certainly am. A member of my family is a member of the party. That is why I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you familiar with their propaganda and the language that they use?

Mr. TAX. I have read it all.

The CHAIRMAN. And their phraseology?

Mr. TAX. Exactly. That is one other thing I wanted to mention.

The CHAIRMAN. How does the Communist phraseology and tactics and strategy compare with what has been inserted in these guidebooks that you have read?

Mr. TAX. I have noticed, especially in the New Jersey Guide Book, in the labor essay, where expressions like overtime work, and the like, ordinary, every-day words in usage in the English language, have been deleted, and expressions like "the stretch-out," which means compulsory overtime work, have been used. Each time the New Jersey people have used in their labor essays, simple, ordinary language on the subject, they have been changed.

The CHAIRMAN. To a communistic phraseology?

Mr. TAX. To a communistic phraseology; I would say in all cases, but if not in all cases, certainly in the labor phraseology. It has not been impartial phraseology.

The chief horror of this whole thing to me is not whether or not we can actually prove these things exist, whether we can give you documents or not, but that a situation does exist in what is manifestly a relief project, sponsored by the Government of the United States with money taken from its Treasury, which is put into the Treasury by the taxpayers—that such a situation can exist where people trying to put out a clean set of books, setting forth American institutions, describing them and describing legal set-ups—that that has to be the subject of direct Communistic attack and propagandizing.

I do not believe it has been mentioned before, but in the New Jersey Guide Book there is a criticism of the legislative set-up. The legislative set-up in New Jersey is patterned exactly after the legislative set-up of the United States of America. That is, there is one house, the senate, and one house, the house of

representatives; one which is based on equal representation, that is a certain number, two senators from each State and one senator from each county in the State, and the other representations as to population. There is a direct criticism of that form of government in New Jersey, because it does not lead to adequate representation of the counties in New Jersey which have more population than the others. In other words, it is a direct criticism of the form of Government of the United States, implying that a State like Nevada should not merit two senators in one house and a representative or one or two representatives in the lower house. That is a direct criticism of the New Jersey legislative system. There is no reference made to the United States Government system, but the two are patterned exactly alike.

Mr. MASON. May I ask why was criticism of the form of government in New Jersey dragged into a guidebook?

Mr. TAX. That is my point. It had no place there to begin with. These guidebooks are for the purpose of describing America. They are for the purpose of describing the American Government, American buildings, American history, the American labor movement, the history and development of American culture, art, and literature.

Mr. MASON. And not criticizing it?

Mr. TAX. And not criticizing it; well, criticism according to a proofreader's point of view is editorializing. It is just as unfair to say criticism; that is editorializing. And in New Jersey there is direct editorializing on the subject of the form of government of the State, and not describing it.

Mr. MASON. May I ask if the New Jersey Guide Book is now in print?

Mr. TAX. It is in type; that is, proofs have been pulled.

Mr. MASON. Are there any of these guidebooks that you people have been talking about, where this material has been inserted, now in print so that we can get the finished copy?

Mr. TAX. So far as I am concerned, I would very gladly bring them here. I was perfectly willing, when I read the New Jersey Guide Book, to take those galleys out of the office and bring them back. My position up there is a little unique, as compared with Mrs. Lazell's and Mrs. Shreve's, in that I am on the W. P. A. rolls; my salary up there amounts to about \$19 a week, the loss of which, while it would mean an awful lot to me at the present time, is not sufficient to soothe my conscience, or anything like that, and I would be perfectly willing, if I could—I do not know whether those things are still there—take them out of the office and bring them here, either for copying or for transcription or for—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you would not want to violate any law, and the committee would not have you do that. I doubt seriously if they will ever be printed in view of this investigation, Mr. Mason.

Is there anything else you can add, Mr. Tax?

Mr. TAX. On the subject of phraseology; yes. In all three of the guidebooks that I have read, the labor essay is premised—the premise of the labor essay is that the history of labor in all of these States has been a struggle and a war between, on the one hand, capital, and, on the other hand, labor. That is, there is no attempt to give the history, but rather for you to look at the history through the premise that at the bottom it is all a struggle or a war between two factions, and not a development, not a business of cooperation, not a question of mediation.

There is direct criticism in the New Jersey Guide of a labor organization called the Knights of Labor, the death of which organization it is stated in the New Jersey Guide is attributed to the fact that they favored conciliation rather than militancy. That is still in the Guide, the last time I saw it. That is the whole premise behind anything of any communistic nature that goes in there, that you must see it—

Mr. MASON. As a class struggle?

Mr. TAX. As a class struggle, at the bottom. There is no question of the history or of a development of any movement, but as a struggle, a struggle for higher wages, a struggle for the right to strike. That is what I mean by phraseology. Everything follows from there. If you accept the first premise, it is all very logical. It is all very logical for companies to have tear gas in their vaults, and employ people for espionage and employ strikebreakers and have hidden arsenals; it follows very logically, because if there is a war, certainly each side has got to fortify itself. So if you accept the first paragraph of each one of those labor essays, the rest follows logically.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the whole question is presented from the communistic viewpoint and angle rather than from a legitimate labor angle?

Mr. TAX. That is right.

The committee did not have the time or money to investigate fully Communist activities in the National Labor Relations Board. However, we secured and placed in the record an article written by David J. Saposs, who is the chief economist for the National Labor Relations Board. This article, together with other testimony showing that Mr. Saposs was on the executive committee of another organization which was plainly communistic, convinced the committee that Mr. Saposs is either a Communist or is sympathetic with the Communist teachings. From his own expressions and activities, it is impossible to reach any other conclusion. When it is considered that Mr. David J. Saposs occupies one of the key positions in the National Labor Relations Board, and that he was publicly defended by Mr. Warren Madden, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, a most astonishing situation is presented. In defending Mr. Saposs, Mr. Madden places a stamp of approval upon Mr. Saposs' expressions of Communist views, and his activities along this line which creates a grave doubt with regard to the National Labor Relations Board in view of these facts. This committee believes that the National Labor Relations Board should be subjected to a thorough investigation for the purpose of determining to what extent the members of the Board and its employees approve of the Communist views expressed by Mr. Saposs. If Mr. Saposs expresses the economic views of the majority of the Board and the employees administering this act, then the country is confronted with a very grave situation. The very fact that Mr. Saposs holds these views and has engaged in these activities is bad enough when we consider the key position he holds, but worse than this is the fact that J. Warren Madden, chairman of the Board, defended the views and activities of Mr. Saposs and thereby placed himself, if not the Board, in the light of endorsing the views and activities of Mr. Saposs. Because of the importance of this, we are setting forth in full the article written by David J. Saposs in *Labor Age*, in the issue of December 1931, which follows:

LEFT OPPOSITION IN THE LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

By D. J. SAPOSS

A small minority in the Fourth Congress of the Labor and Socialist International held in Vienna from July 4 to August 1, led by the British Independent Labor Party, took issue with the overwhelming majority. The differences were not so much over fundamental principles as over the mode of procedure. The minority demanded more positive, energetic, and uncompromising action in the attempt of the Socialists to cope with the present world ailments. Its spokesmen maintained that economic conditions are ripe for socialism and that the International should, therefore, direct its forces for the immediate overthrow of capitalism. Instead of taking this positive position, the majority favors temporizing. This is a fallacious attitude; the Socialist movement must tell the people that capitalism cannot be stabilized and that the world cannot be saved by capitalist devices.

The opposition further demanded that the International state definitely that its program of action means "a declaration of uncompromising war on capitalism." It wanted the International to emphasize the urgent need of the workers to rally around the "Socialist movement in order to achieve international socialism." Hence, it is imperative that the International unequivocally reject the present "policy of toleration and of cooperation with capitalist parties," because such a policy "always results in maintaining the principle of the capitalist system."

As for democracy, the opposition also wants to safeguard it. But bourgeois democracy is a sham. When it is evident that socialism is the only remedy, it is not worth saving a democracy in which Socialist parties only collaborate with capitalism. In this connection the oppositional so called attention to the fact

that fascism has grown side by side with coalition governments in which Socialists participated. Thus, the dilatory procedure of the majority Socialists is enabling the reactionary forces to entrench themselves. Consequently, when the majority says it will resort to force only if obstructionist tactics are resorted to by the capitalists and the reactionary forces, it is only waiting until the harm is done before it acts. As conditions stand now, slow-going democracy involves the workers in suffering and their leaders in shifty compromises. From a revolutionary point of view, democracy means meeting the situation and not running away from it by forming coalitions with bourgeois governments.

One of the chief spokesmen for the opposition ended by proclaiming "that the only way out of the present situation is to raise the banner for a new social order; and, if that is done, socialism will be gotten without a catastrophe."

In similar terms the minority attacked the attitude of the majority on war and disarmament. It asserted that the dangers of war were greater now than at any time since the peace treaties were signed. Moreover, it had no confidence in the League of Nations or the Geneva Disarmament Commission, since they are dominated by the imperialistic powers. What the international socialist movement must do is to appeal to the workers and not to governments. It must take the position that socialists cannot support any war. There must be no compromise with war any more than there must be compromise with capitalist parties in parliament. Socialists must always vote against military credits, and when they come in control of government they must set the example by disarming. If in the attempt to carry out such a program political action fails then the workers must unhesitatingly resort to organized force. The International must take the position that if another war occurs the workers will destroy capitalism. With that end in view, the workers must be prepared to stretch arms across the frontiers in case of war and definitely win power for themselves.

The Congress was unevenly divided in voting strength. On all divisions the majority overwhelmingly outvoted the opposition. All the old and outstanding leaders were on the side of the majority, whereas the minority leaders consisted of some of the well-known newer and, par consequent, younger men in the movement. This Left opposition in the Socialist International has just appeared and was not well organized. Also, because of the provision making it possible for delegations to resort to the unit rule it is difficult to estimate its exact strength. This factor is illustrated by the procedure of the American delegation. Although a militant minority presented its view in delegation meetings, the entire delegation is recorded as voting with the majority.

The difference between the majority and opposition is one that has agitated the radical movements since their advent. Hence, in debates the fundamental issue was between cautious and slow against energetic and forceful procedure in order to remedy conditions and to attain socialism. The overwhelming majority counseled moderation and cooperation with the democratic and bourgeois liberal elements, working at the same time for a gradual introduction of socialism. To them the need of checkmating fascism was the chief concern since democracy is the vehicle upon which socialism will gradually reach its aspired goal.

The small minority, on the other hand, demanded militant action that would primarily wage battle on the enemy, capitalism, instead of using up too much energy in cooperating with the uncertain capitalist forces no matter how liberal and democratic they may be. And instead of only resisting the advance of fascism through maneuvers, they would immediately wage battle on the entire front, since fascism is but a foil of capitalism.

It would seem that both elements favor aggressive action. The majority, however, emphasizes militancy in defense of gains already made by labor, as well as in defense of democracy and against fascism and dictatorship. In contrast to the defensive militancy of the majority, the minority stresses the need of an offensive against capitalism by initiating an immediate struggle for the rapid achievement of socialism. It is for this reason that they are opposed to Socialists participating in coalition governments, in placing faith in the League of Nations, in agitating and petitioning against war, and in trusting liberal, capitalistic, and democratic elements.

We also set forth the following testimony of Mr. J. B. Matthews with reference to D. J. Saposs:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matthews, you gave to the committee some several weeks ago an article written by David J. Saposs, chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board, appearing in *Labor Age*, December 1931 issue.

Since that time, it has been contended that this was a report, rather than an expression of views on the part of Mr. Saposs. Now, will you proceed with your

statement, giving us your additional information as to his membership in an organization, and the preamble of the organization, its platform—what it stood for—and what part he played in that organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the time of his writing of the article which was introduced several days ago, Mr. Saposs was a member of the national executive committee of an organization known as the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. His membership on the national executive committee of that organization is noted in Labor Age, September 1932, page 5.

The CHAIRMAN. Now here [exhibiting] is the magazine Labor Age and here is the list of the national executive committee. It gives quite a number of names and the name of David J. Saposs is listed as a member of the executive committee, an officer.

This is the magazine, is it not [indicating]?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. We offer this in evidence and will let this go in the record.

(The issue of September 1932 of Labor Age was marked "Exhibit No. 1, Matthews" and filed with the committee.)

Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the official "Statement of purpose" of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, all members of the organization were required "To accept the fundamental aims of the organization and to carry out such policies as may be adopted by the organization."

The CHAIRMAN. From where is that statement taken?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That statement appears in Labor Age, November 1931, page 26.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, here I have the November 1931 issue, containing "Statement of purpose. Conference for Progressive Labor Action." It reads:

"1. To accept the fundamental aims of the organization and to carry out such policies as may be adopted by the organization."

Is that what you refer to?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

(The November 1931 issue of Labor Age was marked "Exhibit No. 2, Matthews" and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is clear, therefore, that in his position as a member of the national executive committee, Mr. Saposs subscribed to the preamble to the constitution of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, which preamble you will find in Labor Age, September 1932, page 5 (Exhibit Matthews No. 1).

The CHAIRMAN. Quote from it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading): "Planless, profiteering, war-provoking, imperialistic capitalism must be abolished. Sham political democracy which has been the tool of capitalist business and finance must also go. We must have a workers' republic and a planned economic order under which the masses will labor to create plenty, security, leisure, and freedom for themselves, not profits, privilege and arbitrary power for a few.

"The job of abolishing capitalism and building a new social order must be done by the workers—industrial, agricultural, clerical, technical, professional—who stand to gain, materially and spiritually, by the change. We, the workers, must ourselves provide the revolutionary will, the courage and the intelligence for the task.

"To realize our aim we must achieve power. To gain power, we must organize.

"Effective working-class organization in the modern world consists not merely of militant industrial unions, or farmers' unions, or a labor political party, or cooperative enterprises, or educational agencies, but of all these fused into a living movement advancing on all fronts, toward its goal of a new society.

"Above all, those movements of the working masses must be imbued with the will and the courage to fight. We do not delude ourselves with the notion that under present conditions the people have genuine democracy and have but to vote a new order into being if they so desire. The schools, the press, the radio, the pulpit, the courts, the police, the control of the job, are almost entirely in the hands of the possessing class. Though it may consent occasionally to slight reforms, provided it retains the reality of power and the right to profits, for the most part it makes increasing lawless and violent use of the institutions which it controls. Unless, therefore, we choose submission to a Fascist dictatorship of big business and finance, the masses must oppose this lawlessness and tyranny by struggle on every front and by realistic and courageous use of the means which will accomplish their final emancipation. They must depend on their organized strength, not on the machinery of a capitalistic government.

"As always, so now in this crucial period in the history of the American working class, the responsibility of giving inspiration, help, and leadership to the masses in their struggle rests upon the active, devoted, militant workers. These active elements in order to be effective must know each other, must train themselves to do real work, must plan and act together and not in a haphazard fashion.

"The C. P. L. A. has therefore been formed in the United States of America, the very stronghold of capitalism and imperialism, to band militant workers together. It is an organization of militants, which talks to American workers in their own language about their own problems, which brings them help and inspiration in their daily struggle with the boss, which seeks in every way and on every front to unify and build up the power of labor, so that the workers may take control of industry and government, abolish the system which makes cannon fodder in time of peace, and build a sane and just economic system and a workers' republic to be united in bonds of comradeship with workers' republics throughout the world."

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is on page 5 here of Labor Age, and you have read it exactly from that. Do any of you gentlemen care to see the publication; is there any question about it?

(No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you want the other excerpts?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the language of the preamble, it will be seen that Mr. Saposs' own avowed views, not his "objective reporting," parallel in almost identical language the excerpts to which attention has been called in his article. This preamble said, "* * * Capitalism must be abolished. It cannot be reformed. Sham political democracy which has been the tool of capitalist business and finance must also go. We must have a workers' republic and a planned economic order * * *."

The Conference for Progressive Labor Action published a weekly newspaper called Labor Action. You have a copy of that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I have it here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You will find, on page 3, I was foreign news editor of that publication.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us look and see if you were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 3, I think it is.

The CHAIRMAN (reading). "Foreign News. By J. B. Matthews."

You were foreign news editor and the editorial board was Louis F. Budenz—

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is now the editor of the Communist newspaper in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that newspaper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Midwest Daily.

The CHAIRMAN. E. J. Lever—do you know who he is?

Mr. MATTHEWS. C. I. O. organizer for the State of New Jersey.

The CHAIRMAN. Karl Lore?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know where he is now.

The CHAIRMAN. Herman Gund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know where he is now.

The CHAIRMAN. J. B. S. Hardman?

Mr. MATTHEWS. J. B. S. Hardman is editor of the paper of the Almagamated Clothing Workers of America.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry A. Howe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is working in the Communist Party at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. E. R. McKinney?

Mr. MATTHEWS. E. R. McKinney is organizing in the steel for the Communist Party and the C. I. O. at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. David J. Saposs, or D. J. Saposs?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know where he is.

The CHAIRMAN. A. J. Muste?

Mr. MATTHEWS. A. J. Muste was the leader of this group. He has left it; the group has dissolved, and he is now pastor of Labor Temple, in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a well-known Communist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was never a member of the party, but his views are known to be well-known Communist views.

The CHAIRMAN. He has a great many articles, I see, in Fight and other magazines which we have possession of?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In that group I have read, which ones do you know to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You will have to read them again.

The CHAIRMAN. Louis F. Rudenz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. He is a well-known member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. E. J. Lever?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Lore?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know about him now.

The CHAIRMAN. Herman Gund?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know about him.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know about J. S. B. Hardman?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is not a member.

The CHAIRMAN. Harry A. Howe?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. E. R. McKinney?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is.

The CHAIRMAN. And A. J. Muste—you have already told about him?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So that the views expressed by Mr. Saposs in the article introduced several weeks ago, coincide with this platform and the objectives of this organization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To which he was required to subscribe personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the issue of Labor Action of January 21, 1933, which you have in your hands, D. J. Saposs is listed as a member of the editorial board. On that same page, you will find in an editorial statement the following language:

"* * * You know that there is a remedy for this plague"—

The CHAIRMAN. Where is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is underscored in red. It is an editorial statement in the middle at the bottom of the page.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; now read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading): "* * * You know that there is a remedy for this plague, this T. B. of capitalism, a remedy that only the workers as a class can ever apply * * *"

That is an editorial statement, as you will see, and presumably had the approval of the editorial board, of which Mr. Saposs was a member. One of the points in the platform of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, to which Mr. Saposs, as a member of the National Executive Committee, subscribed, reads as follows:

"* * * Active efforts to develop a militant left wing political organization to carry on the work of education and agitation which is necessary for the building of a mass labor party, and working with such a mass labor party once it is formed, in order that it may not fall into opportunism, but may advance as swiftly and steadily as possible to its true goal, the complete abolition of planless, profiteering capitalism, and the building of a workers' republic. The C. P.-L. A. aims to function as such a militant left wing political organization." * * *

That is in Labor Age, November 1931, page 26.

The CHAIRMAN. I notice in this paper, Labor Action, they have a picture entitled "Look Around You, Mr. Green" and under the picture appears: "News item: President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor assures Cincinnati reporters that racketeers have practically disappeared from A. F. of L. unions. Mr. Green was attending the annual convention of the labor organization in this city."

Now here is a cartoon [exhibiting] and it shows on the platform Mr. Green speaking, and back of him, a number of people, one of whom just has a resemblance to someone I have seen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The implication, of course, is clear that the five gentlemen seated behind Mr. Green are labor racketeers.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that cartoon show Mr. Lewis as one of them without his being designated as one of them?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think the very left-hand figure there is undoubtedly intended to represent the present head of the C. I. O.

(The paper entitled "Labor Action," January 1933, was marked "Exhibit No. 3—Matthews," and filed with the committee.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any questions?

Mr. THOMAS. About Mr. Saposs. Where was he born?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I do not recall at the moment the exact place of his birth. I have known it, but it has slipped my mind.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he born in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; he was born in Russia.

Mr. THOMAS. He was born in Russia?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know how long he has been in the United States?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, I don't.

Mr. THOMAS. It is not clear to me, also, just what his position is at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. His official designation, as I understand it, is chief economist of the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. THOMAS. How long has he held that position—do you know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, I don't.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it a recent appointment, or has he held it for some time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. To my knowledge, he has held it for 2 years; I don't know how much longer.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all the questions I have.

Mr. Paul Sifton is at present the Assistant Administrator of the new Wages and Hours Administration. He occupies a key position in this important Administration. We, therefore, think it pertinent to quote from the testimony of J. B. Matthews with reference to Mr. Sifton.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a copy of the first issue of Fight Magazine, of which Joseph Pass was editor. A box on the second page designates me as chairman, William Pickens as vice president, and Donald Henderson as secretary. Even a casual examination of that first issue of the magazine will disclose the Communist character of the publication. For example, the first article is by Henri Barbusse, the well-known Communist. The second article, entitled "Cuba," is by Martin Kaye, also a well-known Communist; a third article is by Langston Hughes, the Negro poet, and well-known Communist. The fourth article is by John Strachey, who denies that he is a Communist. The next article is by Nan Lee, who is a Communist, and I find that I contributed an article entitled "Germany and the War Peril." Then there is a cartoon by the well-known cartoonist for New Masses and the Daily Worker, Gropper. Next is an article by Roger Baldwin, and then an article by Harold Hickerson. There is another by Joe Shields, who writes for the Daily Worker.

I want to call attention to an article by Paul Sifton. Paul Sifton is at present the assistant administrator of the new Wages and Hours Administration. He is assistant to Mr. Andrews, and I think the record should have what Mr. Sifton wrote in this first issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; put it in. In view of the important position he holds in the new wages and hours organization, I think it is well to know how he feels.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Among other things, he said this:

"Tell them you know that they know they're sunk unless they can start a war to make their \$200,000,000,000 in debts look better than a trainload of waste paper; tell them they and their fancy pieces of paper and the whole capitalist shell game can sink and be damned.

"Tell them that we've got another war on, closer home, a war to establish a workers' peace, a workers' government.

"(They know this anyway, but they hate to be told.)

"If you want to make it snappy, tell them that workers have been played for saps long enough. Tell them to go to hell. Then make it stick."

The CHAIRMAN. That was in the first issue of this publication Fight, which was the official organ for the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. You read in the record this morning a statement by Mr. Sifton, now an assistant under Mr. Andrews, the head of the Wages and Hours Board. Read us some more of some of the things that Mr. Sifton said. What is his first name?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Paul. Here is an article entitled, "Uncle Sam Wants You."

The CHAIRMAN. You also have some things written by another Paul, have you not? You might read that in a few minutes. But go ahead with what you started to read.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It says:

"Hey, there, big boy, Uncle Sam wants you for the next war. He wants you to take \$30 a month (less payments for bonds and thrift stamps, and so on) for doing this:

"Saying, 'Yes, sir,' to bright boys in officers' pink pants.

"Packing 60 pounds of clothes, shoes, hardware, and food on your back through mud, ice, dust, and heat.

"Digging trenches in the ground like a half-witted woodchuck while your family back home scratches around for food and fuel.

"Shooting holes in men like yourself across a line.

"Getting wounded yourself, in the leg, or arm or chest or guts.

"Getting gassed so that your skin curls up like bacon on a fire and you cough up your lungs.

"Dying all at once or by inches or maybe living to stand in bread lines after it's over."

How's that? "Like hell!", you say? Then speak up—say it now. Say it loud. Back it up with action before "the leading citizens" can get the war started, before they begin slapping you around with bayonets.

"You do the leading; set the fat boys back on their bottoms and keep them there; keep them blocking; keep them ducking; don't let them tie you up with their bull about patriotism.

"Ask them how close to the front they got in the last war—in any war; ask them how much money they made while you, or your brother or father, were fighting to make the world safe for Mellon and Insull and Krueger and Krupp.

"Don't be a mug. Make up your mind what you want and then go after it. The fat boys won't thank you, but you can look yourself, your wife, and your children in the face. And the chances are that you'll live a damn sight longer and better."

I quoted the rest of the article this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Read that; I want to get that into the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It says:

"Tell them that we've got another war on, closer home, a war to establish a workers' peace, a workers' government.

"(They know this anyway, but they hate to be told.)

"If you want to make it snappy, just tell them that workers have been played for saps long enough. Tell them to go to hell."

7. COMMUNIST PENETRATION OF LABOR UNIONS

In 1924 a statement of the United Mine Workers of America was printed as Senate Document No. 14 of the Sixty-eighth Congress. Because the predictions set forth in this historic document have come true in so many instances, as revealed by the evidence received by our committee, we desire to set forth excerpts from that document. Among other things, the United Mine Workers in their statement said:

The United Mine Workers of America with this article begins an "expose" of the Communist revolutionary movement in America, as promoted and fostered by the Communist International at Moscow, and dealing with it as it involves the welfare of the miners' union, and other similar labor organizations, and the interests of the American people as a whole.

The purpose and object of the United Mine Workers of America in bringing to the attention of the American people the far-reaching and intensive activities of the Communist organization in this country is twofold. The United Mine Workers of America wants the public to know what this thing is. It wants the public to know something about the fight which the miners' union is waging to stamp it out. First, it desires to reveal and make known the sinister and destructive groups and elements attempting to "bore from within" its own ranks and membership and to seize possession of the organization, and through such seizure to later gain possession of all legitimate trade unions; second, to inform the American people of the scope and purport of the hostile and inimical movement being carried on within their midst. * * *

The major points in this revolutionary program of the Communists as aimed against the United Mine Workers of America and other legitimate trade unions and the people of the United States and Canada are:

1. Overthrow and destruction of the Federal, State, and Provincial governments, with the elimination of existing constitutional forms and foundations.

2. Establishment of a Soviet dictatorship, absolute in its exercise of power, owing allegiance to and conceding the authority only of the Communist or Third International at Moscow as a "governmental" substitute.

3. Destruction of all social, economic, and political institutions as they exist at this time.

4. Seizure of all labor unions through a process of boring from within them, and utilizing them as a strategic instrument in fulfillment of their revolutionary designs upon organized and constitutional government.

5. Invasion of the United Mine Workers of America, with the ouster of its present officials and leaders and the substitution of a leadership of Communists, that it may be used as an instrumentality for seizing the other labor unions of America, and for eventually taking possession of the country.

6. A well-organized movement is being promoted within the 4 railroad brotherhoods and 16 railroad trade unions to amalgamate all railroad workers into one departmentalized industrial union controlled by a single leader of Communist principles and affiliation and owing allegiance to the Communist organization.

7. Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials, and through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated units and trade-unions.

8. Conversion of all craft trade-unions into single units of workers within an industry known as "industrial unions," with coordination under a super-Soviet union owing allegiance to, and accepting the mandates of, the Communist International and its subsidiary, the Red Trade Union International, at Moscow.

Now quoting further from the report:

Immediately before the start of the miner's strike on April 1, 1922, the sum of \$1,110,000 was sent into the United States, by way of Canada, from Moscow for the purpose of enabling the Communist agents to participate in the strike. Behind this move was the scheme to overthrow the leadership of the union and then convert the strike into an "armed insurrection" against the Government of the United States. * * * Three times in 3 years the Bolshevik leaders at Moscow have attempted armed insurrection and revolution in the United States.

* * * In each of these strikes the Communist agents, working under instruction which originated at Moscow, have sought to turn them into revolutionary uprisings that would accomplish the overthrow of government in America and establish in its place a proletarian dictatorship that recognized and accepted only the mandates of the Communist International. * * * They have been particularly active in trying to "bore from within" the United Mine Workers of America for the reasons that it is the largest single labor organization in the country, includes a larger number of races and nationalities among its members, and is the nearest approach, in their opinion, to one big union, which is their ideal conception of a labor union, and their objective for all labor unions. * * * In this attempt these Communists have met with the determined opposition of President Lewis and other strong leaders of the miners' union, who are determined that the union shall not be converted into a Bolshevik institution. * * *

In these unions they have recognized an opportunity to get in close contact with the labor masses, establish relations and connections with them, and imbue them with hatred and hostility toward the existing order of things. * * * Officials of the miners' union had known for a long while that the time was approaching when the strength and cohesion of their organization would be sorely tried.

* * * Late in 1920 the Communist coterie at Moscow decided to launch a new movement in America to capture the trade-unions. Their effort through their political branches to bring about an uprising in conjunction with the steel strike in 1919 and the "outlaw" switchmen's strike in 1920 had resulted in failure. Samuel Gompers, with stinging denunciation, had driven back the wave of communism in the unions. In only one industry, the so-called needle trades, had the Communist movement met with any degree of success, but these organizations were isolated from the rest of the labor movement. It was therefore manifest that victory in America could not be achieved solely through the mediumship of the existing Communist political units. A readjustment was necessary and it was made. A separate organization, fashioned as a national labor movement, intended to work within the unions as a part of them—employing the process of "boring from within"—was put into the field. Samuel Gompers, they hoped, would be overwhelmed by it, for it was apparent that with his unyielding opposition the American Federation of Labor could never be seized or controlled by them as long as he remained in it.

With these objects in view, Zinoviev, Losowsky, and Lenin proceeded during the next 12 months to organize the Trade Union Edu-

educational League. This project was put under the control of and made amenable, as far as its work was concerned, to the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, and it remains so today. William Z. Foster was selected to lead this movement. In the spring of 1921 he went to Russia, and the understanding was that he went there to get his instructions for the organization of the Trade Union Educational League, gather facts about the Communist work in Soviet Russia, the functioning of Communist ideas and theories, and learn how the officials of the Communist International wanted these ideas and theories applied in America through the Trade Union Educational League.

On pages 156 and 157 of the record of the hearings of our committee will be found the Communist instructions as set forth in Senate Document No. 14. We suggest that the entire Senate Document No. 14 be read because it reveals the definite beginning of the Communist policy of "boring from within" the labor unions. It describes the plan of the Communists and their activities at that time to seize control of strategic positions within labor unions in the mass-production industries.

In the 1926 convention of the American Federation of Labor, Delegate John L. Lewis made a very strong statement, which is taken from the minutes of the convention verbatim. It reads:

I question and seriously doubt that the average trade-unionist is particularly concerned with the manner in which the people of Russia govern themselves and direct their own destiny. We are fundamentally concerned, however, when that interest which now exerts a dictatorship over 130,000,000 people in Russia systematically and persistently attempts to impose their philosophy and impose their theories of government and impose their own particular machinery and their own specific ideas upon the workers of all the other countries of the civilized world. And there is the precise hub of this entire situation. When it comes to pass, as it has come to pass and as it now exists, that the people of Russia are being taxed and their moneys are taken from them to finance and pay for expensive propaganda in America for the precise purpose of controlling the basic trade-union movement, then it is indeed time for the trade-unionists of this country to awaken to the necessity of the protection of their own affairs and the maintenance of the institutions which they erected throughout the land. This is not the first experience of the United Mine Workers with Communist activity. For years past our union has been subject to their deceitful attacks, to the intrigues and to their conspiracy. Many of you will remember that 3 or 4 years ago the United Mine Workers of America published a résumé of Communist activities in America.

Thus we have seen what the United Mine Workers and John L. Lewis had to say with reference to the policy and practice of the Communist in "boring from within" the trade-union movement. Let us now see what the Communists had to say.

On November 16, 1935, Jack Stachel sent the following directions or instructions to the districts—not to the members but to the district organizers of the Communist Party:

1. The fifty-fifth convention marked the beginning of the decline of the extreme right wing of the executive council of the A. F. of L. The forced resignation of Wolf from the Civic Federation, the 11,000 votes cast for the industrial form of organization, and the final vote for a labor party showed that the militancy of the rank and file is cracking through the hard crust of upper officialdom precisely in the decisive sections of organized labor, and is aggravating the contradiction in which the top bureaucrats are involved. Although the bureaucrats are fighting among themselves for power upon the control of the executive council, their struggles, at times verging on savagery, are in response to the tremendous pressure being brought to bear upon them by the rank and file, led by an increasingly more conscious and more efficient rank-and-file leadership which in turn is forcing to the fore the most advanced progressive forces (local officials).

This condition alone is responsible for the militant character and progressive moods of the convention. The fifty-fifth convention was different from any other convention of the A. F. of L. since 1917, in that its struggles were based on principles—supplied by the rank and file—and that for the first time in the history of the A. F. of L. its delegates assembled in convention got down to bed-rock issues—the organization of the unorganized.

Although Green succeeded in having an amendment voted to the constitution—an amendment so weakened that it cannot have any effect on any Communist or militant not devoid of a modicum of common sense—even this amendment—entirely for face-saving purposes—must be acted upon by the local and State councils, a majority of whom in the basic industries have gone on record against any such amendment.

The amendment adopted by the convention made it impossible for any member of the Communist Party to be a delegate to a convention of the American Federation of Labor representing a Federal labor union, a central labor union, or a State federation of labor.

The old, conservative leadership of the A. F. of L. is tottering. Although re-elected for another year, its power to sabotage the leftward swing of organized labor has been paralyzed. Henceforth organized labor is definitely on the road toward bitter and gigantic class battles—becoming consciously aware of its increasing revolutionary role.

This set of circumstances opens new, far-reaching perspectives for the party, particularly on the question of united front. The party and the districts must immediately set about to exploit this unprecedented favorable situation (opportunity) by winning over to the party program and tactics (trade-union field) all of the best elements in the A. F. of L., including State officials.

The districts must set themselves the tasks of forging working united fronts with all progressive officials—and those officials who for whatever reason show leftward and (or) progressive tendencies—regardless of their past record—on the following main issues:

1. Labor Party.
2. Industrial form of organization.

At the same time, the struggle to win over the rank and file—united front from below—must become the main task of the factions.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks—the struggle against fascism and war.

The districts, sections, and units must take special care to integrate all their campaigns for united fronts from below and above into their present local and national control tasks: The struggle against fascism and war; hands off Ethiopia; defend the Soviet Union; the fight for a labor party; united labor tickets; the struggle to organize the unorganized; 100 percent union towns; and the organization of the relief workers—"a local for every Works Progress Administration project."

The ORG-DEPT deems it imperative that detailed reports on the manner in which the above directives are being carried out should be sent in weekly to the center.

The resolution adopted at the central committee of the Communist Party meeting, January 15 to 18, 1935, in New York City, and which will be found on pages 180 to 186 of the record of our hearings, will corroborate the instructions issued by Jack Stachel as to the manner in which Communists should infiltrate trade-unions and seize control of strategic positions.

In the Daily Worker, January 13, 1937, will be found an article written by William Z. Foster, which is as follows:

ROLE OF THE C. I. O.

The C. I. O. led so progressively by John L. Lewis, is doing a historically important thing in carrying on its vigorous campaign to organize the armies of exploited workers in the mass-production industries. As we have seen, this campaign has within it possibilities for a fundamental strengthening and reorganization of the whole American labor movement.

The C. I. O. has become the actual leader of the trade-union movement. The executive council of the A. F. of L. has shown itself opposed to this vital organiza-

tion work and, because of its narrow craft union and personal interests, has refused for many years past to do the organizing that the C. I. O. is now undertaking. Had it so desired, the A. F. of L. could have easily organized the steel workers during the war, or during the Coolidge period of prosperity, or during the strike upheavals under the N. R. A. in 1933-34. But the A. F. of L. wanted nothing to do with the organization of the steel workers. And worse yet, now that the C. I. O. unions which are awake to the basic importance of this task to themselves, and all other workers, are proceeding to accomplish the organizing work that the executive council has so long neglected or prevented, the executive council actually suspends them, one-third of the whole labor movement, from the A. F. of L., and thus traitorously splits labor's forces in the face of the enemy. Never, even in the shady history of the A. F. of L., has misleadership sunk to lower levels. The A. F. of L. executive council has surrendered the actual leadership of the trade-unions into the hands of the C. I. O.

The Communist Party heartily supports the C. I. O. organizing campaigns in steel, automobile, rubber, glass, textile, etc., and it mobilizes all its forces to assist in this work. It extends this aid for the same reason that it supports every forward movement of the workers wherever it may originate or what form it may take, whether it be a strike, an organization campaign, the carrying on of independent working class political activity, or whatnot. The Communist Party has no interests apart from those of the working class, and every victory of the workers is a victory for the Communist Party.

William Weinstone, who is a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, wrote a book known as *The Great Sit-Down Strike*. Mr. Weinstone was the district organizer of district No. 7, Communist Party headquarters, Detroit. He was born in Russia; joined the Socialist Party in this country in 1915; one of the first members of the executive committee of the Communist Party. When the central committee was created he became one of the leaders.

In connection with his report on the automobile organizing campaign and the automobile strike, we quote from pages 36, 38, and 45:

In the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself.

What were the activities of the Communists? The Communists and the Communist Party gave the most loyal backing and support to the strike, to the aims, policies, and activities of the union and the C. I. O. The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union and tried in every way possible to properly prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took an outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle.

The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was undoubtedly of great help because thereby a corps of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit-down. The shop form of organization, the shop groups [units], has more than justified itself. Where the party organization paid attention to these units, there the efforts of many years of work were fully rewarded.

In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will embrace also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class—the Communists and the Communist Party.

To illustrate how the Communists seize strategic positions in certain unions affiliated with the C. I. O., and what part the Communists played in the activities and policies of these unions, we will quote from the testimony of Zygmond Dobrzynski.

Mr. Dobrzynski has lived in Detroit all of his life. He is 26 years of age and a graduate of Eastern High School of Detroit. He is a

member of Local Union 205, which is the fiber local in the United Automobile Workers of America. His official capacity is national director of the organizing committee of the United Automobile Workers of America Ford drive. It is his function to supervise the organization of the workers in the Ford plant. There are approximately 4,000 members in his local. It is a key local insofar as it manufactures the interior body trimmings for all the automobiles of all the major companies: Chrysler, General Motors, and Ford. To show from the testimony of Mr. Dobrzynski how important his local is we quote the following questions and answers:

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, what would happen to the industry if this local went on a strike, let us say?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Well, the industry would be eventually forced to shut down. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Would that be confined to the Detroit area?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. No; it would paralyze practically the national organization of the three major independent companies I mentioned. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, in order to understand you correctly, your local 205 is so constituted that it is in a position to paralyze the whole industry?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is right.

To show that Mr. Dobrzynski is well qualified to testify, I quote from his testimony as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Do you work inside the plant now?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. I do not work inside the plant now. I am a full-time organizer of the U. A. W. at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Has your work brought you in contact with the entire labor movement insofar as the U. A. W. is concerned?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes; pretty much so.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had occasion to contact the various officers and directors and organizers throughout that entire area; is that true?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In the course of your activities as organizer and even before then, from the very beginning, we will say 1936, have you had occasion to observe the activities of Communists within the labor unions?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes; very much so.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say it has been considerable experience that you have had?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes; it has been a considerable experience; considerable trouble.

Mr. Dobrzynski testified as follows:

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Well I met Weinstone [William Weinstone] in the spring of 1937; May 1937. He was the State secretary of the Communist Party. Since then he has been transferred, I understand, to New York City. He sent an emissary around, a man by the name of Miller, I could not tell you his full name, who represented himself as the sectional organizer of that particular section, the north Detroit section of the Communist Party. This individual, of course, hung around the headquarters of the local union and often offered his assistance in turning out literature and peddling literature, and so forth. We used him to peddle literature. We never knew who he was at that time. The organization was growing so fast, we took anybody's assistance. We never knew who he was. But later he identified himself to me as a sectional organizer of the north Detroit section of the Communist Party and said—I was president of the local at that particular time—and said that William Weinstone wanted to speak to me.

The CHAIRMAN. You first consulted the leadership of your union?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you decide on—what did you and they decide on?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. They suggested that I go and talk to him, find out what he had to say; because at that time the leadership was inexperienced in methods of counteracting the activities of the Communist Party in the union and they thought it would be wise if I talked to Weinstone for my own benefit and for my own local union, insofar as information was concerned, and for the benefit of the union as a whole. * * * I really had two conferences with him, one following the

other, 2 days in a row. One was about 2 hours in duration. * * * Well, he mentioned the fact that it was a key local in the automotive industry, and it was a very strategic one for any organization to control. * * * He said they could use it as a sort of reserve to paralyze or shut down the automotive industries if the other defenses they would build up would fail. He was speaking of his organization controlling it, naturally—the Communist Party. * * * The local union elections were coming up and he was interested in getting certain of his people as members of the Communist Party or sympathizers—I would not swear they are members; some are sympathizers and some merely work with the Communist Party in the union movement, for personal gain. But he wanted me to place certain people on the local executive board, one as a vice president and two—that is, one as a treasurer and one as a financial secretary. The funds seemed to be of interest to him. * * * He also mentioned the fact that the steward, the position of steward in the shop—the steward is the man who takes care of grievances, negotiates the grievances with the head of the department, from the side of the management, rather—and he was interested in getting a number of men placed as stewards in these departments. At that time I, due to the rapid growth of the organization—I appointed stewards until the time came when the organization became consolidated sufficiently where the membership itself could elect them. That is the reason he was interested in influencing me to place certain men as stewards, “men who were close to the Communist Party.”

The CHAIRMAN. Now if they had succeeded in placing Communists or Communist sympathizers in the positions of treasurer, secretary, and stewards, what would those positions have meant from the standpoint of the control of the union?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Well, they would have had control over the address and every name of the membership, or the entire membership of the local union. That is one thing. Secondly, they would have control of the finances and would naturally be able to influence the spending of the funds. Thirdly, the vice president could be used to counteract me if I ever became antagonistic to their methods in the union. * * * Well, having that number of men on the executive board, they would probably have been in a position to direct the policy of the union. * * * He [William Weinstone] told me I was a smart young fellow, and would go a long ways in this thing if I would follow the proper line.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you about their success in other unions?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Oh, yes; he enumerated quite a number of their own members—he was trying to impress me with the strength of this organization—he enumerated quite a number of people who were working closely with the Communist Party at that time. * * * According to his statement, which I think was exaggerated, they [Communists] practically controlled the union, but I think that they do not. He was trying to give that impression. He mentioned so many on the board or among the leading officers of the international union who were working with them at that particular time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he say anything with reference to their ability to tie up the automobile industry, the glass industry, the rubber industry, or any other industries?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. He did state that they carried on quite a bit of organizational work in the rubber and glass unions, and he did emphasize the fact that the automotive industry was the center where the Communist Party had concentrated most of its forces, its most capable people, and a large amount of its funds. He pointed out the political significance which the automobile industry has to the Soviet Union, so far as pressure against the Government is concerned. He [Weinstone] stated the fact that the automobile industry has a tremendous influence on the glass, rubber, steel, and many other industries, but primarily the glass, rubber, and steel, which are heavy industries, and that the Communist Party by controlling the unions, by having people such as me * * * working throughout the trades, they knew they could wield tremendous pressure against the Government insofar as securing concessions for the Soviet Union was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he told you about the tactics and strategy that they used: will you tell us something about that?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. He outlined to me, first, that they had meetings of people in the unions who were their members, and they would have meetings outside of the union of the Communist Party Trade Union Unit. At that time they called them fractions. I do not know what they call them today. They will discuss among themselves the methods to be used in gaining control and advocating whatever the leadership opposed them with, and then by cooperating with a small group, by preparing motions ahead of time, having discussions ahead of

time, and then by dividing up in various sections of the hall, they would give the impression that the particular policy which they were trying to have the meeting adopt was generally supported throughout the membership. Since most of them are fairly capable speakers, due to experience, they were able to make the local unions put across motions that the membership did not agree to but did not know how to combat.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of your own knowledge that that method was carried out?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. In my local union?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes, sir. Some members are identified as carrying out Communist Party plans, or people from those organizations would come to us. We were a very democratic organization, and would let almost any organization speak to us. They would make their appeals, and it was very apparent that they were prearranged. I mean that by offering motions after the speech would denote that it was all prearranged ahead of time, and that it worked with machine-like precision.

Speaking of contributions made by unions to Communist organization, Mr. Dobrzynski had the following to say:

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. They (Communists) have a number of dummy organizations where they do draw a lot of innocents on some popular question. It might be against war; it might be against starving children in Spain, or some other cause which appears worthy, and would be worthy if it was carried out to that particular end. Nevertheless, they do draw in a lot of people; and by their superior knowledge of the organizational structure and maneuvers, parliamentary procedure, and all those things, they are able to control the national offices of those particular organizations. * * * And in these organizations, in speaking to Weinstone and the sectional organizer of the Communist Party, Miller, that I mentioned before, they brought out the information that these organizations contributed to the Communist Party in the following manner: One would donate to the Daily Worker fund—they have funds once in a while for the Daily Worker—or some other particular party fund, and in this way the treasury of the Communist Party would be enriched. Also on the staff of these various organizations, on the pay roll of these organizations, they place their people, and their people draw the wages, and naturally contribute a certain portion of those wages to the Communist Party. * * * The usual procedure is—of course now the locals are tightening up a little on it—but the usual procedure would be that anybody from an outside organization who wants to take the floor, they give him the opportunity, and as soon as he makes an appeal for Spanish children, and what not, then some fellow who has been associated with the Communist Party, or has been falling into line, bobs up on the floor and immediately makes a motion to accept—to make a contribution of so many dollars—and somebody else seconds it immediately. Then that is usually followed by a very emotional speech by somebody else who is affiliated with the group, and the thing is usually carried.

Mr. MOSIER. In other words, your local union, when it contributed its money, was really contributing money to aid and further the cause of the Communist Party in America?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is the way it would be.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that in these organizations that they set up or control, most of the people in the organizations are innocent?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is my opinion, because I do happen to know many people who belong to these organizations, the women especially.

The CHAIRMAN. What part have the Communists played in those unauthorized strikes? Have they played a prominent part?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Well, no doubt; and I know this: In fact, I was threatened with an unauthorized strike in my plant; because of the fact that I attacked the Communist Party. I do know that the Communist Party elements have deliberately gone out in many instances. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if the Communists have control of some department, can they bring on a general strike by their actions?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. It is possible, and I believe it has been done in some cases. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the difference between the objectives of legitimate trade unionists * * * what you are trying to do and what the Communists are seeking to do by their labor activities?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Generally speaking, the objective of legitimate trade unionists in a legitimate trade union is to better the condition of the working men and

women in the plant by means of an understanding with the employer, if at all possible. * * * On the other hand, the aims of the Communist Party toward the union are not so much to gain economic benefits for the employees as to use it as a political weapon. * * *

Mr. MOSIER. Most of the members of the United Automobile Workers are in Michigan, are they not?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Yes, sir; about 70 percent of them.

Mr. MOSIER. And approximately how large a membership is there in the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. Well it is difficult to tell. It runs somewhere between 300,000 and 400,000.

Mr. MOSIER. And you have been closely associated in that work, and not only you, but others in the work have had a great deal of trouble with the Communists?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is true. I would like to state this: That in the beginning of our organization many people who are not Communists fell into the mistake of giving the Communist Party elements full leeway. That is, they welcomed any cooperation. * * * Therefore, the Communist Party, which had only a small number of people comparatively, worked together in unison, and they did manage to secure control of certain sections of the organization. * * *

Mr. Dobrzynski further testified as follows:

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. I would like to state, in order to avoid confusion as to the intention of my testimony, that I was subpoenaed and asked to testify and answer whatever questions were asked me and give whatever information I had to dispose of; and I would also like to state that my intentions are not to harm the unions. In other words, by the essence or the weight of my own testimony, I do not intend it as antiunion propaganda, but as a means of benefiting the union, of clarifying and assisting to eliminate the forces which threaten to destroy it.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say, from your own knowledge and experience, that the Communists in the United States are under the control of the Third International?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. That is true.

Mr. Dobrzynski further testified as follows:

During the first organizational days, when the U. A. W. was first formed, and the men were beginning to recognize that unionism was the thing they needed, they came in by the hundreds; the automobile industry was made up of men, primarily, who had never been in any union before, and who were completely inexperienced, not knowing even how to make a motion on the floor. Now they are much more experienced than they were before. They are learning. These members of the Communist Party knew how to speak; some of them had extensive soap-box experience, and experience in other organizations, and they took advantage of this fact. It is very simple for a man who understands public speaking and the parliamentary rules to control a meeting of uninitiated people. It is very simple. I have found that out myself, that it is very simple.

The CHAIRMAN. Did not the Communist Party have a workers' school in Detroit, where they trained people?

Mr. DOBRZYNSKI. I know they did, because some of these Communists have been going around, boasting of the fact, that they were trained. Although I do not know how much of a school they had in Detroit, I do know many of them have been sent to New York City to study.

We have quoted at length from the testimony of Mr. Dobrzynski because of the important position he holds in the U. A. W. A.; and is an outstanding labor leader. His testimony merely corroborates the testimony of numerous other witnesses both in and out of the unions.

We also desire to quote from the testimony of Felix J. McCartney. Mr. McCartney works in the Plymouth plant and testified that there were approximately 12,000 people employed in this plant. He testified that he was a member of the International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, and that his local is Plymouth Local 51.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been a member of that union?

Mr. McCARTNEY. I first joined that union in December 1935, and I paid one of its dues. Then I did not pay any dues again until January 1937. I was reinstated in the union in January 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you now a member in good standing?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes, sir; I am a member in good standing.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hold any office in the union?

Mr. McCARTNEY. I was chairman of the negotiating committee, commonly known as the shop committee of the plant, in the Plymouth local union.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you acquainted with large numbers of the laboring people in the Plymouth factory?

Mr. McCARTNEY. As a matter of fact, I am just about as well acquainted with the laboring class of people in the plant as anybody who works in there.

The CHAIRMAN. Why is that?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Simply because as chairman of the negotiating committee, I go around to all the departments, and all the people who had grievances would bring them to the chairman of the negotiating committee.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated a few moments ago that the Plymouth unit or the Plymouth factory was a hotbed of communism. What did you mean by that?

Mr. McCARTNEY. By that I mean that the strategic positions in the local union are held by members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. About how many locals are operating in the Plymouth factory?

Mr. McCARTNEY. There is only one local. That local is No. 51, and it is cut up into districts, of which there are 24 districts in the local union. Over those districts are people known as district chief committeemen, and under them, of course, are the stewards.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately, how many members are there in that local? Can you give some rough estimate of the number?

Mr. McCARTNEY. I would judge that there are between three and four hundred people now Communists in this local union, but only about 100 really take an active part.

The CHAIRMAN. You are referring to the Communists. How many members does the union have altogether?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Out of the 12,000 people?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. McCARTNEY. I would say there are close to 10,000 people who are paid up in dues and are in good standing in the local union.

The CHAIRMAN. And you say that of the 300 Communist members, about 100 are active. Is that right?

Mr. McCARTNEY. About 100 are active as out and aboveboard in everything. They are leaders and work for the movement at all times.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the other 200 Communists cooperate with them in the movement?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Only in respect of attending meetings of the most important kind, or to vote on vital questions.

The CHAIRMAN. What strategic positions do the Communists hold within the union?

Mr. McCARTNEY. At the present time, in my estimation, the highest position in the local union is held by a man by the name of Mike Duletsky. He is financial secretary of the Plymouth Local Union, and he has access to the records. As a matter of fact, he looks after the funds and finances, looks after all the records, and gives the members the literature that comes in and goes out of that office.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a strategic position from the standpoint of his ability to propagandize and influence the membership.

Mr. McCARTNEY. That is right. It is one of the reasons I had in mind, that the files and the records of the local union office, have been used for that purpose. They have picked out the most militant people in the plant to whom to send the Communist literature. As a matter of fact, I have received Communist literature through the mail.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mike Duletsky a Communist?

Mr. McCARTNEY. He certainly is.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that?

Mr. McCARTNEY. He admits it. As a matter of fact, he not only admits it, but I know as a fact that he attends the Communist Party meetings and takes a most prominent part in them. I cannot find out what position he holds in the Plymouth unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. McCARTNEY. Walter Christie at that time was a guide officer of the local union, and a member of the executive board.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what union?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Of the executive board of this local union.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a Communist?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes, sir; he is a Communist. It so happened that just prior to this meeting it is a fact that Paul Benyo, through Walter Christie, and the president of the local at that time, who was William Frankowski, had joined the Communist Party. That is how Paul Benyo joined the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, I have this evidence of his Communist Party due book, and the information relative to his joining.

The CHAIRMAN. I was asking you about Mr. Raymond Bascom, as to who he is.

Mr. McCARTNEY. Raymond Bascom: The first time I saw this Raymond Bascom, he was introduced to the executive board by Mike Duletsky as a very intelligent man and as an educator of several of the local unions, and he made the suggestion to the executive board very strongly—in which he held quite a bit of weight—that we secure the services of this Mr. Bascom as educational director of the local union. This was accepted by the local executive board, and he voted \$20 a week as salary. Mr. Bascom did not work in the Plymouth plant, and he stated to me later that he had never worked in an automobile factory. In the course of some of the educational classes that he conducted in the union hall he had charts on the wall where he pointed out how superior the form of government was over in Russia over the capitalistic form of government.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, passing from Mr. Bascom to Mr. Crump, did you know Mr. Crump?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes; I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us something about Mr. Crump?

Mr. McCARTNEY. I would just like to say this much further on this Ray Bascom, relative to his membership in the Communist Party. He was, when this information came to me—that has just been of late—chairman of the Plymouth unit of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let us pass from Mr. Bascom to this Mr. Crump.

Mr. McCARTNEY. Barney Crump. * * * Barney is his first name. * * * He is known as the unit organizer for the Communist Party. The position he holds in the union is an executive board member of the Plymouth local, and he is also a member of the negotiating committee and a district committeeman on the second shift. * * * He carries quite a bit of weight with the workers.

This witness testified with reference to other Communists who held key positions in his local. He gave their names and positions in the local. We do not have time to quote his testimony with respect to these various Communists who occupy strategic positions in this local. But to those who want specific facts as to the penetration of the labor movement by Communists we recommend the reading of this man's testimony. However, we do want to quote further from his testimony:

The CHAIRMAN. Do they (Communists) want to improve working conditions?

Mr. McCARTNEY. That is not their aim, they do not want satisfaction; they want dissatisfaction, because if we were to improve their working conditions, they would be lost in the wind. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. What you are primarily interested in is an improvement in working conditions?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Improved working conditions and a fair share of the profits which the people whom we work for make.

The CHAIRMAN. If you can accomplish that through peaceful means would you rather do that than through a strike?

Mr. McCARTNEY. I would much rather do it through peaceful means.

The CHAIRMAN. Whereas the Communists' objective is to seize upon dissatisfaction and complaints as an excuse for promoting communism and bring about revolution; is not that a fact?

Mr. McCARTNEY. That is right; that is their objective.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they (Communists) are in control of that union?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Oh, they are, without doubt. They could put a motion on the floor right now to vote the finances to bring Browder or Foster up to talk, and it would pass.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that this local there with 10,000 members is under the control of those Communists.

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes, I do, Mr. Dies, for this reason. The good people that have attended these meetings have become so discouraged by the action of these Communists in prolonging any discussion about any action that would be of any benefit to the workers—that is, a motion or a resolution would be put on the floor looking to the benefit of the workers, and these people would get up and talk against it so long, and prolong the meeting, these people would get so discouraged, the good people, that they would leave the meeting. At one time we had three to four thousand people, when the union was first recognized by the corporation—we had around three or four thousand people attending all our meetings. * * *

The CHAIRMAN. What is the average number now who attend the meetings?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Right at present, I judge there are close to 250 to 300 people. It jumps anywhere from 100 to 300 people now.

The CHAIRMAN. Out of 10,000?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Out of 10,000.

The CHAIRMAN. What is true with reference to the other locals, so far as Communist control is concerned?

Mr. McCARTNEY. It works the same in the other locals as it has in ours. In other words, we take, for instance, the Murray Body local. I could not say positively, but this fellow will admit that he is a Communist, this fellow Lloyd Jones, who is the president of that local. Of course, on the other hand, we will take the Packard local, those fellows just went right to the front and beat the living hell out of these boys and they shoved them right out of these positions.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what local is Lloyd Jones president?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Murray Body No. 2.

The CHAIRMAN. Have they a large membership?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes; they have quite a large membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that that local is under the control of the Communists?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes; positively. There was one meeting where the boys went to the meeting and were carrying clubs. They carried clubs about that long [illustrating].

As illustrative of the difficulty which the committee experienced in getting witnesses to testify with regard to the facts, we quote from Mr. McCartney's testimony, as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. The report that reached the Chair was that you did not want to appear.

Mr. McCARTNEY. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you explain why you did not want to appear before the committee and testify?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes, sir; I could.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to explain it?

Mr. McCARTNEY. Yes, sir; there are several reasons why I did not wish to appear before the committee here. One reason is that certain pamphlets were passed out to the employees of the automobile plant at which I work. Those pamphlets inflamed the minds of the working people at the plant against this committee. There is one pamphlet I have here which I would like to produce at this time as evidence. The heading of the pamphlet was, "Who is the Dies Committee, and who are the people who testify before the Dies Committee." * * * I cannot state that all the pamphlets were distributed by Communist people, or people who belonged to the Communist Party but some of the people who distributed those pamphlets were Communists. * * * Personally, I am strong supporter of Gov. Frank Murphy, the present Governor, and it appeared to the working class of people in the plants that when the Dies Committee brought into light the aspect of the Detroit and Flint situation, it embarrassed politically the union's campaign for Governor Murphy's reelection.

Another witness who testified is Richard Eager. He works for the Ternstedt manufacturing division of General Motors. This division manufactures automobile hardware and employs between 10,000 and 12,000 people. Mr. Eager is a die-cast operator. He testified that he was a member of Local 174 of the United Automobile Workers, which is affiliated with the C. I. O.; that there are about 32,000 members

of that local. He testified that he was plant chairman of the Ternstedt and chairman of the top or bargaining committee of Ternstedt; that the union collected as dues \$1 a month from each member and that 37½ cents of the dollar goes to the international union and the balance stays in the local treasury.

Mr. MOSIER. As to all the other men in the plant, do they appreciate the fact that these Communists are trying to elect Communists?

Mr. EAGAR. It is not generally known in the plant, because if any man from the plant tries to run for any office, unless he has the support of the Communist Party, there is not much chance of his getting elected.

Mr. MOSIER. There is not much chance?

Mr. EAGAR. No.

Mr. MOSIER. Are they so strong that they can block the election of a man in the plant?

Mr. EAGAR. The average man working in the plant has not any organization at the back of him, and they (Communists) have got key men throughout the plant, and their men then campaign for a certain slate throughout the entire plant; therefore, a man who has not got any organization to back him up has not got much chance of getting elected.

Mr. MOSIER. What influence do they exercise? I think you told the committee, or, at least, I gathered from what you said that they (Communists) have the dominating control of your plant.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. They elect the officers.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir. Some of them are local officers.

Mr. MOSIER. Do those men admit that they are members of the Communist Party, or do you just think they are? How do you really know they are?

Mr. EAGAR. While I was plant chairman of Ternstedt, I was called into several Communist unit meetings on questions of policy that the Communist unit would like to see put through in Ternstedt.

Mr. MOSIER. You were called into unit meetings?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. On questions of policy that the Communist group wanted adopted?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. And there you saw certain people present.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Purportedly representing the Communist Party.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You say that your unit has 10,000 members.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. When you have a meeting of your unit how many of those members will attend, as a general rule?

Mr. EAGAR. When we first started the organization there would probably be 1,000 people attending the meetings, but after a while the plant meetings fell down until we have had at the last few plant meetings probably not more than 150 people.

Mr. MOSIER. So that this small Communist group would come into a meeting of 150 members and accomplish some objectives that they could not accomplish if you had three or four thousand present. Is that true?

Mr. EAGAR. That is correct.

Mr. MOSIER. Will you tell the committee just for the purposes of the record what you do? Describe a meeting that you have had of your local where the Communists tried to have some kind of motion or resolution adopted. How do they do it?

Mr. EAGAR. It is generally done in this manner: They first contact whoever is the plant chairman and, after they make the motion, he is supposed to recognize only those people who will speak in favor of the motion. Secondly, they will have one of their group to move the previous question. That shuts off debate. They will wrangle over the question before they call the previous question. They will talk a long time and the people will get tired of listening, so that when the previous question comes up they are anxious to get the question off the floor. They put it over in that way. They usually accomplish their purposes in the vote, while nobody in the opposition has an opportunity to speak.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know whether or not those tactics that are employed in passing resolutions are planned before hand, or before the meeting is held?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir; it is planned.

Mr. MOSIER. Do you know why more of the men in this industrial plant do not attend any of those meetings? Are there any reasons you know for their staying away?

Mr. EAGAR. Most of them that speak to me on that particular subject say this, that "When we go to a plant meeting, we want to discuss the affairs of our plant, and we are not interested in what is going on in Spain, China, Russia, Germany, or anywhere else." They say, "When we go to meetings, we always have suffered from a whole lot of talk on questions that we are not interested in." That is the reason they stay away.

Mr. MOSIER. The discussion of those questions comes from this group of Communists within your unit.

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You came before this committee in response to a subpoena issued by the committee, did you not?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You are not a so-called labor spy?

Mr. EAGAR. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You are not appearing here for any capitalist or employer in any capacity, to say anything about these people to the committee.

Mr. EAGAR. No, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. You are still on the committee for your plant, and are a delegate to the joint council?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. From your experience in this unit of your plant, and from your experience as an official of the unit, what would you say as to whether or not the policies of that unit in your plant are controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. EAGAR. Well, the policies in our local and in our plants are controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. It is your observation is it not, that Communists do not care about numbers, or large numbers, but what they want are the strategic positions in the organizations?

Mr. EAGAR. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOSIER. Is that what they tried to do in your organization?

Mr. EAGAR. That is what it seems to be.

Mr. MOSIER. I think that, perhaps, you have mentioned the political affiliations of some of the officials of your local plant. Could you give that to us? Could you give us the political affiliations of the officers of your local union?

Mr. EAGAR. I can give it for quite a few of them.

Mr. MOSIER. For the purposes of the record, go right ahead and tell us. For instance, there is Reuther, the president.

Mr. EAGAR. He is a Socialist or a radical Socialist or revolutionary Socialist.

Mr. MOSIER. Which one of the Reuthers is president?

Mr. EAGAR. Walter Reuther is president.

Mr. MOSIER. And Victor Reuther?

Mr. EAGAR. He is organizer of the local.

Mr. MOSIER. With what party is he affiliated?

Mr. EAGAR. He was also discharged from the international union, and rehired by our local.

Mr. MOSIER. Does he belong to the Socialist Party or the Communist Party?

Mr. EAGAR. To the Socialist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. How about George Edwards?

Mr. EAGAR. He belongs to the Socialist Party. He is organizer in our local.

Mr. MOSIER. How about Chuck Walters?

Mr. EAGAR. He is an organizer, and belongs to the Socialist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. What is Bill McKie?

Mr. EAGAR. He is an organizer, and a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MOSIER. What about Hartley?

Mr. EAGAR. Hartley is a welfare director, and is a Communist Party member.

Mr. MOSIER. What about Martha Strong?

Mr. EAGAR. She is an executive-board member, and is in the Communist Party.

This witness named other officials in his local who were members of the Communist Party.

We have quoted from the testimony of these witnesses to illustrate how the Communists have permeated certain labor unions affiliated with the C. I. O. This testimony is typical of the testimony of numerous other witnesses to the same effect.

This committee heard testimony from Mr. Homer Martin, president of the United Automobile Workers of America. Mr. Martin was caustic in his criticism of other witnesses who had appeared before this committee, but it is important to observe that his own testimony, nevertheless, corroborated in every important detail the testimony of the other witnesses whom he criticized. The committee confronted Mr. Martin with the stenographic reports of two speeches he had recently made and asked him if certain statements contained in those speeches were correct.

Important excerpts from Mr. Homer Martin's testimony follow:

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say that (reading Martin's speeches): "There are those who have been in positions of leadership in our organization, first through the idea of personal gain or with other interests, who have sought to make that organization something else than that. And I am not trying to raise a 'red scare.' I am not 'red baiting' when I say that the Communist Party has put forth every possible effort, that they could put forth, to capture the entire labor movement of this country."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes, sir; that is correct.

The CHAIRMAN (reading). "I am not raising a 'red scare' about it. I am telling you what I know from experience to be the facts. I am not asking anybody 'to take the torch,' so to speak, or just hearsay, I know whereof I speak.

"The United Automobile Workers of America is the strongest single new organization in the C. I. O. The other organizations are not so strong, although there are some of them that are fairly strong. The capture of the United Automobile Workers of America was the first goal, and the most important goal, of the Communist Party. I have letters in my office sent out by the Communist Party to our membership, the names and addresses of which they had gotten by manipulating themselves into office, telling them that very thing. The United Automobile Workers of America is one of the strongest and most important organizations of labor, and the first goal of the Communist Party, and of a good Communist, is to take control of the U. A. W. A."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would it be correct to say as follows [reading from reports of Martin's speeches]: "In order to further their plan and their hopes of gaining control, they have worked in various ways. One, of course, is to get the local Communist leaders elected to positions of influence—presidents of unions."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct [reading]: "The other day at the demonstration, and if you had been down, if you just happened to stroll along the park outside of the Griswold Building, you would have seen what I saw, where more than half of the congregation out there were known Communist leaders. One Mr. Stone was out there, the president of one of our local unions, a known Communist Party leader, who made this assertion: 'I am in the U. A. W. A., but the Communist Party comes first'."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct? [Reading from Martin's speeches]: "They seek, of course, to get their people in positions of leadership. One of the principal offices they tried to get was the financial secretaryship; that seems to be the first goal, to get a hold of the financial secretaryship because he has something to do with the money."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. I think that is correct.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Would this statement be correct? [Reading]: "Then, of course, they (the Communists) manipulate to get their people elected by several maneuvers. One thing, of course, is to misrepresent the facts. They are absolutely unscrupulous. They lie with all the facility in the world. They have no morals concerning their activities, when it comes to accomplishing their end, namely, to take over the local union or the international union."

Is that correct?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Would this be correct [reading from Martin's speeches]? "Every issue that the Communist Party has raised, with not one single exception, they have not been honest in it. They have raised false issues, both into the local unions and in the International union, to bring discredit upon all those who refuse to bow to their dictating along with them."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Is this correct: [reading from speeches.] "Let me give you an illustration. Six months ago Richard T. Frankenstein was a hated red-baiter of the worst type, who was not to be gotten at any expense. Suddenly, over night, Mr. Frankenstein becomes a little more 'Kosher,' and we find the Daily Worker beginning to print his picture and beginning to write little articles, at first, about him, and beginning to talk about what a wonderful, and finally, what a really great labor leader he was.

"That change in attitude came immediately after a conference in Atlantic City at the C. I. O. convention, where for the first time I knew that Frankenstein had met Gobart and Hathaway of the Communist Party. For days he was with them there. He ate with them, stayed with them, conversed with them, met with them, and all the rest. Immediately thereafter all the heat began to be taken off of Mr. Frankenstein and all the heat was directed at me."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. Relative to the attitude and activities of the Communist Party, that is correct.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. In order to clear that up, let me say again, as the members of this committee have said time and time again, that the evidence is very clear that the overwhelming majority of the men in the C. I. O. and other organizations are loyal American citizens. There has never been any intimation that the Communist Party has any large percentage of membership there.

The testimony before this committee, with which I think you will agree, is to the effect that the Communists by reason of having a tightly organized minority are able to seize the strategic positions in the unions and in that way make their influence felt. I think you will agree that that is a correct statement of the situation.

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And I might say this, Mr. Martin, and I think you will agree with me, that no greater service could be rendered by any labor leader than to assume a courageous and definite opposition to the Communist elements, and to eject them from positions of influence. Is not that true?

Mr. MARTIN. As I said previously, the Communists have no more place in the labor movement than do the Nazis or the Fascists. They believe in dictatorships, all of which is inimical to the interests of democracy, in which I am a believer.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, is it correct or not to say that all three of those—the Nazis, the Fascists, and the Communists—represent totalitarian governments, where the rights of the minority are ruthlessly suppressed?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Has it not been your experience that those who oppose the Communists are branded by the Communists as Nazis or Fascists, and that those who oppose the Nazis or the Fascists are branded as Communists?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not their invariable strategy to so brand everyone who is opposed to them?

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Is this a correct statement [reading from Martin's speeches]: "I was invited by Mr. Gebert, who came to my office, and I remember a certain biblical illustration that reminds me of this: 'I was taken up on the mountain,

and I was shown the promised land.' Mr. Gebert informed me that if I would just come down to Mr. Weinstone's office, or meet him, Mr. Forester, Browder, and others, and deal with them on the number of organizers to be appointed, the number of local unions that would be turned over, and I was to go out and see that they were given over to the Communist Party, that I, indeed, could be the greatest labor leader in America, even greater than John L. Lewis, greater than anybody."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That was his exact statement.

The CHAIRMAN. And your refusal to do that brought on you the antagonism and the hatred of the Communist elements.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes; I told them where he could go.

The CHAIRMAN. You also say here [reading from Martin's speeches]: "All I had to do to become great was to come down and make the deal. Well, I don't need to tell you that I told Mr. Gebert, who was right across the table from us, that Hades was hot, but it wouldn't be half as hot as my office if he didn't get out and get out quick."

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

What is of outstanding importance to the United States at this time is the evidence presented, as well as the testimony offered, was the place occupied by national trade-union movements in the carrying out of Communist purposes. Evidence and testimony both indicated that Communist leaders felt competent to win over a sufficient number of intellectuals and intellectual groups to give them some standing. The winning over of such groups and their leaders gives a certain atmosphere of respectability. The evidence in the committee's possession makes it definite that the principal purpose of Communist leaders in every country has been to secure a controlling position within national trade-union movements. Historically this is the main effort communism has made in every country, for Communist leaders have believed, and not without good reason, that communism could make no effective progress in any land unless the organized labor movement was brought under subservience and the theory of the class struggle so impressed upon them that the doctrine of revolution as a justified means to an end could be successfully preached and applied.

The structure of Communist policy and activity in the United States has been similar to the structure of their activities in every other industrial country, the only difference being some variations in design and in adaption to the reactions from labor.

A summary of the testimony and evidence divided itself into three principal fields, the philosophy and revolutionary purpose of the Communist International, the application of that policy and purpose in the United States, and the extent to which these have been carried into effect, particularly within the American labor movement.

The revolutionary purpose of communism, the emphasis placed upon the necessity of introducing the illegal methods within a trade-union movement indicates the sinister menace of communism to national-trade union movements. It serves to give an insight into the part which communism hopes to play within the trade-union movement.

The committee's hearings indicate many instances where what occurred within labor organizations was the result of the illegal section of the Communist Party's activities in the United States. To load this report with the mass of documentary evidence presented to the committee as to the purpose, the program, and the tactics of the Communist Party within the United States would make too

lengthy a document. The committee's purpose is to summarize Communist activities in this country and in this portion of its report the extent to which these are intended to influence our national trade-union movement and divert it from a constructive to a revolutionary purpose.

In January 1935 the central committee of the Communist Party in the United States, adopted a lengthy and detailed resolution covering the immediate tasks of Communist Party, units and members. From this we quote briefly:

The influx of hundreds of thousands of new workers from basic industries and mass production plants into the American Federation of Labor unions, and the growing radicalization of the main mass of its membership make the American Federation of Labor unions more militant and mass unions in character, opening up new and greater possibilities of revolutionary mass work within them.

In view of this the main task of the party in the sphere of trade-union work should be the work in the American Federation of Labor unions so as to energetically and tirelessly mobilize the masses of their members and the trade unions as a whole for the defense of the everyday interests of the workers, the leadership of strikes, carrying out the policy of the class struggle in the trade unions.

Further on the resolution read:

The party fractions must win the revolutionary unions for a struggle for trade-union unity by methods which correspond to the concrete conditions in each industry. The existing revolutionary trade unions and their locals join the American Federation of Labor or its unions wherever there exists parallel mass American Federation of Labor trade unions, or the "red" trade unions can join the American Federation of Labor directly.

Testimony offered by responsible trade-union officials indicated that the methods recommended in the resolution were not new in purpose though slightly different in form.

In the beginnings of communism in the United States, Communist leaders controlled in their activities by the central committee of the Communist International, sought to secure a controlling place within the American trade-union movement through a process of infiltration, and the organizing of so-called Communist cells within the local and national trade unions who composed the American Federation of Labor.

Governed by instructions from the same high authority in Moscow the Communist Party in the United States organized a Trade Union Unity League, the league's purpose being to occupy sufficient ground within the trade-union movement to establish a controlling position. It was during the period of Trade Union Unity League activities that the American trade-union movement came into more direct contact with Communist purpose and tactics. The progress made by the league after a number of years was so unsatisfactory to Moscow that the American section received instructions some few years ago to scrap the league. This was done and as a league it passed out of existence. In place of the Trade Union Unity League the Communist Party put into effect its policy of 1935 which enabled it to secure a strong foothold in the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The testimony of many witnesses indicated that during the strikes in 1936 leading Communists were directing strike efforts in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and other States. That fomenting lawlessness was a part of their program is evidenced by the arrest and conviction of Communists for illegal activities in connection with strikes.

Of the many impressions made on our committee by the evidence and testimony offered by witnesses, none was deeper than the fact that a foreign government had been actively engaged from the beginning in an effort to change the structure, the principles, and the policies of the American trade-union movement.

These Russian agents and their sympathizers in our country did not stop at propaganda but organized deliberately, and, after careful planning, to secure so controlling a leadership in the American trade-union movement that the membership would be compelled to carry out Moscow methods to accomplish Moscow objectives.

Both evidence and testimony presented indicated that Communist efforts had made but little progress in securing any control in the American labor movement previous to 1936. The American Federation of Labor and the railway brotherhoods were actively opposed to communism as such, as well as to communism within their ranks.

According to the evidence the emergence of the Committee for Industrial Organization presented an opportunity which had been denied by both the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods. From official Communist documents and records presented to your committee it is evident that no sooner had the Committee for Industrial Organization been formed than it received the official endorsement of the Communist Party in America.

From that period the Communist Party made rapid strides in securing many directive and controlling positions within the C. I. O. Communist records presented to our committee indicate that members of the central committee of the Communist Party were assigned to activities within the trade-union movement.

Jack Stachel was given general supervision of trade union activities. B. K. Gebert was assigned to special work in organizing steel workers and later on in directing strikes. William Weinstone was in charge of the Communist interests in the automobile workers' unions in Michigan. These men received their income from the Communist Party while directing the large number of members of the Communist Party on the pay roll of the Committee for Industrial Organization as organizers. It was additional evidence of the method by which the Red International, operating from Moscow, endeavored to shape the policies and direct the activities of the American trade-union movement.

The members of the Communist Party as salaried organizers of the Committee for Industrial Organization reported to the officers of that body and worked apparently under their direction while at the same time they reported continuously and worked under the instructions of those members of the central committee of the Communist Party who were assigned as their directing supervisors.

This condition explains many of the developments in connection with unauthorized strikes in 1937 which were perplexing to the uninitiated at that time.

Before the Committee for Industrial Organization had launched its campaign to organize the workers in the steel industry, the Communist Party had anticipated the effort and had entered the field. William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party in our country, prepared a detailed outline of organizing methods in the steel industry, a copy of which was presented to our committee. This was followed almost immediately by instructions from the Communist

Party to the Young Communist League to be governed by these organizing instructions and to give their active cooperation. The Communist effort to organize steel workers was under way and the literature was being distributed among steel workers before the Committee for Industrial Organization began its organizing effort. Communist documents and records presented to the committee indicate that the Communist leaders assumed great credit for the organizing of steel, automobile and other industries and the direction of the strikes which followed.

William Weinstone, district organizer of the Communist Party in Michigan, in his pamphlet, *The Great Sit-Down Strike*, carefully avoided any reference to the illegal activities of Communists in connection with the automobile strike. Although his expressions were carefully guarded so that nothing but apparently legal activities would be mentioned, what he wrote when taken in conjunction with a mass of documentary evidence in our committee's possession indicates the part which Communists played. From Weinstone's report we quote briefly:

In this strike and the union there were also radical-minded workers and among this group, in the first place must be mentioned the work of the Communist members of the union as well as the work of the Communist Party itself. * * * The Communists worked ardently and earnestly in helping to build up the union and tried in every way possible to prepare the strike so that it would rest upon a strong foundation. In the strike itself, the Communists sought to imbue the strikers and the workers generally with the greatest discipline, organization, and perseverance. There is no doubt that where the Communists were active and took their outstanding part, particularly at the most decisive points of the struggle, there the strike was strongest, and this made for the success of the whole battle. * * * The existence of groups of Communists within the shops was undoubtedly of great help, because thereby a corps of experienced people were in the shops to help in the solution of the new problems connected with the sit-down. * * * In conclusion, the strike of the automobile workers reveals the new forces that are at work within the country, forces which are driving toward an extension and strengthening of the labor movement and which are welding also the unity of the working class and of all progressive-minded people, a process which is giving rise to the growth of a real people's movement—a real people's united front—a movement which will impress also the most aggressive revolutionary-minded section of the working class, the Communists and the Communist Party.

8. IN CHURCHES, SCHOOLS, ETC.

This committee has established, on the basis of the Communist Party's own literature, that Communists are actively boring from within churches, schools, youth organization, and every other organization and institution into which they can find entrance. It is in this field particularly that the committee has only scratched the surface of un-American and subversive activities. The committee has nevertheless established the fact of this type of a Communist penetration.

In his book, *What Is Communism?* Earl Browder wrote:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successful united fronts with church groups on the most important issues of the day. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such, on our part. In fact, by going among the religious masses, we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them.

At the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, a resolution was adopted which declared it to be—

The duty of Young Communist League members to join all mass organizations of the toiling youth (trade union, cultural, sports organizations) formed by

bourgeois, democratic, reformist, and Fascist parties, as well as religious organizations; to wage a systematic struggle in these organizations to gain influence over the broad masses of youth.

Witnesses who appeared before the committee testified concerning the extensive activities of communism in our schools and colleges. In some cases, they publish their own Communist journals for students; in other cases, they succeed in placing Communists in key positions on the regular school publications. In a later section of this report, the activities of the American Student Union, a Communist united front organization, will be discussed.

9. LAWLESSNESS AND VIOLENCE

We have heretofore stated that much of the lawlessness and violence in the industrial world was instigated and engineered by Communists as a part of their revolutionary program.

The sit-down strike was largely imported from abroad and was put into effect in this country for the purpose of paralyzing industry and producing a revolution. One of the most notable examples was the Lansing "holiday," when a Communist-inspired mob of 5 to 10 thousand assembled in front of the State capitol of Michigan in protest to the arrest of 6 persons who had been ordered arrested for the violation of an injunction. This mob barricaded practically all the streets leading to the capitol. They organized flying squadrons, armed with clubs, who entered places of business and compelled the owners to close their doors.

The State College was about 3 miles from the capitol. Because some of the mob attempted to close the places of business near the State College, the students threw them in the river. When this news reached the mob at Lansing, approximately 2,000 of them were ordered to march on the State College and not to come back until they brought part of the college with them. In obedience to these instructions, the mob started toward the State College. The State police occupied barracks near the campus of the State College. The testimony of the lieutenant of the State police shows that the State police were fully informed with regard to what was happening at Lansing and they knew that some 2,000 of the mob were marching on the State College.

About 3,000 of the students who were apprised of the approach of the mob assembled for the purpose of resisting them. Fortunately, no serious clash occurred between the two opposing forces. That such a thing could occur under the eyes of the State police is almost unbelievable. It illustrates, however, how successful the Communists were in instigating lawlessness, and in bringing about mass defiance of constituted authorities.

It is believed that a courageous stand on the part of all public officials involved would have prevented these disgraceful occurrences, and would have avoided the loss of millions of dollars to both labor and capital, which resulted from the stoppage of work and the inability of thousands of employees to work. It would be hard to estimate the total loss sustained by the Nation as a result of the numerous acts of violence and lawlessness that occurred during this period. Most of it can be attributed to the activities of the Communists in instigating and conducting unauthorized strikes and sit-down strikes.

Law and order are so essential to the very life of the Republic that it presents a fundamental issue. This committee feels that it should

condemn this lawlessness and violence in unmistakable language. Similar occurrences must not occur in the future if we hope to preserve the American Republic. There is no compromise with this fundamental issue. It is the duty of every law-abiding citizen and public official to condemn it in clear and understandable language.

More serious than the monetary loss was the severe shock sustained by our whole structure of government. This committee feels that it would be derelict in its duty to the people of this country if it did not denounce this lawlessness as distinctly and clearly un-American.

10. THE FARMER-LABOR PARTY

The committee heard considerable testimony with reference to the Communist penetration of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota. Some of these witnesses were former officials in the Farmer-Labor Party. Some of them were former Communists who were fully acquainted with what took place behind closed doors. This evidence indicates very clearly that the Communists had succeeded in penetrating the Farmer-Labor Party and seizing many strategic positions; that they were using the Farmer-Labor Party to promote communism and class warfare.

The great majority of the members of the Farmer-Labor Party are opposed to communism and we have been informed that vigorous steps have recently been taken to eject Communists from their ranks. For some time the Communists have planned to build a strong Farmer-Labor Party and use it as a front for the promotion of communism in the United States. That they succeeded to a large extent in Minnesota is undeniable.

It is hoped that this experience will serve as a warning in the future so that the non-Communist members of the Farmer-Labor Party who comprise a large majority will be on constant guard to prevent a repetition of this experience.

11. COMMUNISM ON THE WEST COAST

While the committee was unable to devote much time to the west coast, we did hear enough evidence to convince us that here the Communists have made great strides. They wield considerable political influence, and through lawlessness and violence have practically paralyzed many industries on the west coast. In fact, the situation in this area is very grave and should be thoroughly investigated and exposed.

From the information before the committee, we feel convinced that a thorough investigation of the west coast will show that the Communists have enjoyed greater success there than in any other section of the country; that they have seized many important positions in the labor movement, and are directing many labor and political activities. The loss in money and man-hour directly traceable to Communist activity is tremendous. The situation on the west coast is so serious and the Communist influence so widespread and strongly entrenched that it would require many months of diligent investigation and courageous exposure to correct the situation. With the small funds and the limited time, this committee was unable to cope with this serious situation.

Not only are the Communists active here, but to a lesser extent, the same is true of the Nazis. The committee received information with regard to their activities and we think that this should be gone into thoroughly.

12. THE FELLOW TRAVELERS

One result of the work of this committee has been to familiarize the American people with some of the terminology of the subversive movements. For the first time, the American people know something of the meaning and activities of "the fellow travelers."

In the Communist movement, the fellow travelers are more numerous than the card-holding members of the party. As a rule, the fellow travelers go along, in the limited duties expected of them, as faithfully as if they were actually party members. It is, however, important to recognize that there are many degrees in fellow traveling. Some are closer to the party than others. Usually the fellow travelers are middle-class intellectuals—professors, writers, clergymen, and even important government officials. In some respects, the fellow traveler is a far more valuable instrument of the Communist Party's purposes than a party member would be. He may, therefore, exert a more insidious influence in Communist subversive activities than the person who openly acknowledges his Communist Party membership.

C. FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

1. CONTROL

Many difficulties are to be encountered in any effort to provide a complete list of the front organizations which the Communist Party has set up in this country for the purpose of putting the leaven of revolution into American thinking. There are hundreds of such united front maneuvers. The control of these organizations is usually a matter of considerable subtlety. The Communist Party has never found it necessary to have a majority of the members of united front organizations consciously on its side in order to exercise a dominant control in their affairs and activities. But there can be no doubt of the accuracy of Earl Browder's claim, when he declared:

In the center, as the conscious moving and directive force of the united front in all its phases, stands the Communist Party. Our position in this respect is clear and unchallenged.

2. AIM

The aim of the united front is to extend the influence of the Communist Party far beyond the circle of its own membership, and even far beyond the periphery of the fellow travelers. It aims to reach, by the use of high sounding names and laudable objectives, millions of Americans who would not consciously support any Communist organization working in the open.

3. SCOPE

Almost no group in the entire population has been omitted from the united front attention of the Communist Party. Lenin said:

Our task is to utilize every manifestation of discontent, and to collect and utilize every grain of even rudimentary protest.

By the utilization of discontent, the Communist Party undertakes to transform any degree or kind of protest into petty hatred, and from this to fashion the instruments of class war.

One or more Communist united front organizations have been set up to bid for the support of each of the following groups: Farmers, students, youth, consumers, social workers, poets, writers, artists, dancers, musicians, athletes, social scientists, women, aliens, physicians, lawyers, the clergy, the intelligentsia, pacifists, war veterans, wage earners, the unemployed, technicians, and architects.

4. EXAMPLES OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

The committee received voluminous evidence concerning the activities of the Communist front organizations. In this report, only a few of the outstanding united front organizations of the Communist Party will be discussed. These have been chosen chiefly because of their size and influence.

THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY

In considering these front organizations, we will attempt to deal with them with respect to their importance in the Communist "front," according to their size and composition. The largest of the Communist "front" movements in the United States is the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War. The following statement appeared in the report of the Cleveland Congress of the league, held in January 1936. It may be found on page 368, volume 1, of this committee's hearings:

There is going to form in this country a united people's movement which will be the counterpart of the Front Populaire in France. This year we have made considerable gains, we can honestly say, in understanding the problems of the United Front, and in learning United Front behavior. . . . A good many times our constituent forces and those who come to our meetings ask us this: "Is the American League Against War and Fascism anti-capitalist?" Of course it is. . . . How could we be against fascism without being against capitalism?

This report of the league also refers to a resolution greeting the Spanish "red" front which was adopted by the Cleveland Congress. (See p. 368, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Hearty greetings to our valiant comrades of the People's Front in Spain. Your successful example renews our courage and inspires us to redouble our efforts to attain the same indispensable end in the United States * * * We are heartened by the increasing response of the American people to an appeal for united action. * * * We are one with you in spirit and shall stand shoulder to shoulder until the final victory is achieved.

A report made by the Communist Party on June 24, 1936, contains the following statement (p. 367, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The American League Against War and Fascism is one of the outstanding examples of a broad people's front. * * * Its Third Congress, held in Cleveland last January, registered a representation of mass organizations of the most varied kind with a membership of over 3,000,000. * * *

In A Program Against War and Fascism, published by the league, we find this statement (p. 459, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The American League Against War and Fascism was founded at the first United States Congress Against War, held in New York City in September 1933.

The steering committee which organized this congress was composed of Communists and non-Communists. * * * Communists have continued in positions of prominence in the league. * * * It is natural enough that they should be proud of their part in founding the league and should claim a large share of credit for its success. * * *

Internationalistic Communist organizers, such as Henri Barbusse and Tom Mann, were permitted by the United States Department of Labor to come from abroad to assist in launching this movement. The league contends publicly that it is not a Communist front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president.

The following statement appears in *A Program Against War and Fascism* (p. 360, vol. 1, committee hearings):

So far as the economic and political organization of society is concerned, fascism and communism are opposites. Fascism is for war; the Fascist state is the war-breeding and war-making state. Communism is for the abolition of war. We can't in any sense be against both. Communists—in Germany and other countries—have shown themselves to be hard, courageous, and sincere fighters against war and fascism. The same is true here in the United States. * * *

In the program of the league (p. 458, vol. 1, committee hearings) we find that one of its objectives is:

To work toward the stopping of the manufacture and transport of munitions * * *, through mass demonstrations, picketing, and strikes. * * *

Members of the league have been pledged to resist military training, to demand "total and universal disarmament, as proposed by the Soviet Union"; to "permit no discretion to the President" with regard to the determining of neutrality laws; to oppose "the policies of American imperialism in Latin America and the Far East"; to give support to all peoples resisting "imperialist powers"; to demonstrate constantly "the relationship between war and fascism"; to prevent the "formation of Fascist forces in this country" (but not the formation of Communist forces); to oppose "legislation or orders denying citizens in the armed forces * * * to receive printed matter or personal appeals in behalf of this or any other program * * * and to defend their rights to join organizations * * *." It will be noted that the league condemns one "ism" while upholding the Soviet Union, the source of another "ism"—communism.

The call for the United States congress was issued by Communists. On page 457, volume 1, of the committee hearings may be found a list containing the names of these Communists.

The following statement appeared in the January 15, 1934, issue of the *Communist International* (p. 463, vol. 1, committee hearings):

Our most successful application of the united front has been the anti-war and anti-Fascist movement. We led a highly successful United States Congress Against War, which brought together 2,616 delegates from all over the country. * * * The congress from the beginning was led by our party quite openly. The congress set up a prominent organization on a federative basis called the American League Against War and Fascism.

A statement made by Dr. Harry Ward, national chairman of the league, appeared in the November 1936 issue of *Soviet Russia Today* (p. 464, vol. 1, committee hearings):

There is no way to constructively organize peace except by adopting throughout the world the basic organization on which the Soviet Union is founded.

In the February 1936 issue of *Soviet Russia Today*, which is, by the way, the official organ of another front movement in the United States,

another statement made by Dr. Ward was published (p. 464, vol. 1, committee hearings), in which he said that the chief purpose of the league is "to promote a wider understanding of the peace policies of the Soviet Union and to cooperate with other agencies to prevent an attack on the Soviet Union."

On pages 466 and 477, volume 1, committee hearings, you will note statements from official Communist sources which show Communist Party direction of membership drives for the league.

At the Pittsburgh convention of this movement in November 1937 its name was changed from the "American League Against War and Fascism" to the "American League for Peace and Democracy." (See p. 455, vol. 1, committee hearings.) This organization is the American section of the World Committee Against War and Fascism (now the World Committee for Peace and Democracy). (See p. 299, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The league claimed in November 1937 (see p. 473, vol. 1, committee hearings) 102 branches in 24 States, and a total membership of 4,025,-925. According to its report, 246,116 of these were "religionists," yet the Communists brag (p. 368, vol. 1, committee hearings) that:

It is significant that the Communist Party, more than any other labor group, has been able to achieve successfully united fronts with church groups. This is not due to any compromise with religion as such on our part. In fact, by going among religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them.

Our committee heard the testimony of J. B. Matthews, who had been listed by a previous witness as one of the organizers of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and one who was active in an official or consultory capacity with at least 20 Communist "front" movements. (See pp. 869, 870, and 871, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Mr. Matthews readily admitted that he was, in fact, the first national chairman of the league. (See pp. 871 and 887, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

I accepted the chairmanship of this organization and, in December, Browder, general secretary of the American Communist Party, went back to Moscow to report on the result or success of the enterprise of setting up the American league.

Mr. Matthews also told of the organizational committee conference at which he presided and in which alien Communist leaders took a prominent part. (See p. 899, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He told of the Moscow connections of the league. (See p. 901, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He showed the manner in which the Communists carry out their party line through the league. (See pp. 905 and 906, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

We have given you a fairly exhaustive report on the American League for Peace and Democracy, first, because, in spite of the testimony of many witnesses and the voluminous documentary evidence presented to our committee, there is still an attempt to deny the fact that the league is a Communist "front" movement; and, second, because we have had to face the fact that many Federal Government employees, some in official positions, have been and are still admittedly associated with this and other "front" movements, which are unquestionably "front" movements for the international scheme for revolution of a foreign power. For those who wish to go into this matter further, we recommend the reading of the testimony of John P. Frey, Walter S. Steele, Homer Chaillaux, and J. B. Matthews, in volume 1 of this committee's printed hearings.

THE WORKERS' ALLIANCE

Second in size and importance, from a Communist standpoint and, therefore, a menace to our country, is the Workers' Alliance of America. Prior to the organizational convention of the Workers' Alliance called by Herbert Benjamin, who makes no secret of his membership in the Communist Party and of his allegiance to the Soviet Union and the Third (Communist) International of Russia; and David Lasser, a Socialist, pro-Communist and pro-Soviet, a number of unemployed movements had been set-up in the United States. The two largest of these were the "unemployed leagues" and the "unemployed councils," organized and directed by the above-mentioned individuals. (See p. 479, vol. 1, Committee Hearings.) In connection with the Workers' Alliance, Earl Browder, in his book, *The People's Front*, says:

We Communists were the pioneers in this and in many other fields. The unemployment movement dates from the great Nation-wide demonstrations * * * called by our party, for which we paid the heavy price * * *. It was the Communists who raised the slogan of national unification, fought for it consistently, and finally brought about the merger of all into the Workers' Alliance * * *.

In reporting the success of the merger of unemployed organizations, Herbert Benjamin said in his report to the Third International (p. 478, vol. 1, committee hearings):

On April 7 to 19 [1936] nearly 700 delegates, representing all major unemployed organizations of the United States, met in a joint convention in Washington, D. C., and merged their forces into a single unified organization. The merger represents the successful culmination of a campaign conducted for nearly 4 years by the Communist Party of the United States of America and by the national unemployed councils which were organized and led by the Communists since the beginning of the crisis late in 1929.

In accordance with the previously arrived at agreement, the united organization will be known as the Workers' Alliance of America.

The program of the Workers' Alliance, as adopted by the convention, varies little from the program of the unemployed councils. Due to the fact that the councils were first in the field and were guided by the Communists, who initiated and led the struggles and organizations of the unemployed in the United States, they were able to crystallize a correct and comprehensive program.

The Workers' Alliance is, therefore, bound to play an important role in all the immediate and future struggles of the toiling masses of the United States.

The organizational convention of this Communist movement was held in the auditorium of the United States Department of Labor Building in Washington, D. C. (See p. 487, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The fact that this movement was set up at the invitation of Moscow cannot be denied. The purpose of it is not only to extend the Communist "front" movement in this country but, likewise, to relieve Moscow from the burden of financing the movement. The Workers' Alliance offered a new avenue of receipts in this country. (See p. 384, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Workers' Alliance endorses Communist-endorsed candidates for public office.

The unemployed in the United States have not yet been touched, have not yet been influenced by our propaganda, although the subsidies paid every year have reached \$100,000 * * *—(p. 384, vol. 1, committee hearings).

On March 28, 1933, Stalin, in his report to the Communist International (p. 380, vol. 1, committee hearings), said:

When agitators in America organize the idle, they will, no doubt, be able to obtain financial assistance from some American municipalities * * * Polish, French, German, and Czechoslovakian cities have been so induced by Communists to furnish funds to aid their agitation.

At the time martial law was declared in New Mexico in 1933, as a result of riots which had broken out there, the head of the National Guard in that section said (p. 380, vol. 1, committee hearings):

An interesting thing that we have found (you probably have known it for some time, but we learned it only recently) is that the Communist group, through these various organizations, has been successful in organizing its people to receive the major portion of relief donations and help on a national scope.

Herbert Benjamin was among those arrested in New Mexico at that time, when it was discovered that he was the leading force behind the riots. He was also the organizer of the first and second large hunger marches on Washington, D. C. Benjamin is now secretary-treasurer and organizational director of the Workers' Alliance. David Lasser, who attended the twentieth anniversary celebration of the "red" revolution in Moscow in 1937, is its national chairman.

The Workers' Alliance claims a membership of 800,000. This claim is verified by a report made by the National Youth Administration. (See p. 485, vol. 1, committee hearings.) In 1938 the Kings County, N. Y., grand jury charged the Alliance with fostering un-American doctrines and with intimidation of relief officials, charging its members \$1 per month for the program. (See p. 484, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Alliance is apparently patterned after the "Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg," Russia, set up in 1906 as a part of the Communist front there. As the councils in Russia staged sit-down strikes, so also did the Alliance stage sit-down strikes in various State legislatures and relief bureaus in our country. (See pp. 488, 489, 490, and 500, vol. 1, committee hearings, for information regarding sit-down strikes in Minnesota, Washington, D. C., New Jersey, and elsewhere by the Alliance.) (See also p. 636, vol. 1, for information on the "Unemployed Councils of St. Petersburg.")

Mr. Benjamin reported the progress of the Alliance in "Imprecor," official organ of the Third International, No. 23, volume 16, page 628. (See p. 478, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Benjamin also reported on the progress of the organization during the 1938 national convention of the Communist Party which was held in New York City.

While attending the organizational conference, the sessions of which were held in the Labor Department Building, delegates paraded in the streets of Washington. They marched to the strains of "The Internationale" and "Solidarity Forever" and chanted "To Hell with Roosevelt and Garner," both of whom refused to receive their representatives. (See p. 481, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Workers' Alliance is organized in practically every relief project in the country. This is attested to by the numerous witnesses from relief projects, including Victor Ridder, former New York City administrator of relief projects, as well as by former members of the Communist Party and the Workers' Alliance who appeared before our committee.

For further proof in connection with the close association of the Workers' Alliance and the Communist movement in the United States, see pages 982, 986, 988, 991, 995, 998, and 1000, volume 2, committee hearings.

A witness, who is a former member of the Communist Party and the Workers' Alliance, and connected with the Federal writers' project, testified to the fact that the Workers' Alliance is able to force its members on relief projects in advance of nonmembers. (See p. 1009, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Another former member of the Communist Party, now a member of the American Federation of Labor, charged that while he was in the Communist Party he was assigned to organize the unemployed councils, which later became the Workers' Alliance. (See p. 1043, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He also testified that the Transport Workers' Union is dominated by the same element. (See pp. 1043, 1044, 1051, 1067, 1069, 1070, 1074, 1077, and 1079, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Victor Ridder testified that the members of the Alliance kept relief projects in constant turmoil through agitation, propaganda, demonstrations, and demands, and charged that it is "affiliated with the Communist Party." (See pp. 1102 and 1104, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He also submitted evidence regarding the regular agitation publications issued by the Workers' Alliance and the Communist Party which are circulated in various relief project centers.

Other witnesses submitted evidence which showed that the local headquarters of the Workers' Alliance were also Communist Party headquarters. As an example, we point to the testimony of Walter Reynolds of the American Legion. (See p. 1339, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Testimony was also submitted to prove that the Communists have used the Workers' Alliance politically. (See pp. 1374, 1385, and 1395, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Much of this evidence was submitted by former Workers' Alliance and Communist Party leaders.

Witness Kittrock, former Communist Party member and an official of the alliance in Minnesota, testified that: "You cannot now be an official of the Workers' Alliance unless you are a Communist Party member." (See p. 1397, vol. 2, committee hearings.) He stated that when he resigned from the Communist Party attempts were made to expel him from the Alliance, of which he was a sectional secretary. Failure to accomplish this resulted in the withdrawal of the section's charter. He charged that the "Workers' Alliance is absolutely controlled by the Communist Party." (See p. 1398, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Another former member of the Communist Party (from Michigan), who exhibited his membership card in the party, testified to the Communist control of the alliance. He claimed to have been an organizer at the time of the merger into the Workers' Alliance. (P. 1488, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

A witness from the Federal Art Project in New York City charged that the "Alliance is controlled by Communists," and that it dominates that project. He further stated that the alliance is lauded by Aubrey Williams, National Assistant Administrator of W. P. A. projects. (See pp. 766, 777, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Among the successes in its "front" movements, the Communists point to the "Workers' Alliance of America." (See p. 371, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE

According to documents published by the "International Labor Defense," it is the American section of the "M. O. P. R.," or the "Red International of Labor Defense," often referred to as the "Red International Aid." (See p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings.) As reported by Mr. Marcantonio in a statement made to the "American Association for the Protection of Foreign Born" in 1938, the "International Labor Defense" has a membership of over 300,000 in the United States. (See p. 494, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The following statement may be found in the constitution of this organization (p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings):

The name of the organization shall be International Labor Defense, section of the International Red Aid.

In the pamphlet "What is the I. L. D.?" (p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings), the movement claimed 800 branches in 47 States in this country. In this it also states that it "cooperates with the American League Against War and Fascism and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights," together with the "Women Consumers Educational League, the Communist Party, the International Workers' Order, and the Jewish Workers' Club."

The March 2, 1934, issue of *Imprecor*, the organ of the Third International, states (p. 496, vol. 1, committee hearings):

A straight path leads from the relief association founded in London by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engles in aid of the victims of the revolution of 1848 to the founding of the International Red Aid. It commenced with local relief committees and has grown into the world-wide organization of the International Red Aid. It was the Bolsheviks who founded the International Red Aid in response to a suggestion made by the Association of Revolutionists under Czarism. From the first moment of the existence of the International Red Aid, the Communist International put the whole of its forces at the disposal of this mighty achievement of international proletarian solidarity. Lenin, Stalin, Manuelsky, Piantnitsky, Knorin, and Kuusinev, Clara Zetkin, Marchievsky, and many other Bolsheviks took up the work of the International Red Aid.

On the fifteenth anniversary of the Comintern (Communist International), the International Red Aid greets the Comintern and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and expresses its revolutionary thanks for the invaluable aid which it has given its work in all countries. Millions of "red" helpers greet the Comintern and its leader, Stalin; millions of "red" helpers call to the struggle and pledge themselves to carry on the struggle steadfastly and resolutely for the emancipation of the proletarian class.

For the most part the leaders of the International Labor Defense are Communists. (See *Affiliations*, pp. 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, and 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Louis Engdahl, who was the general secretary of the American section of the International Labor Defense for years until his death in Moscow in 1935, was one of the most widely known Communists in the United States. Its present secretary, William L. Patterson (colored), is a widely known Communist. Chief counsel for the International Labor Defense, Joseph Brodsky, is also prominent in Communist circles, as is its other secretary, Anna Damon. (See pp. 497 and 503, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The International Labor Defense, in its international organization outside of Russia, has "12,000,000 members," according to its own statement. (See p. 495, vol. 1, committee hearings.) In a report published in the July 6, 1934, issue of *Voice of Action*, a Communist magazine, the International Labor Defense admits that it is organized

in 70 countries, and that it has handled 25,000 defense cases, such as the Sacco-Vanzetti; the Gastonia-Marion, N. C.; Imperial Valley, Calif.; Scottsboro, Ala.; Atlanta, Ga. (Herndon); and the Mooney-Billings cases. Its reports indicate that most of those defended by the International Labor Defense are Communists.

In its own publication (p. 494, vol. 1, committee hearings) the International Labor Defense shows that its international congresses meet in Moscow. Under Arrest, a pamphlet issued by the International Labor Defense, advises the arrested Communists to use fictitious names and addresses, to lie, or refuse to give any information to police and Communists, and to use courtrooms as forums to exploit the theory of revolution. (See p. 496, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In reporting on the International Labor Defense, the Third International, in an article published in Labor Defender, December 1935 (p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings), said:

The political and moral assistance which the International Labor Defense organizations render our prisoners and their families, to political emigrants, to persecuted revolutionaries and anti-Fascists has saved the lives and preserved the strength and fighting capacity of thousands upon thousands of most valuable fighters of the working class in many countries. * * *

The International Labor Defense also maintains a section known as the "prisoners' relief fund", which raises funds for the jailed Communists and for the relief of their families while they are serving jail sentences.

We have learned, through documents issued by the International Labor Defense, that it raised \$61,825.23 for the Scottsboro boys. (See p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The International Labor Defense borrowed money from the American Civil Liberties Union with which it furnished bail for the defendants in the Gastonia-Marion, N. C., case. The prisoners escaped to Russia shortly thereafter. (See p. 503, 526, and 536, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The organ of the International Labor Defense in the United States published greetings to Soviet Russia on the anniversary of the red revolution in that country. (See p. 502, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Among the Communist "front" movements with which one of our witnesses, J. B. Matthews, was in the past affiliated was the International Labor Defense. (See p. 870, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He tells of its connection with Moscow. (See p. 897, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Mr. Matthews said, from personal experience:

There is no question whatever about the International Labor Defense being a Communist organization. There is no debate on that particular point.

In 1936 Communists launched a move to unite the various radical "defense" organizations in the United States under the International Labor Defense. (See p. 367, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

A united labor defense movement is becoming a pressing necessity. The International Labor Defense is unquestionably the outstanding and most effective organization in the field. It has a fine record of achievement. I am sure the leading comrades of the International Labor Defense will agree with me (Earl Browder) when I declare that we are willing to meet all groups interested in a united labor defense movement.

The front was perfected only in part. A closer cooperation with other organizations was noted, although cooperation had previously existed to a great extent. (See pp. 371, 537, 575, 628, and 682, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Witnesses testified that in a great many cases International Labor Defense local offices were operated in conjunction with Communist locals. In this connection an American Legion leader from Detroit testified. (See pp. 1339, 1340, 1346, and 1347, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

Mr. Kittrock, who was, as we have previously stated, formerly a member of the Communist Party, testified that all Communist legal problems were turned over to the International Labor Defense to settle. The organization was referred to in Communist circles as the "legal department of the Communist Party." (See p. 1396, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Still another witness also testified that the "International Labor Defense" is the "legal department of the Communist Party." (See p. 1459, vol. 2, committee hearings.) Police Sgt. Harry Mikuleak, attached to the Detroit Police Department, testified that his investigations concerning the International Labor Defense revealed that it is not only the legal department of the Communist Party, but that it is also a branch of the International Red Aid, located in Moscow. He submitted as documentary evidence the "Draft of resolution on agitation and propaganda for National Plenum of the International Labor Defense," confiscated after the arrest of a Detroit Communist Party and International Labor Defense leader. This document contained instructions from the "International Red Aid" of Moscow to the International Labor Defense leaders here, and clearly indicated the absolute Communist character of the International Labor Defense and its definite connection with it. (See pp. 1566 to 1581, vol. 2, committee hearings.)

One of the resolutions passed by the International Red Aid in Moscow (p. 1576, vol. 2, committee hearings) was as follows:

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, bourgeois class justice, can be solved only by the widest development of the agitational work of the International Red Aid. * * *

The resolution continued with reference to the International Labor Defense in the United States, as its section.

The International Labor Defense claims responsibility for the setting up in this country of a great many aid movements for the so-called "Loyalist" front in Spain. (See p. 566, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The "Loyalists," as we know, make up the "popular front" government in Spain. In this connection, the International Labor Defense announced:

At the outbreak of the Fascist rebellion in Spain, the International Labor Defense in the United States swung into action, and it was this action which became the basis for the great solidarity movement organized in the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Medical Bureau. The International Labor Defense began to collect medical aid, and to accomplish this it set up committees involving doctors, nurses, professionals, and all sorts of people friendly to the Spanish cause, whom we had never reached before.

These organizations, which have among their leaders many Federal employees, have collected over a million and a half dollars in the United States, presumably for relief for the Spanish "red" front, of which a large percentage is spent in this country for propaganda, etc. (See pp. 567 and 568, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The interest of Communists in Russia and the United States in the Spanish red front will be noted in testimony appearing on pages 372

and 564 to 573, volume 1, as well as in testimony appearing on pages 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 734, 748, and 751, volume 1, committee hearings. We will deal further later on in this report with the aid movements, which, in personnel, show the red "united front" worked out to perfection.

FRIENDS OF SOVIET UNION

The Friends of the Soviet Union is possibly one of the most open Communists "fronts" in the United States. It is headed by the former Columbia University professor, Corliss Lamont, the son of the Wall Street banker, J. P. Morgan's partner. Young Lamont has long been a close friend of the Communist regime and a supporter of the system of government existing in Russia.

The purpose of this organization, as shown by evidence submitted to this committee, is to propagandize for and defend Russia and its system of government. Like the majority of the "front" movements, it has a sprinkling of non-Communists (but sympathizers) on its official rostrum. It is a section of an international movement directed from Moscow. To show its close harmony with the Communist movement, we point to excerpts from some of its documents. An article published by the Friends, "Who are the Friends of the Soviet Union?" clearly indicates this harmony. (See p. 512, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Affirming the essential identity of interest of the working class the world over, the Friends of the Soviet Union recognize in the Soviet Union the outpost of world socialism. * * * The interests of the working classes and farmers the world over demand a close bond of solidarity between the workers in capitalist countries and the Soviet workers.

In another pamphlet, *Tasks and Activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union*, published by the organization (pp. 512 and 513, vol. 1, committee hearings), the Friends admit that they penetrate our industrial sections.

To mobilize the masses for militant action against war and in defense of the Soviet Socialist State through street meetings, demonstrations, factory-gate meetings and the organization of Friends of the Soviet Union anti-war committees in all basic industries. * * *

The attacks on militant workers, on hours, wages, standard of living and the attacks on the Soviet Union are parts of one whole of the capitalists' attacks against the working classes. * * * Recognizing the close connection between the defense of the workers of the United States, the Friends of the Soviet Union enter actively into all workers' struggles against exploitation and oppression, against lynchings of Negro workers, against deportation bills and capitalist terror, against white guard conspiracies and capitalist discrimination. * * *

As a part of this policy of workers' solidarity, the Friends of the Soviet Union send delegations of American workers to the Soviet Union to participate in May Day and November 7 (anniversary of "red" revolution) celebrations. In the campaigns for such delegates, the Friends of the Soviet Union enters into close contact with progressive and revolutionary trade-unions.

Across the top of an issue of a publication, circulated by the Friends of the Soviet Union among workers in the Navy Yard at Washington, D. C., was the Communist symbol—the hammer and sickle. The following statement appeared in one of these issues (p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings):

Friends of the Soviet Union local plan to make Washington a fortress of Soviet defense. Thus can we crystalize the great wave of sympathy and enthusiasm of the Washington workers, liberals, professionals, and students for the Soviet Union into a solid organization * * * into a powerful Friends of the Soviet Union movement.

The address of Prof. W. L. Dana, formerly of Harvard and later lecturer at the Boston Communist school, was quoted in a State convention report issued by the Chicago section of the Friends of the Soviet Union. This address ended with the words: "Long live the Soviet Union." Following Dana's address, Robert Minor, of the central committee of the Communist Party, spoke. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Throughout the convention, the nonparty united front character of the Friends of the Soviet Union was reflected in the composition of the delegates, the resolutions adopted, and was particularly emphasized in the speeches of the representatives of the central committee of the Communist Party, Robert Minor and Alexander Trachtenberg.

Prizes in the form of trips to the Soviet Union, with expenses paid, are awarded by the Friends of the Soviet Union in its various campaigns. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

On its membership card, the organization prints the following:

The Friends of the Soviet Union for the Recognition and Defense of the Soviet Union.

The Friends of the Soviet Union is an international organization, with headquarters in many countries, devoted to developing the international solidarity of the working masses for the support and defense of the Soviet Union. (See p. 515, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In one issue of Soviet Russia, national organ of the Friends of the Soviet Union, space was devoted to a warning to its members against holding meetings in Communist centers. It reported that some prospects had been lost because meetings had been held in "red" centers. (See p. 515, vol. 1, committee hearings.) This publication carries numerous articles by high-ups in the Communist Party. (See p. 514, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The American Technical Aid Society is affiliated with the Friends of the Soviet Union.

The report of the convention of the Friends of the Soviet Union, published in the organ of the Communist International, *Imprecor*, Volume 14, No. 11 (p. 516, Vol. 1, committee hearings), states in part:

The first national convention of the American section of the Friends of the Soviet Union was held in New York January 26-28 with 980 (220 more were unable to raise the fare) delegates present representing 796 organizations. It was a mass demonstration of solidarity for the defense of the Soviet Union, but upon a united-front basis.

The Friends of the Soviet Union, in its report, claims to be setting up 200 new branches in the United States. (See p. 516, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Its 1934 national convention was attended by 1,110 delegates, representing over 2,000,000 people, who applauded the Friends of the Soviet Union. (See p. 517, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In the 100-page edition of *Soviet Russia Today*, a special issue published on the twentieth anniversary of the "red" revolution, eulogies to the Communist regime in Russia were published. These were signed by many intellectuals in educational and social ranks, as well as by leading Communists. (See p. 518, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

Possibly one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist "front" movements is the International Workers Order. It claims a membership of 150,000, bound together

through an insurance and social plan. Its balance in the treasury on January 1, 1937, was \$1,015,698.90, according to its audited report. It has a number of sections, chiefly alien, and a juvenile unit. The order maintains a number of schools, camps, and meeting places. It has money invested in mortgages on real estate, bonds, etc. It has contributed large sums of money to Communist Party campaigns, and its officers are associated in other branches of the Communist movement. (See p. 577, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It claims over 2,000 branches in the United States. (See p. 579, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

It was the International Workers Order which set up the Fraternal Orders Committee to win support to the C. I. O. sit-down strikes. At the organizational meeting of the "aid the C. I. O. movement," 500 delegates of the International Workers Order were present from 17 national organizations and more than 240 locals, representing 593,085 people. (See p. 578, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The order regularly sponsors Communist Party endorsed candidates for public office. It takes part in Communist demonstrations. It has raised huge sums of money for left-wing strikes, and conducts campaigns among the foreign-born and racial elements. (See p. 578, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The International Workers Order is closely associated with the American League for Peace and Democracy and a number of other "front" movements. (See p. 579, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION

As a section of the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom, and Culture, the American Student Union is the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists. It was formerly known as the Student League for Industrial Democracy and the National Student League. The latter was the American section of the Proletarian Youth League of Moscow. (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Out of the coalition convention, which was held at Columbus, Ohio, in 1937, came the American Student Union. The united front was heralded in Moscow as "one of its (communism's) greatest triumphs." (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The American Student Union claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 student strikes in the United States. (See p. 582, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It announced that it set up the "front" movement, the United Student Peace Committee in 1938, which has brought into its front 17 national youth organizations. (See p. 583, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Young Communist League takes credit for the creation of the American Student Union, since it was its organization, the National Student League, which issued the call and organized the convention which was held in Columbus. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

In an advertisement which appeared in a Communist journal, *New Masses*, the Union offered free trips to Russia. In 1938 it issued a call for a "closed shop on the campus," urging a united front between its local college groups and certain teachers and professional groups. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.) It claims credit for perfecting a united front of Communist and Socialist students in Europe. (See p. 584, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

NATIONAL NEGRO CONGRESS

The committee found that the Communists are making a concerted attempt to win over the Negro. Several efforts in the past have made considerable inroads in that field. The international Communist movement among Negroes throughout the world is known as the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. This is a section of the Red International of Labor Unions, which is a part of the Third (Communist) International which directs the activities of Communist movements in labor unions. (See p. 624, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Communist front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress. Practically the same group of leaders directing this directed the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which was, until 2 years ago, the name of the Communist front for Negroes. (See p. 624, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The name was later changed to the American Negro Labor Congress, and in 1936 to the National Negro Congress. (See p. 625, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Second National Congress of the latter was held in Philadelphia, October 15 to 17, 1937, and the report of the congress states that it represented the "true spirit" of a "united front." It followed the Communist line throughout. (See p. 625, vol. 1, committee hearings.) All of the speakers at this congress were either outright Communists or close sympathizers.

The officers of the National Negro Congress are outspoken Communist sympathizers, and a majority of those on the executive board are outright Communists. The national committee is composed of a mixture of left-wingers and dupes. Under the bylaws of the organization, the control is vested in the officers and the executive board. No authority is vested in the members of the national committee. In this way the Communists and pro-Communists control the movement. (See pp. 626 and 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) At the Philadelphia congress, 1,149 delegates, representing over a hundred national Negro organizations with a membership of a million Negroes, were present. (See p. 626, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

A southern Negro movement was later organized. This was known as the "All-Southern Negro Youth Congress", the convention of which was held in Chattanooga, in April 1938. (See p. 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The national secretary of this has been directly associated with several other "front" movements. In his address delivered at the "National Negro Congress" in Philadelphia, he dealt with the success of the "Communist united front." The report of the southern group indicates that 355 delegates attended the Chattanooga Congress, representing organizations with a membership of over 383,720 southern Negroes. (See p. 627, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Workers' Alliance and the Farmers' Union were among those represented.

In his book, *People's Front*, Earl Browder, national secretary of the Communist Party of the United States of America and a member of the presidium of the Third (Communist) International, deals with the success of the "National Negro Congress" front movement. (See p. 371, vol. 1, committee hearings.) He says in part:

Significant progress has been made in building the united front of struggle for Negro liberation. The National Negro Congress, which met in Chicago in February and established a permanent organization, found the correct road to a broad

unity of the varied forces among the Negro people and their friends * * *. The position won by our party among the Negro masses carries with it corresponding responsibilities.

Other Communist "front" movements among the Negroes are the Scottsboro Defense Committee (pp. 502 and 628, vol. 1) and the Committee to Defend Angelo Herndon (Atlanta, Ga.) (p. 499, vol. 1, committee hearings).

AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS

The American Youth Congress was not originally set up by Communists, but it was penetrated by them, as shown by the reports of its first Congress, which was held in Washington, D. C. In 1934, at its second convention, it was broken up and reorganized into a "red" front. (See pp. 611 and 612, vol. 1, committee hearings:)

We defeated the enemy and turned the Youth Congress into a broad united front.

While there are many non-Communist organizations in the Youth Congress, there are over a dozen Communist, Communist front, and Communist sympathizing movements in it. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.) The Communists, realizing the value of such an excellent camouflage, immediately set about organizing similar congresses in other countries, and they called for a Paris International Congress. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Later a World Youth Congress came into being. This embraced the same organizations which were affiliated with the American Youth Congress. (See pp. 615 and 616, vol. 1, committee hearings.) Right-wing youth movements refused to attend the World Youth Congress which was held at Vassar. The organizers in the United States were leaders of Communist, Communist "front," and Communist sympathizing movements. (See pp. 615, 616, and 617, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

The committee heard testimony with reference to the Civil Liberties Union. Some witnesses listed this organization as communistic while other witnesses denied that it was communistic. We received in evidence a number of official pamphlets distributed by the Civil Liberties Union, which speak for themselves. From the evidence before us, we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not this organization can properly be classed as a Communist organization. In this connection it is interesting to note the report of the United Mine Workers filed in 1924, wherein the following was said about the Civil Liberties Union:

There are 200 organizations in the United States actively engaged in or sympathetic with the Communist revolutionary movement as directed and conducted by the Communist Party of America. Some of them are local in their scope and work; other are Nation-wide. Forty-five of these organizations of either "pink" or radical structure are engaged in the Communist effort to seize control of the labor unions in this country and convert them to the revolutionary movement. In virtually every instance these organizations have direct contact, through the mechanism of interlocking directorates, with the central executive committee of the Communist Party of America, or with its "legal" branch, the Workers Party of America.

Illustrative of this arrangement is the executive committee and the national committee of the American Civil Liberties Union, at New York, posing as the champion of free speech and civil liberties, but serving as a forerunner and trail

blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communist, among labor organizations. Harry F. Ward, born in London in 1873, and chancellor of the Union Theological Seminary, is chairman of this organization. The managing director is Robert Baldwin who served a term as a draft evader in the Essex County jail in New Jersey in 1918 and 1919.

This statement of the United Mine Workers is borne out by the evidence we have heard thus far and we strongly urge that this organization be thoroughly investigated.

The following are the officers of the Union:

Chairman: Harry F. Ward.
 Vice chairman: Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons.
 Vice chairman: Dr. Mary E. Woolley.
 Vice chairman: Dean Lloyd K. Garrison.
 Treasurer: B. W. Huebsch.
 Director: Roger N. Baldwin.
 Secretary: Lucile B. Milner.
 Counsel: Arthur Garfield Hayes.
 Counsel: Morris L. Ernst.

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin, National Director of the Civil Liberties Union, testified before a congressional committee as follows:

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Baldwin, does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government?

Mr. BALDWIN. Certainly, insofar as mere advocacy is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence?

Mr. BALDWIN. Precisely on the same basis as any citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not your personal opinion?

Mr. BALDWIN. That is the organization's position.

* * * * *

The CHAIRMAN. Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or an alien, it does not make any difference which—to advocate murder?

Mr. BALDWIN. To advocate murder?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. If it is mere advocacy?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BALDWIN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Or assassination?

Mr. BALDWIN. Of course.

In the printed leaflet issued by the Civil Liberties Union and called "Campaigns for Civil Liberty—1938," we find that among other things listed for their work is—

Aid in campaigns for the release of political prisoners, and against all prosecutions under sedition and criminal syndicalism laws.

* * * Changes in the immigration and deportation laws to end all restrictions merely because of political opinions; to admit and protect genuine political refugees; and in citizenship proceedings to remove tests of aliens' views not imposed on citizens.

Because of the widespread activities of this union and its tremendous influence, and because of the fact that the evidence shows that legislation written and sponsored by the union has been enacted by Congress, we think it important to set forth some of the testimony of Col. Latham R. Reed, which is as follows:

Colonel REED. Another pamphlet issued by the American Civil Liberties League in May 1937, is called "The Gag on Teaching. The story of the new restrictions by law on teaching in schools and by public opinion and donors on colleges." I read from page 19. They oppose the legislative requirements for teaching patriotism and say:

"The legislative requirements for teaching patriotism are either so vague or so narrow that they all boil down to dead formalities like flag saluting. Twenty-

seven States have passed such laws, all during or after the war. They reflect the fear of radicalism and disloyalty current at the time. Their general purpose is to instill 'into the hearts of the various pupils * * * an understanding of the United States * * * a love of country * * * a devotion to the principles of the American Government.'

Apparently they do not like those things. On page 31, they say:

"* * * Even active members of the Socialist Party would have difficulty in most parts of the country in holding a job in any public school system. * * * Tolerance of teachers with strong pro-Fascist or pro-Nazi sympathies, some of them fairly active propagandists, is common, especially among the foreign-language teachers in colleges. Many of them are, of course, aliens. But there is no tolerance of pro-Socialist or pro-Communist teachers, even among aliens.

"What this means in effect is that the whole school system, public and private, is geared to the support of those political parties which represent the economics of capitalism. In this sense and degree the school system of the country is under what may be described as 'capitalist political dictation.'"

(The pamphlet just referred to by the witness was marked "Exhibit No. 5, Reed," entitled "The Gag on Teaching," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Now they publish an annual report every year. This one happens to be 1932-33. They generally have some choice of the name they put on the outside of their report.

Mr. MOSIER. That is, Colonel, they name the report differently each year?

Colonel REED. They name the report differently each year.

Mr. MOSIER. What was the name on that?

Colonel REED. "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride."

Mr. MOSIER. That is the title put on there.

Colonel REED. This is their annual report for the year 1932-33.

Mr. MOSIER. But the title is put in quotation marks, facetiously?

Colonel REED. Yes; that apparently is the idea. On page 29 of this report they list "The Years' Issues, Gains and Losses"—gains from their point of view, or losses from their point of view. This says:

"The variety of issues tackled by the union is well illustrated in this program. In itself it is sufficient answer to those who charge us with being merely 'defenders of radicals.' The reports under each specific head indicate the work done."

I read here paragraph 2 on this page, so numbered. They list as part of their work for the year:

"National campaign against the Department of Labor's illegal raids on aliens, on deportations for opinion and on anti-alien legislation."

Mr. STARNES. Now, wait. That was back in 1932, was it not?

Colonel REED. I so stated, sir, and I was just coming to this thing which I thought might be of interest:

"National campaign against the Department of Labor's illegal raids on aliens, on deportations for opinion and on anti-alien legislation—notably the Dies bill for the deportation of Communists as such; protection of alien political refugees in the United States; admission of alien pacifists to citizenship."

I have quoted that particularly, because I thought it would tie right into the work that you particularly know about, sir.

(The pamphlet entitled "Land of the Pilgrim's Pride," 1932-33, was marked "Exhibit No. 6, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. From their 1938 report, which is called *Eternal Vigilance*; I think this will be of interest to you. This is at page 44:

"Although antialien sentiment is unabated, few cases arose either of refusals of entry to the United States or of deportation for political opinions, or of denial of citizenship on political grounds. Hundreds of aliens ordered deported in non-criminal cases have been permitted to remain in the United States when they have American-born wives or children, pending action by Congress on the Department of Labor's bill to grant discretion not to deport. The bill does not affect aliens holding prescribed political views. But a case now on appeal to the United States Supreme Court raises that issue through a decision by the Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans that mere membership in the Communist Party is not a deportable offense. On the outcome of that case depends the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges, west coast maritime leader, and a number of other Communists."

I think that the American Civil Liberties Union is pretty well qualified to tell you who is a Communist and who is not.

Mr. STARNES. That expression in their 1938 report is that "On the outcome of the *Stricker case* depends the outcome of the deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges and other Communists"?

Colonel REED. And a number of other Communists. That is page 44 of the American Civil Liberties Union annual report for 1938.

(The portions of the report above referred to by the witness, entitled "Eternal Vigilance," were marked "Exhibit No. 7, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. I criticize also the work this organization does. I would like to put into evidence a photostatic copy of an advertisement of a mass meeting in Newark. This happens to be back in 1930. However, this is what it says:

"WORKERS—NEWARK—FIGHT TO SAVE SIX MILITANT WORKERS FROM LONG JAIL TERMS!

"FIGHT AGAINST THE BOSSES' CLASS JUSTICE!"

Then it goes on:

"Come to the mass meeting Sunday, September 14, 1930—3 p. m. * * * Prominent speakers. * * * Admission free."

The paragraph at the bottom reads:

"Meeting called under joint auspices of International Labor Defense, American Civil Liberties Union, American Association for the Advancement of Atheism."

Mr. MOSIER. In other words, the American Civil Liberties Union joins the organization for the advancement of atheism in the holding of a meeting?

Colonel REED. And if you will, sir, dig through many of their reports which I am going to put in evidence, you will find that on many, many occasions they have defended atheism and aided atheism and atheist organizations. There is no secret of it; they boast of it in their reports. This, I think, is a very interesting thing and I would like to put that in evidence.

(The photostatic copy entitled "Workers" was marked "Exhibit No. 8, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Now here is another pamphlet which this organization has gotten out and shows very nicely a map of the United States and, in colors, where there are States which have laws curbing radical activities [exhibiting]. Here is another map showing the States which have laws with restrictions on Negro rights; here [indicating] laws establishing religion in public schools; here [indicating] compulsory patriotism in the schools; here [indicating] limiting labor injunctions and abolishing "yellow dog" contracts.

It is of particular interest because it characterizes to a very large extent the things that this organization is interested in, and the first one on the list is a map of the United States showing the States where there are laws to curb radical activities which they primarily oppose. I would like to put that in as an exhibit.

(The pamphlet above referred to, entitled "State Laws Affecting Civil Liberty," was marked "Exhibit No. 9, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Now, there are many other things here. For instance, here is a pamphlet called Call Out the Militia, which is an attack on the use of the National Guard to protect property in time of riots or strikes. On page 6 it says: "* * * The National Guard, as it is now constituted and used, stands as a constant menace to civil liberties."

Mr. MOSIER. Put that whole pamphlet in the record.

(The pamphlet entitled "Call Out the Militia" was marked "Exhibit No. 10, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. This is their annual report for 1927-28 [exhibiting] and there is some very interesting reading in it.

(The pamphlet entitled "The Fight For Civil Liberty, 1927-28," was marked "Exhibit No. 11, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Here is a pamphlet which they got out this year, 1938, in regard to the American Legion's effort to have universal finger printing in the United States.

Mr. MOSIER. What is the title of that pamphlet?

Colonel REED. "Thumbs Down. The Fingerprint Menace to Civil Liberties."

Mr. MOSIER. And that pamphlet opposes the stand which the American Legion has taken?

Colonel REED. Yes, sir—very definitely and in no uncertain terms.

(The pamphlet entitled "Thumbs Down" was marked "Exhibit No. 12, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Here is another one, dated June 1929, called Blue Coats and Reds, and this covers the use of police in any labor disputes or anything of that sort—attacking the police.

(The pamphlet entitled "Blue Coats and Reds" was marked "Exhibit No. 13, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Here is a pamphlet called The Post Office Censor reprinted October 1938. It says:

"The Post Office Department exercises one of the most sweeping censorships in the country—under vague laws against 'obscenity,' 'defamation,' and 'fraud.'"

On the inside here, it says:

"The powers of censorship now given the Postmaster General by Congress are among the most sweeping exercised by a Federal officer. He may, on the slightest pretext, exclude anything from the mails which he regards as 'obscene,' 'seditious,' or 'fraudulent.'"

This pamphlet is an attack on that censorship.

(The pamphlet entitled "The Post Office Censor" was marked "Exhibit No. 14, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Here is another one along the same lines, called National Council on Freedom From Censorship.

(The pamphlet entitled "National Council on Freedom From Censorship," was marked "Exhibit No. 15, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. Here is a pamphlet called School Buildings as Public Forums. A survey of discrimination against unpopular minorities in the use of public-school buildings.

This is objecting to the fact that in many cases Communists and Communist organizations were not permitted to hold meetings in American schools.

(The pamphlet entitled "School Buildings as Public Forums" was marked "Exhibit No. 16, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Colonel REED. There are a number of other things here. Perhaps they are almost too many to quote from. They are all of the same character. There are probably 15 or 20 of them here. I would like to put them all in evidence, unless you want me to cover some of these in particular.

Mr. MOSIER. Colonel, I think a statement from you, who have been a student of the American Civil Liberties Union for some years, is sufficient for the committee. If you will just leave the balance of the literature with the committee we are interested in looking it over and examining into this organization.

(The pamphlets and folders last above submitted were marked "Exhibit No. 17, Reed," and filed with the committee, consisting of 31 pamphlets and folders.)

Mr. MOSIER (continuing). Now I might ask you a question. How long have you been interested in the American Civil Liberties Union as such?

Colonel REED. Since I got out of the Army in 1919.

Mr. MOSIER. So that you might be said, might you not—it would be a fair statement to say that you have become more or less an expert on that organization and the literature which it issues?

Colonel REED. I have read a great deal of it and have followed it pretty carefully.

Mr. MOSIER. Would you or would you not say, as a result of your experiences and your examination and the work you have put in on this particular subject, that the American Civil Liberties Union, as such, is engaged in un-American activities itself?

Colonel REED. I do not think there is any question about it. I would say distinctly "Yes."

Mr. MOSIER. Is that, by the way, the organization that Secretary Harold Ickes admits he belongs to?

Colonel REED. It is. He made a speech—he was one of the two speakers, two guest speakers—no; two speakers, at their annual meeting and banquet last December in New York City, in which he delivered an address which was published. I can send you a copy of it, called Nations in Night Shirts. I will see that you get a copy of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Are there many other governmental officials who are members of the American Civil Liberties Union?

Colonel REED. I believe it has quite a few. It is rather difficult to get the names of their members unless their names appear on various of their committees; but there have been published and I think I can give you—I have not got it with me—the names of quite a few.

Mr. STARNES. What is the theme of that speech Nations in Night Shirts? Do you recall the theme of it?

Colonel REED. Well the tenor of it was, in my humble opinion, distinctly radical and wound up with, I think, an unwarranted attack on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Mr. MOSIER. Does the American Civil Liberties Union favor the Boy Scout movement? Has it been prominent in promoting Boy Scout activities?

Colonel REED. The American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. MOSIER. Yes.

Colonel REED. I do not think they have been active in it; no. I think they refer, in some of their documents, to the Boy Scout movement, as they do to the American Legion, as a repressing influence.

Mr. MOSIER. That is the point I wish to bring out. You have documents there, which you are going to present to this committee, in which they attack the Boy Scouts?

Colonel REED. I am sorry; these two pamphlets were issued not by the American Civil Liberties Union, but they were issued by the Young Pioneers. I have them here. These were not put out by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. MOSIER. They were put out by the Young Pioneers?

Colonel REED. They were put out by the Young Pioneers. They have a very nice heading "Smash the Boy Scouts."

Mr. MOSIER. Do they both refer to the Boy Scouts?

Colonel REED. Oh, yes; both of them. This is entitled "Smash the Boy Scouts! Fight Bosses' War."

And this one—"The Boy Scouts Is an Organization for Capitalist Wars! Smash the Boy Scouts! Join the Young Pioneers!"

Mr. MOSIER. And the Young Pioneers is a Communist movement?

Colonel REED. Absolutely—admittedly so. But don't by any chance get this thing in as American Civil Liberties Union stuff, because it is not.

Mr. MOSIER. You made that very plain. Probably my question misled you.

(The photostats entitled "Smash the Boy Scouts" and "The Boy Scouts Is an Organization for Capitalist Wars" were marked respectively as "Exhibits Nos. 18 and 19, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. I do not know whether it is in connection with the American Civil Liberties Union, or some other union, but now you say Mr. Baldwin is the director of this American Civil Liberties Union?

Colonel REED. He is the national director and has been since its very beginning in 1920. I think it is incorporated. Prior to that it was called the National Civil Liberties Union, and prior to that it had several other names.

Mr. STARNES. And he stanchly says it is the intention of their organization to defend the right to advocate murder and assassination?

Colonel REED. That was his testimony before the House committee back in 1931.

Mr. STARNES. It is very interesting to note some of the names. Who is this Mr. Amos Pinchot?

Colonel REED. I happen to know he is a brother of Mr. Gifford Pinchot.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is Felix Frankfurter?

Colonel REED. He is a professor at Harvard University. And I think perhaps it might be illuminating for you gentlemen to have this called to your attention. This is put out by the American Civil Liberties Union—or this was obtained at the American Civil Liberties Union office—this pamphlet [exhibiting] called The Foreign-Born in the United States. By Dwight C. Morgan. It is put out by American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. You will find that the names of most of the advisory board and so forth, or a great many of them, are also members of the American Civil Liberties Union committee or officers. For example, Roger N. Baldwin, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, John Dewey, Heywood Broun, and so forth.

This is a history or a story of "Immigration," "Exclusion of Workers," "Barred from Citizenship," "Deportation Laws Run Riot," "The Fight For Equal Rights," and so forth. They sent this out as part of their propaganda. It is interesting to note that back in 1920, as covered on page 61 of this pamphlet, it recites that Prof. Felix Frankfurter and seven other lawyers drew up charges and an indictment against the Department of Justice opposing the Department of Justice's action in the deportation of aliens in this country.

(The pamphlet entitled "The Foreign Born in the United States" was marked "Exhibit No. 20, Reed," and filed with the committee.)

Mr. STARNES. I am still intrigued by this name Amos Pinchot, because I remember, as a Member of Congress, having received a great many letters from that gentleman, and he seemed to be very, very violently opposed to the policies of the present administration. I am wondering if that is the same party. Is he from New York City?

Colonel REED. I believe so.

* * * * *

Mr. MOSIER. You mentioned Harry Ward?

Colonel REED. Yes.

Mr. MOSIER. He is chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union—his name is on that letterhead; is it not?

Colonel REED. I think his name is on that letterhead.

Mr. MOSIER. Well, Harry Ward is also president of the American League for Peace and Democracy, is he not?

Colonel REED. I believe that is correct, sir.

(D) ALIENS ENGAGED IN UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The committee received considerable evidence of the activities of Communist, Nazi, and Fascist aliens in the United States. It does not seem that these aliens experience any difficulty in entering the United States or remaining here after entrance. A large part of un-American activities is inspired and carried on by these aliens. Some of them are direct representatives and agents of foreign governments. All of them are engaged in fomenting discord, stirring up trouble, and spreading foreign ideologies. Some of them occupy important positions in other organizations and are able to wield considerable political influence.

There is no excuse for the failure of the Labor Department to deport these aliens. The case of Harry Bridges is a typical example. The committee secured from the Labor Department the file in the Bridges case. After careful examination of this file, the committee concluded that there was no justification for the failure of the Labor Department to vigorously and promptly prosecute deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges.

There will be found in the record of the hearings, a letter from the chairman of the committee to Robert Jackson, Solicitor General of the United States, which sets forth in detail the facts in the Bridges case as shown by the file of the Department of Labor. Suffice it to say, that this file shows that many witnesses testified under oath that Harry Bridges was a Communist alien, that he belonged to an organization which preaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence; that he himself advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence and that he had likewise advocated sabotage. Therefore, upon several statutory grounds Harry Bridges is mandatorily deportable.

The Secretary of Labor gave as a reason for postponement of deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges the decision in the *Strecker case*. This was the decision of the circuit court of appeals for the New Orleans district, which merely held that membership in the Communist Party alone is not sufficient to warrant deportation of an alien. However, in this case, the Labor Department failed to introduce the usual stock proof which it introduced in similar cases to the effect that Communists advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. In the file of the Labor Department on the *Bridges case*, there is ample proof that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. This file shows other grounds for deportation, which the Department of Labor has ignored.

In the opinion of the committee, the *Strecker case* does not have any important bearing on the *Bridges case* because the facts in the *Bridges case* are much stronger than in the *Strecker case*. The circuit court for the district in which Harry Bridges resides has rendered a number of decisions holding deportable Communist aliens where the

facts upon which the Government relied for deportation were not near as strong as the facts in the *Bridges case*. Why the Department of Labor should ignore the legal precedents established by the circuit court of appeals for the district in which Harry Bridges resides and attach so much importance to a decision in the circuit court of appeals for the New Orleans district is a mystery to this committee.

We do not have time in this report to discuss the *Bridges case* at length, but in the record of these hearings will be found considerable evidence, arguments, and the citation of legal authorities which, in our judgment, definitely establish that the Department of Labor is without justification in postponing deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges. In our opinion, the *Strecker case* was not properly presented to the trial court, the circuit court of appeals, or the Supreme Court of the United States. In the trial court the Government omitted the usual proof with reference to the advocacy of force and violence by the Communist Party. In the Supreme Court the Government by agreed stipulation omitted an important ground of deportation, namely, that Strecker had himself advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. This fact was pointed out in the chairman's letter to Robert Jackson dated October 29, 1938, which was written in response to Mr. Jackson's letter of October 26, 1938. Mr. Jackson has not answered the chairman's letter up to this date.

Other cases similar to the *Bridges case* was called to the attention of a subcommittee of this committee when it conducted hearings in Detroit. Typical of these cases was the case of Joseph Kolwalski, who was once deported to Russia because of his communistic activities. He returned to the United States and took up his communistic activities where he left them off at the time of his deportation. It was testified before the committee that there was ample proof that Joseph Kolwalski is a Communist alien and that he is deportable under the statute, but that the Labor Department has failed to deport him.

The committee also received evidence of Nazi and Fascist aliens, who are actively engaged in promoting the cause of nazi-ism and fascism in the United States. The committee believes that it will be difficult to ever cope with un-American activities and propaganda in this country so long as the Department of Labor follows its present policy with reference to deportation. The laxity with which the Department of Labor deals with alien agitators would be unbelievable if we did not have before us the most convincing proof. We believe that a more thorough and careful investigation will reveal the presence of scores of Fascist, Nazi, and Communist aliens, who could be and should be deported, if the Labor Department would proceed against them in accordance with the laws of the land.

We further believe that the failure of the Labor Department to carry out the laws with respect to deportation is a contributing factor to the widespread activities and propaganda carried on by un-American elements in the United States.

We further believe that greater care should be exercised in permitting aliens to enter the United States to the end that aliens who believe in or advocate communism, fascism, and nazi-ism will be excluded.

It must be remembered that under the decisions of our courts, aliens occupy the status of guests and Congress can pass any laws with

respect to their deportation that it sees fit. It is unthinkable that these aliens should be permitted to abuse their guest privileges with immunity. The evidence discloses that some of these aliens are actually supported by the tax money of loyal and patriotic American citizens. This is an intolerable situation. We recommend that the evidence and testimony in the record with reference to the activities of alien agitators be read in order that there may be a full appreciation of the seriousness of the situation.

Due to limited time and funds, we were unable to go into this question as fully as it deserves, but from the facts which we did obtain, we are convinced that a large part of the espionage and the un-American activities and propaganda carried on in this country can be directly traced to the failure of the Labor Department to enforce the deportation laws of the land.

(E) VOLUNTEERS TO LOYALIST SPAIN

The committee heard witnesses from Massachusetts and Michigan who testified with reference to the recruiting of volunteers for the armed forces of Loyalist Spain. The two witnesses from Massachusetts had served in the armed forces of Loyalist Spain for sometime and were, therefore, well acquainted with the situation. They testified that they and many others were induced to enlist by Communists and that their transportation to Spain was furnished by Communists; that they and the others who accompanied them were instructed to report to a man by the name of Many in New York, which they did; that passports were secured for them, and that they were sent to France where they reported to Communist headquarters; that from France they were conducted to Loyalist Spain.

These witnesses testified in substance that the Communists were in control of Loyalist Spain; that they controlled the government of Loyalist Spain and directed all activities; that many of the American volunteers in the Loyalist armies were virtually prisoners and while they wanted to return to the United States, they were not permitted to do so.

We do not have the time to describe the treatment of these American volunteers in the Loyalist armies, but we recommend that the testimony on this subject be read carefully. It will show the extent to which the Communists have gone in recruiting volunteers in the United States for the Loyalist cause.

The committee also heard several witnesses from Detroit who testified that they were approached by well-known Communists and asked to enlist in the Loyalist forces. They were instructed to report to New York and contact a man by the name of Many. Their transportation to New York was furnished to them. The testimony of the witnesses from Detroit corroborates a great deal of the testimony of the two witnesses from Massachusetts. It reveals that the Communists have conducted a systematic and well-organized campaign to secure volunteers for the Loyalist cause; that they have a central office in New York where all volunteers are directed to report; that they have sufficient funds to finance the transportation of these volunteers to Spain; and that they have been able to circumvent the law and operate illegally in getting these volunteers to Spain.

The testimony of Sam Baron, who spent some time in Loyalist Spain as a correspondent for the socialist paper, Call, corroborates the testimony of the other witnesses with regard to Loyalist Spain. This witness went to Spain as a strong sympathizer of the Loyalist cause. He still believes in that cause, but he frankly admitted that the Communists were in virtual control; that non-Communist volunteers were virtual prisoners, and that the Loyalist government was subservient to the Communists in Spain.

The committee sent the testimony of some of these witnesses to the Department of Justice and requested a thorough investigation with the view of punishing violators of the neutrality act.

V. FASCISM AND NAZI-ISM IN THE UNITED STATES

In its investigation of Nazi and Fascist activities in the United States, this committee, recognizing the splendid work done by the McCormack Committee, which made its report to Congress on February 15, 1935, has started where that group left off.

The so-called McCormack Committee investigated and traced the Nazi movement in the United States from the days when Kurt Georg Wilhelm Luedecke became their first real representative here on through the various steps taken until we come to the creation of the German-American Bund.

The German-American Bund had as its predecessors the "Teutonia Society" and "The Friends of the New Germany."

This committee had divided its Nazi and Fascist investigation into a number of subtitles which we classify as follows: Storm troops, correspondence and records, youth movement, consular aid, funds and propaganda, guns, rifle ranges, etc., Nazi-Fascist merger, German Bund, Italian Black Shirts, un-American organizations.

It was definitely shown that the 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 Europe.

These Nazi activities in the United States are traceable to and linked with Government-controlled agencies in Nazi Germany, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that unless checked immediately an American-Nazi force may cause great unrest and serious repercussions in the United States.

At this point 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 minority as the Polish-German minority in Poland, the Austrian-German minority which recently brought about the annexation of Austria, or the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia (vol. 2, p. 1108).

As an indication of the thoroughness with which this Nazi minority has been operating in this country through its connections with Germany, evidence was introduced showing that the official newspaper of the German-American Bund has had advance information on what was about to transpire in Germany and gave every evidence of intimate knowledge of events to come.

This committee heard testimony showing that the use of storm troops, the youth movement, the training and drilling, the consular aid—in fact all of the Nazi activities here are on lines identical with those used abroad.

There are approximately 80 Bund posts in the United States. There are no positive or definite figures of the membership although it can be stated that there are approximately 25,000 active members in the German-American Bund. The fact has also been established that some 100,000 persons are willing to be seen at the public manifestations of the Bund.

The Department of Justice conducted an extensive investigation of the Nazi activities in the United States. It carefully investigated the German-American Bund and estimated the total membership of this organization at 6,500.

STORM TROOPS

From this membership, the German-American Bund can muster within its own ranks a uniformed force of 5,000 storm troops and it was testified that in time of necessity this force could be augmented with "strong-arm" detachments of allied groups, such as Italian Black Shirts, Silver Shirts, Ukrainians, White Russians, and similar organizations (vol. 2, p. 1110).

Repeatedly it has been asserted that the storm-troop division of the Bund is nothing more than a force of ushers for public meetings. The fact is that this storm-troop division of the Bund is patterned after the Hitler storm troops and its members are the political soldiers of a Hitler-inspired movement in the United States. A witness testified that from the manpower of this force the Bund, working hand in hand with the German Government, can draft men for a sabotage machine and spy net.

Despite assertions by the heads of the German-American Bund that there are no German citizens in the storm-troop ranks, evidence presented before this committee clearly shows that members of that organization in all parts of the United States have privately admitted that they are not American citizens but are German citizens and in many cases have boasted that they never intend to become American citizens.

This committee has failed to find any reason for the existence of such storm-troop groups, but there is no Federal statute to prevent their formation and activities.

A witness testified that Herman Schwarzmann, leader of the Astoria, Long Island, post, read a book of German Army instructions to his storm troops, explaining it 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.

It was testified before the committee that although the Nazis in this country claim to follow democratic ideas in electing their officers in reality the elections were conducted along the lines of recent European plebiscites where everything is under such control that no one dares vote against the machine (vol. 2, p. 1113).

Another indication of the close connection between the German-American Bund and the Fatherland is to be found in the evidence showing that crews of German warships have been entertained by the storm troops of the Bund. German World War veterans are active in storm-troop ranks and help train and drill the men.

Many Bund storm troopers are constantly urged to make and have made trips to Germany, returning with great quantities of Nazi propaganda material (vol. 2, p. 1114).

Members of the Nazi groups have been found to be working in some of the great aviation manufacturing companies of the United States. They were found working in the United States Navy shipyards where they had succeeded in securing positions which placed them in direct possession of secret plans for the construction of United States Navy battleships of the latest type. They have even been assigned to trial runs on the latest type of these ships (vol. 2, p. 1115).

This committee also learned that as the result of its recent national convention in New York—the one held in September 1938—the German-American Bund is planning 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.

CORRESPONDENCE AND RECORDS

The investigation of this committee into Nazi activities was seriously hampered and handicapped because as soon as the resolution creating the committee had been adopted by the Congress, officials of the German-American Bund issued an order to their posts throughout the country to destroy all their records.

Dr. Otto Willumeit, 4344 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Ill., in a sworn statement made on July 15, 1938, said:

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 (vol. 1, p. 42).

Another affidavit, part of the proof that Fritz Kuhn, head of the German-American Bund, had ordered records of that organization destroyed, was made by George Froboese, who resides at 3227 North Second Street, Milwaukee, Wis., and who is the leader of the middle west district of the bund. He stated:

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 (vol. 2, p. 1144).

However, the investigator for the committee was able to secure possession of 25 letters which constituted correspondence between the Chicago Bund post and Nazi Germany (vol. 1, pp. 29 through 40).

In this correspondence it was definitely shown that the Foreign Institute of the Nazi Government at Stuttgart was one of the instrumentalities used in assisting the German-American Bund in spreading propaganda in this country. One of the letters (vol. 1, p. 31) proves conclusively a Nazi Government plan to take American children on vacations to Germany and the letter states that "properly handled, this can be of the utmost importance for the development of foreign connections."

And another quotation from the same letter—

Friendships cannot be made early enough. Youth is especially susceptible at this period. The impressions of a youth in a foreign country influence hundreds of his comrades on his return.

Other correspondence definitely indicates that German consulates in the United States have been the clearing houses for much of the Nazi activity here (vol. 1, p. 38).

Throughout this entire correspondence there is definite evidence and proof that the groups operated in this country are directed by organizations in Germany which get their support and direction from the German Government itself. Despite this connection, none of these groups in this country have registered with the Secretary of State in accordance with the foreign propaganda law which became effective September 8, 1938.

In fact, the Foreign Institute at Stuttgart is being conducted by one Fritz Gissibl, a former leader of the Nazi group in this country and whose brother even now is a member and leader of the Nazi group in Chicago.

Photographs placed in evidence before the committee, properly identified, show a number of German consuls in this country taking an active part in the affairs of the German-American Bund and particularly in the Nazi festivities arranged at a number of camps throughout the United States (vol. 2, p. 1122).

YOUTH MOVEMENT

Some German-American children are being Hitlerized by the leaders of the German-American Bund, despite the fact that under the American law every child born in this country is an American citizen.

The evidence thus far heard indicates that every effort is being expended by the bund's 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 (vol. 2, p. 1123).

American ideals and principles of democracy are boldly shoved into the background and a worship of Hitlerism is inculcated in these youthful unsuspecting minds. Although the committee's investigator frequently visited Nazi camps in various parts of the country, he testified that never once was there an occasion where he saw these nazified children led to a Christian religious service in a youth camp.

Health, Hitler, Heils, and Hatred are the "4-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 Germany who have emigrated to America.

Hence—

the yearbook states, after pointing out that Germany'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, childish voices ring out in a crescendo of "Heil Hitlers" in German-American camps throughout the Nation.

These American boys and girls sing hymns to Der Fuehrer and to the Fatherland they never have seen.

"Our youth are the lifeline of our movement," leaders repeatedly insist. "We may be gone soon and the youth must carry on our fight. * * *"

Under the guise of health, some 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 an occasional display of American flags. The swastika of Germany is the important flag to the boy and girl scouts. "Old Glory" is of secondary importance (vol. 2, p. 1124).

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, according to testimony before the committee, 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 will not discuss the bund unless they know the listener is sympathetic. The investigator for the committee testified that he 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 were situated.

"Bund?" the youth asked in pretended ignorance. "I don't know anything about the bund."

Investigation by this investigator disclosed that beyond the door he was guarding a group of boys and girls 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, 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 explained to a witness.

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 world-wide 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 according to testimony before the committee, 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" (vol. 2, p. 1125).

All boys and girls—

he continued, according to this same testimony—

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 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 explained, according to the testimony of a witness before the committee.

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. There was also testimony that 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 Kucha (coffee kitchen) and beer stand are housed in small wooden structures. Tents are set in a circle. In the center is a tall flagpole 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 and Ehre" (blood and honor). One boy displayed a hunting knife which had a similar inscription on the blade.

Chicago boys and girls when not in camp meet once a week or oftener at the Bundesheim (bund home) at 3853 North Western Avenue and at the south side headquarters at 605 West Sixtieth Street. They also attend the Theodore Koerner Schule, operated at the north side home.

The American Nazi youth movement is much stronger in the East and Middle West than in the Far West.

According to one witness, the west coast bund members enthusiastically welcomed Erich Barischoff, 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 was en route to the Dutch East Indies and thence to Germany to visit relatives. According to testimony before the committee he had nothing but scorn for the American Boy Scouts (vol. 2, p. 1126).

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 25 girls live in tents and in an old mansion, which had been used at one time as a speakeasy and later as a home for wayward girls before the bund leased it 4 years ago, according to testimony before the committee. 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.

A Philadelphia storm trooper in a conversation with his fuhrer, G. W. Kunze, 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.

Efdende camp, 9 miles north of Pontiac, Mich., serves the Detroit post. It does not compare in size or in buildings and improvements with the eastern camps. Entrance is down a side road off United States 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, according to testimony, 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 come 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 scouts is at attention “heiling” the arriving storm troops.

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. Commands and conversations among the scouts are entirely in German, but they politely answer questions in English (vol. 2, p. 1127).

Discipline is rigid. Some scouts are assigned to duty at soft-drink stands in camp on Sunday. Others carry water to perspiring troopers.

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, according to testimony, said his contributions to the Jungenschaft amounted to \$25,000 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 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 epaulets.

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 “We are the friends of the New Germany” (vol. 2, p. 1128).

They join enthusiastically in singing “Deutschland Ueber Alles” and the “Horst Wessel,” the Hitler national anthem, but have a difficult time remembering “The Star Spangled Banner.”

Girl scouts are trained in the folk dances of Germany and perform at the various bund functions.

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 to a witness who appeared before the committee, by a woman bund member. She said, according to this witness, 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 too 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.

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 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."

In Germany, all young people are forced by the state youth laws 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 (vol. 2, p. 1129.)

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 trades, go to schools and colleges, enter professions and politics, fight the enemies of Germany.

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 the committee’s investigator the boys and girls in camp obeyed orders “just like little soldiers.”

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 is said to have 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 case 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 for our pains, activity, and sacrifices.

An example, pointed out to the committee, 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 (vol. 2, p. 1130).

It was testified that Nazi propaganda was slyly worked into the public schools of that city in recent months under the guise of summer German-language classes; that ostensibly, the plan was to simply

teach the German language and sing German folk songs, but before very long it became apparent this was not at all the real purposes of the classes. Instead, instructions drifted into Nazi doctrines.

According to evidence before the committee, 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, according to this same testimony, offered their services without compensation, at least none from the schools. 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 the attention of the committee. 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, according to this same testimony.

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.

American educational institutions throughout the United States offer in their curriculums any number of German classes. Yet despite this fact, according to a witness, the German-American Bund has set up 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 Kultur 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 (vol. 2, p. 1131).

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. This list includes the following:

Eastern district: Manhattan, N. Y.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Buffalo, N. Y.; Hudson County, N. J.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Newark, 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 West 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 Dinkelacker, 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. Dinkelacker also declared that the older boys in the children's camp are given instructions 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?

Dinkelacker is said to have replied as follows:

No, they are too young to understand about Republicans, Democrats, etc.

In other words, it is the belief of the bund that these boys and girls are too young to be taught Americanism but 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 these 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 song books (vol. 2, p. 1132).

On page 3 of the 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 nazi-ism in Germany both abroad and at home to the detriment of democratic institutions in America (vol. 2, p. 1133).

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 according to testimony we heard, 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 *Weekruf*, official organ of the bund (vol. 2, pp. 1133 and 1134).

It is of interest to note that 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.

Photographs taken at many of the youth camps were introduced in evidence. In one instance pictures of children six years old were shown with the swastika, regulation German Army steel helmets and spears instead of the American flag.

CONSULAR AID

Denials to the contrary notwithstanding, this committee was greatly impressed with the evidence presented showing that there is a relationship existing between the German Government and the German-American Bund through the activities of Nazi consuls in this country.

Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, informed this committee's investigator at a time 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.

Ramifications of this "arrangement," Kuhn declared, also included a secret relationship between the German-American Bund and Dr. Hans Heinrich Dieckhoff, present German Ambassador to the United States, and German consuls throughout the country. (See vol. 2, p. 1149.)

In 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 committee's investigator testified that he 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. According to this testimony, Kuhn exclaimed:

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 the investigator for the committee:

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, 1938, 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 new consuls general appointed a little over a year ago was Manfred von Killinger, who was assigned to San Francisco on June 11, 1937. It was shortly after his appointment that the committee's 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, according to the investigator for the committee:

Of course, he is the kind of consul we want everywhere.

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 excerpts from the 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 that the ranks of the American-German Bund include not only American citizens but also aliens. This fact has been established in admission to the committee investigator 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.”

The committee had before it evidence (vol. 2, p. 1151) that certain American citizens residing in California had made trips to Germany for the purpose of being schooled in the art of Nazi propaganda and enlightenment. In one instance the father of one of these men (vol. 2, p. 1151) told this committee's investigator that his son's expenses to Germany had been paid through a secret arrangement between the German-American Bund and the Nazi Government.

The consuls and diplomatic representatives of Nazi Germany in this country show a much closer cooperation with the nationalists of their country than any other similar group accredited here.

In fact, the evidence introduced plainly shows that American Citizens have received Nazi propaganda by mail in packages carrying the imprint of the Nazi consulate at St. Louis (vol. 2, p. 1156).

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.

According to the daily press, Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, has denied the accuracy and authenticity of statements attributed to him by the investigator for this committee. This committee has informed the aforementioned Kuhn that it would be

very glad to have him appear as a witness and make his denials under oath provided he came in with clean hands and brought with him the full and complete records of his organization showing not only the membership but the amounts and sources of moneys received and the manner in which they have been expended.

FUNDS AND PROPAGANDA

Propaganda direct from the German Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment is distributed by bund officials and evidence was introduced showing definitely that printed propaganda material was shipped from Germany to United States citizens directly. These packages contained, according to the testimony, 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 here, and much material of antiracial and antireligious character which was printed here, shipped to German Government agencies, and then reshipped to the United States for distribution in this country.

Much of this propaganda is designed for the specific purpose of preaching the gospel of national socialism and the aim of Nazi Germany in foreign lands from every conceivable angle. The names of the American citizens to whom this material was sent from Germany were not permitted in the record because many of them feared reprisals from agents of Nazi Germany.

Some of the packages containing German material carried with them letters from one Johannes Klapproth, who is in charge of the American section of the World Service, one of the chief Nazi propaganda agencies. This agency, located in Erfurt, Germany, ships material to the United States and elsewhere. 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.

The packages coming here from abroad contained printed material from the pen of Ernst Goerner, of Milwaukee, Wis.; pamphlets from

the Knights of the White Camellia, an organization founded by George E. Deatherage, of Charleston, W. Va.; leaflets from the Russian National Union; and issues from the Christian Free Press, printed in Glendale, Calif.

Contained in the exhibits of propaganda presented to the committee was 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 the country, it is able to finance and distribute such propaganda.

One paradox in this particular propaganda maneuvering is the fact that the aforementioned Klapproth, apparently backed by a huge fund for this Nazi work, still asks gullible Americans to send him money for his printed matter which creates racial and religious bigotry in this country.

A superior court judge in California, without requesting it in any way, received four pieces of propaganda put out by the Nazis and printed in Germany, and envelopes advertising George Deatherage and his American Nationalist Confederation of Charleston, W. Va., which utilizes the swastika as its symbol (vol. 2, p. 1178).

The following affidavit has a vital bearing on this whole matter:

* * * 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 (vol. 2, p. 1178).

Another step in the activities of the Nazi propaganda machine is shown in the interview had with one Karl Neumeister, 1898 Daly Avenue, New York City. The investigator for this committee testified that he interviewed Neumeister with the following result:

Neumeister admitted under questioning that he is engaged in spreading Nazi propaganda. He explained he was doing this kind of work because he believed in the principles of Hitlerism. He admitted 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.

That many Germans living in the United States go abroad and take an oath of fealty to the Fuehrer of Germany was shown by evidence taken from a German newspaper, *Der Montag*, published in Berlin, under date of August 27, 1938.

Printing a dispatch from Stuttgart, this newspaper stated:

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.

Fifty Americans had taken part in this annual meeting of the Auslandsdeutschen Institute according to our testimony.

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 Sixth Reich Congress of the Germans in Foreign Countries with delegates attending from many countries throughout the world.

GUNS, RIFLE RANGES, ETC.

Pistol and rifle ranges for all storm troops of the German-American Bund were to be set up according to plans formulated at the convention of the bund, held in New York City in July 1937, according to testimony heard by this committee on October 5, 1938.

Local Nazi units in Philadelphia, Buffalo, Reading, Pa., and Detroit have target ranges and the Philadelphia Nazi post uses heavy .22-caliber rifles which are cocked like regulation Army guns.

A target range was set up at Camp Siegfried, Yaphank, Long Island, and on one occasion Herman Schwarzmann, head of the Astoria, Long Island, group, announced that the men were to be "trained to shoot and to take care of guns" (vol. 2, pp. 1206 and 1207).

A shooting range near Cleveland, Ohio, was also described in our records.

Bund fuehrers informed storm troops that the various German World War veterans in their ranks would train the younger men in the use of arms.

It was also testified to that many of these former German soldiers now in the bund storm troops ranks are expert riflemen, gunsmiths, and machine gunners.

Testimony also revealed that bund storm troops join National Guard divisions in order to obtain training in the use of various types of American Army guns.

The committee, in addition, heard testimony which revealed that less than a year ago German espionage began to make a major effort in the United States (vol. 2, pp. 1234 and 1235).

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.

NAZI-FASCIST MERGER

The Amerikadeutscher Volksbund, United States voice of nazi-ism, has been seeking to consolidate all Fascist elements in America, with their varicolored 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 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.

Fuehrer Herman Schwarzmann, of the Astoria, Long Island, post, told this committee's 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."

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 helms from the crowds.

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, 1937. 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, 1937.

N. A. Melnikoff, president of the Russian National League of America, was a speaker and said his organization would work with the bund.

Jenkins' plan did not place the bund at the top of the merger, he told the investigator for this committee, 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" (vol. 2, pp. 1209 and 1210).

California bund leaders also told this committee's 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 fuhrer, was in Germany conferring with Nazi officials.

The committee investigator testified that Risse, leader of the San Gabriel post, told him:

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.

Josef Santi, leader of the Italian Black Shirts in the United States, stated, according to this committee's 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.

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 Lektor 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.

Many other groups, some of virtually no consequence whatsoever, were all to be a part and parcel of the idea to merge as many organizations as possible.

GERMAN BUND

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-arm 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.

The committee received the foregoing testimony supported by documentary proof and photographic evidence (vol. 1, p. 11).

Members of the German Bund, the evidence showed, actually scoffed at American ideals, American institutions of Government, and are constantly deriding Americanism in general. Despite these facts, they are permitted to be trained and drilled on American soil.

The testimony revealed that the German Bund openly preaches a belief in the Nazi Party program in Germany (vol. 1, p. 76).

Leaders of the German Bund constantly express dissatisfaction with the democratic form of government and profess a belief that the only kind of government desirable in this country is national socialism, and that Americans should have one leader, such as Hitler, to dictate over all departments of Government.

Drill formations of the German Bund are strictly along the regulations of the German Army.

Prospective members of the organization are investigated not only in the United States but also as to their standing in Germany. Each prospective member is required to give a reference in this country and in Germany, preferably someone who is related to him and resides in Germany.

Members of the German Bund must comply with all orders that emanate from Germany. These orders are relayed by the German Government to the German Bund through the German consuls.

The aims and objectives of the German Bund, as distinguished from other organizations, are to grow as much as possible and to cooperate with the German-American Bund, to carry out all orders from Germany, to spread Nazi propaganda as and how they are told to do and

to carry out any other orders which might be given them without questioning the reason.

Any member of the German Bund may be recalled to Germany at any time, being a subject of that country. Once recalled he would be qualified to continue with military training in Germany.

Leaders of the German Bund are in constant communication with the German consulate. All organization matters are taken up with the consul, such as obtaining his advice and approval and consulting him when any question arises. The relationship is so close that leaders of the German Bund have established arrangements whereby they may communicate with the German consul at any hour of the day or night if the need presents itself.

No distinction is made between the children of the German Bund and those of the German-American Bund. They camp together, they march and drill together. All of them wear uniforms. They are encouraged to adhere to German traditions, to speak the German language, to sing German songs, and not to associate with American children as well as to stay away from strangers who might come up to them and speak English.

A school is maintained for the nazification of these children. This is the same school that serves the children of the German-American Bund.

Children and adult members and storm troops of the German-American Bund follow the swastika as their flag. The children in uniform wear belt buckles on which are inscribed in German the words "blood and honor." They also carry hunting knives with the swastika on the handle (vol. 1, p. 81).

Fritz Heberling, leader of the Chicago post of the German Bund, stated, according to a witness before this committee, as follows:

We are under one man only—Hitler. We deal with the consuls general of Germany in this country. We take orders from Hitler—no one else. We are stronger, more powerful than the others (meaning the German-American Bund), but we work with them and get along together.

Heberling explained to the witness that he meant by being stronger and more powerful that so far as the political consequences with Germany were involved they were stronger than the German-American Bund (vol. 1, p. 82).

German Bund storm troops join with Ukrainian Fascists and German-American Bund storm troops in various public affairs. All units, fully uniformed, march in parade together. There is close cooperation between these organizations in matters of mutual interest.

German Bund storm troopers are given opportunities to compete for chances to become aviation pilots under arrangements made possible by the Ukrainian Fascist organization. Members selected for this training receive free courses at the hands of United States Army pilots. The Ukrainian Fascist organization has for several years maintained an air force in Chicago.

This is not the only occasion on which aviation activities have appeared in the functions of the Ukrainian Fascist movement, the German Bund, and the German-American Bund. Aviators were seen dropping swastika flags on Camp Nordland, near Andover, N. J., and also at Camp Deutsch Horst, near Croydon, Pa.

On one occasion Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, visited Chicago to dedicate an airplane of the Ukrainian Fascist organization.

The Ukrainian Fascist movement extends across the United States, according to evidence before this committee. Limited time, manpower, and funds for investigation have prevented, however, a thorough inquiry into the Ukrainian Fascist movement. It is known, however, to the committee that members make frequent trips to Europe and there confer with Nazi officials as to the future of their former homeland, that a propaganda press service has been established in New York City, and that the Fascist salute has been in evidence at a number of Ukrainian gatherings in the United States.

ITALIAN BLACK SHIRTS

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, testimony before the committee revealed (vol. 2, p. 1182).

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 conditioning the thinking of certain American citizens and swerving their allegiance to Italian dictatorship.

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 in other organizations and on public affairs.
5. Raising of funds, in secret, to aid the Fascist regime in Rome.
6. Fraternizing 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 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 the Fascist dictatorship.

There was testimony to the effect that 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 American form of government (vol. 2, p. 1183).

There was also testimony that some of 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.

Some consular officials participate in meetings where American dollars are raised for the benefit of the Italian Fascist cause abroad.

It was testified too, that they spy on American citizens and threaten those who will not subscribe to Mussolini's dictates and philosophy of government and even resort to fraud to gain their ends, by warning victims with threats of revoking their American citizenship and sending them home to Italy. In other cases, it was testified that they also threaten harm to their relatives who are still residing in Italy, when they fail to win these American citizens over to the Fascist side.

It was testified that in the United States there is a branch of the dreaded Italian Government secret police, known as the OVRA, which corresponds to the Gestapo of Nazi Germany (vol. 2, p. 1186).

The committee also heard testimony that 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 by this testimony to the Italian consular service in the United States.

One of the most important fields of activity 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, according to a witness, 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.

This witness testified that this society spends thousands of dollars in free distribution of pamphlets, books, and prizes to pupils.

This witness stated that 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.

According to this witness, 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.

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 the Fascist, distribute books, pamphlets, and prizes from Nazi Germany.

As for the annual excursions for American school children to Italy, this witness testified that once these youths arrive on Italian shores they are regarded as part and parcel of the Fascist youth and military organizations.

As guests of the Italian Government, these American children, according to this witness, 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.

These American children in some cases return from Italy to the United States dressed in Fascist uniforms.

The Black-Shirt organizations are identical in character with 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 some 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.

According to testimony before the committee, 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.

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 publications, radio stations, schools, as well as through the theater and imported motion pictures.

A number of fascist propaganda films are also shown in the meetings of Italian-Fascist organizations 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 purpose is 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.

During the Fascist conquest of Ethiopia, there was collected thousands of dollars worth of articles containing gold and silver, such as ear rings, matrimonial rings, watch chains, and gold fillings from teeth. This precious metal was shipped to Rome.

It was stated by a witness before the committee that a branch of the American-Fascist movement also resorted to the 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 (vol. 2, p. 1196). 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, it was stated that they were mailed to Italy and there they were melted for the purposes of ammunition.

One of the aspects of 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 Works Progress Administration 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 Republic that is feeding, sheltering, and clothing them.

ANTIRACIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Many of the antiracial organizations that have come under our scrutiny were created for the pecuniary and selfish aggrandizement of crackpots whose offspring they are.

Many of them are not incorporated; most of them keep no books, have no records that can be checked, maintain no bank accounts, keep no files, and do nothing but talk about their supposed objectives.

Some of them are tinged with the virus of Nazi or fascistic activity and the only thing that has kept them from being welded into a cohesive group that would violate every tenet of democracy is the fact that they cannot agree on who should be the fuhrer and, equally as important, their source of individual revenue would be cut off.

Perusal of a partial list of such aggregations, shows indiscriminate use of the words "American," "Christian," "Defenders," "National" and "Patriot."

With the advent of Adolf Hitler in Germany and the creation of the Friends of New Germany, the Nazi counterpart in this country some 5 years ago, hundreds of these organizations have sprung up. They have been used to create racial and religious intolerance in America and have been the instrumentality by which carping critics of a changing social order here have tried to stop progress.

After the Congressional Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, headed by Congressman John W. McCormack, characterized many of these groups as "rackets" in 1935, there was a lull in their activities.

This committee had approximately 135 so-called un-American organizations brought to its attention. The committee had before it printed matter published by 73 of them, and due to the limited time and funds, could only personally check 54 of them.

Of the 54 organizations checked by the committee's investigator, who was accompanied by official reporters, all of them without exception refused to show their books and membership lists and contributions or anything of the sort.

In the course of this investigation the committee learned that certain Nazi-minded individuals in California were trying to foment anti-Semitism among Negroes. The testimony before this committee shows that Robert L. Vann, a former Assistant United States Attorney General and editor of the Pittsburgh Courier, one of the largest Negro newspapers in the United States, had received a letter from Fritz R. H. Heubner of Los Angeles calling attention to the Arab revolt in Palestine and urging the cooperation of the Negroes against certain religious minorities in this country.

A careful check and study of these organizations has convinced this committee that not more than 25 percent of them can be considered bona fide. The other 75 percent are pure rackets or letter-

head organizations created for the sole purpose of enriching their leaders. It must be stated to their everlasting credit that the great majority of Americans refuse to have anything to do with them.

Furthermore, the study and consideration given the material published by some of these groups leads to the inevitable conclusion that practically the entire content of them comes from some central source as yet unknown to this committee which seems not only to furnish the material but helps in its circularization.

Several tangible efforts have been made to merge these subversive and un-American organizations without success.

In the summer of 1937, George Deatherage, of the Knights of the White Camelia and American Nationalist Conference fame, issued a call for a coalition of Christian organizations to meet at Kansas City, Mo., on August 20 of that year.

At this latter conference, Deatherage claimed that the organizations present had a membership of more than a million, which was found to be a terrific exaggeration.

This same Deatherage urged the adoption of the fiery swastika as an emblem of this new group, explaining that just as the Ku Klux Klan had been brought to a greater effectiveness by the burning of the fiery cross just so his group would bring terror and fear into the hearts of many by burning a fiery swastika.

Evidence taken also shows that efforts to merge and join these various un-American groups have failed because they cannot decide upon who is to become the "super-fuehrer" and because they realize that once merged the individual sources of revenue that these groups may have had would be shut off.

However, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the great majority of citizens of the United States of every race, religion, social, or economic condition in life are loyal and patriotic Americans; that the great majority of laboring people, both organized and unorganized, are opposed to Communism.

VI. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

While it is true that our committee has only scratched the surface of the un-American and subversive activities of those who are invading America with their alien ideologies, it is also true that we have received abundant evidence to support the following findings with reference to the Communist Party:

It is an integral part of a world revolutionary movement for proletarian internationalism.

It is under direct control of the Third International which has its headquarters in Moscow.

It looks upon Russia as the "fatherland of the revolutionary workers," and cannot claim, therefore, any degree of loyalty to the American form of government.

Whereas it once employed the frank slogan of "the Defense of the Soviet Union," it works today to embroil this country in a foreign war by the propagation of the doctrine of "collective security."

It seeks ultimately the overthrow of the American form of government as established by the Constitution of the United States.

It aims to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat in this country, notwithstanding its present tactical silence on this fundamental tenet of communism.

It rests upon brutal violence despite its present dishonest profession of belief in the processes of democracy.

It is bound by no ordinary ethical limitations in seeking to advance its program.

It aims at the complete confiscation of private property in the means of production, including the socialization of the land.

It hides behind civil liberties in pursuing ends which will destroy civil liberties for all but the ruling few of the proletarian dictatorship.

It works on the principle of leverage in accomplishing its purposes, depending not upon a majority of voters but upon a highly disciplined minority.

It is energetically applying the Trojan Horse tactic of penetrating other organizations for the purpose of seeking to control them or, failing that, to destroy them.

It is unusually active in our schools, both openly and subtly insinuating its propaganda into the minds of students.

It is boring from within the two major political parties.

During the next 2 years, it will concentrate much of its effort in the formation of a national farmer-labor party which it will seek to dominate.

It is the enemy of all forms of religion and looks upon faith in God as an outworn superstition.

It is, nevertheless, doing its utmost to make inroads into numerous religious organizations.

In the masquerade of science, it offers the most unscientific approach to human problems which the world has seen since the Dark Ages.

It stifles the creative impulses of the individual by its deadening regimentation.

It is basically a philosophy of hatred which seeks to promote class war.

It is boring from within labor unions on a wide scale, seeking to dominate or wreck the unions for purposes that are alien to the interests of organized wage earners.

It deliberately provokes violence in labor disputes for the purpose of training a revolutionary group in the tactics of civil war.

It seeks to sabotage and cripple our economy on every possible front, with a view to its profiting by the resulting economic crises.

It alines itself with every crack-pot scheme to undermine our system of free enterprise and private initiative.

It has penetrated the Government itself, with the result that some Communists hold key positions in Federal agencies and projects.

It has induced and financed many volunteers to go from this country to fight on the side of the Spanish Loyalist Government.

It aims to incite race war by its special agitation among the Negro population of this country.

It fears to have the spotlight of publicity turned upon its real aims and methods, and will stop at nothing to discredit, if possible, those who fearlessly expose its program and activities.

It seeks to silence all hostile criticism by charging its critics with red-baiting, while, at the same time, it viciously baits those who dare to oppose it.

It resorts to organized campaigns of character assassination wherever the charge of red-baiting does not suffice to silence its critics.

It tries to exploit any existing discontent for the purpose of building

a revolutionary movement which has nothing to do with the solving of the problems from which discontent arises.

It dangles the promise of economic security before the victims of economic distress, offering them a new slavery in the name of emancipation.

It systematically and deliberately deceives many of our people by the use of high-sounding names for organizations which profess laudable objectives, but which, underneath, are designed solely to advance the cause of communism.

It exercises extensive influence among several millions in this country through the device known as the united front.

It persuades thousands of careless or innocent Americans to lend their names for the propaganda purposes of the Communist Party.

It employs numerous "fellow travelers" who outnumber its card-holding membership, and by the use of these "fellow travelers" extends its influence into organizations and institutions of every description.

Finally, it is diametrically opposed to the principles of Americanism, as set forth in the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

Our committee has received abundant evidence to support these findings with reference to the nature, program, and activities of the Communist Party. We have also probed into the activities of the Nazi-Fascist groups which are operating in this country under instructions from Germany and Italy. The Nazi-Fascist groups gave their own special techniques, but they, like the Communist Party, aim ultimately at the destruction of our free institutions. Communism differs from nazi-ism and fascism in details, but in the larger fundamentals these three forms of dictatorship become more and more alike with every passing year. Both the Nazis and the Fascists have shown themselves to be apt students of the Communist tactics of propaganda as well as able imitators of the Communist form of dictatorship in government.

We believe that the failure of the Labor Department to carry out the laws with respect to deportation is a contributing factor to the widespread activities and propaganda carried on by un-American elements in the United States.

This committee believes that the National Labor Relations Board should be subjected to a thorough investigation for the purpose of determining to what extent the members of the Board and its employees approve of the Communist views expressed by Mr. David J. Sappos, chief economist.

Communists seized strategic positions in certain unions affiliated with the C. I. O.

Communist documents and records presented to the committee indicate that the Communist leaders assumed great credit for the organizing of steel, automobile, and other industries and the direction of the strikes which followed.

This committee has established, on the basis of the Communist Party's own literature, that Communists are actively boring from within churches, schools, youth organizations, and every other organization and institution into which they can find entrance.

A courageous stand on the part of all public officials involved—with reference to sit-down and unauthorized strikes and Lansing Holiday incident—would have prevented these disgraceful occurrences and would have avoided the loss of millions of dollars to both labor and

capital, which resulted from the stoppage of work and the inability of thousands of employees to work. This committee feels it would be derelict in its duty to the people if it did not denounce this lawlessness as distinctly and clearly un-American.

The sit-down strike technique was largely imported from abroad and was put into effect in this country for the purpose of paralyzing industry and producing a revolution.

It would be hard to estimate the total loss sustained by the Nation as a result of the numerous acts of violence and lawlessness that occurred during this period. Most of it can be attributed to the activities of the Communists in instigating and conducting unauthorized strikes and sit-down strikes.

The evidence indicates very clearly that the Communists had succeeded in penetrating the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and seizing many strategic positions; that they were using the Farmer-Labor Party to promote communism and class warfare.

From the information before the committee, we feel convinced that a thorough investigation of the west coast will show that the Communists have enjoyed greater success there than in any other section of the country; that they have seized many important positions in the labor movement, and are directing many labor and political activities. The loss in money and man-hours directly traceable to Communist activity is tremendous.

The Communist Party has never found it necessary to have a majority of the members of the united front on its side in order to exercise a dominant control in their affairs and activities.

The aim of the united front is to extend the influence of the Communist Party far beyond the circle of its own membership, and even far beyond the periphery of the fellow travelers.

By the utilization of discontent, the Communist Party undertakes to transform any degree or kind of protest into petty hatred, and from this to fashion the instruments of class war.

The largest of the Communist front movements in the United States is the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the League Against War and Fascism.

Second in size and importance, from the Communist standpoint and, therefore, a menace to our country, is the Workers Alliance of America.

According to documents published by the International Labor Defense, it is the American section of the M. O. P. R., or the Red International of Labor Defense, often referred to as the Red International Aid.

The Friends of the Soviet Union is possibly one of the most open Communist fronts in the United States.

Possibly one of the most effective and closely knitted organizations among the Communist front movements is the International Workers Order.

As a section of the World Student Association for Peace, Freedom and Culture, the American Student Union is the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists.

The Communist front movement in the United States among Negroes is known as the National Negro Congress.

The American Youth Congress was not originally set up by Communists but it was penetrated by them, as shown by the reports of its first congress, which was held in Washington, D. C.

From the evidence before us we are not in a position to definitely state whether or not the Civil Liberties Union can properly be classed as a Communist organization. But the statement of the United Mine Workers to the effect that the Civil Liberties Union is serving as a forerunner and trail blazer for the active and insidious activities of the Communist is borne out by the evidence we have heard thus far. We strongly urge that this organization be investigated.

A large part of un-American activities is inspired by Communists, Nazis, and Fascists, aliens in the United States. Some of them are direct representatives and agents of foreign governments. Some of them occupy important positions in other organizations and are able to wield considerable political influence.

There is no excuse for the failure of the Labor Department to deport these aliens.

In the opinion of the committee the *Strecker case* does not have any important bearing on the *Bridges case* because the facts in the *Bridges case* are much stronger than in the *Strecker case*.

In the record of these hearings will be found considerable evidence, arguments, and citations of legal authorities which, in our judgment, definitely establish that the Department of Labor is without justification in postponing deportation proceedings against Harry Bridges.

The testimony reveals that the Communists have conducted a systematic and well-organized campaign to secure volunteers for the loyalist cause; that they have a central office in New York City where all volunteers are directed to report; that they have sufficient funds to finance the transportation of these volunteers to Spain and that they have been able to circumvent the law and operate illegally in getting these volunteers to Spain.

It was definitely shown that the Nazi activities in the United States have their counterpart in everything that has been done and is being done by similar movements of Nazis in other countries.

These Nazi activities in the United States are traceable to and linked with government-controlled agencies in Nazi Germany and it is not unreasonable to suppose that unless checked immediately an American-Nazi force may cause great unrest and serious repercussions in the United States.

From its membership, the German-American Bund can muster within its own ranks a uniformed force of 5,000 storm troops.

In this correspondence (correspondence secured by an investigator of the committee from the Chicago Bund post) it was definitely shown that the foreign institute of the Nazi Government at Stuttgart was one of the instruments used in assisting the German-American Bund in spreading propaganda in this country. Throughout this entire correspondence there is definite evidence and proof that the groups operated in this country are directed by organizations in Germany and get their support and directions from the German Government itself.

Some German-American children are being Hitlerized by the leaders of the German-American Bund, despite the fact that under the American law every child born in this country is an American citizen.

Denials to the contrary notwithstanding, this committee was greatly impressed with the evidence presented showing that there is a relationship existing between the German Government and the German-American Bund through the activity of Nazi consuls in this country.

Propaganda direct from the German Ministry of Propaganda and Enlightenment is distributed by bund officials and evidence was introduced showing definitely that printed propaganda material was shipped from Germany to the United States.

Pistol and rifle ranges for all storm troops of the German-American Bund were to be set up according to plans formulated at the conference of the bund in New York City in July 1937, according to testimony heard by this committee on October 5, 1938.

The Amerika Deutscher Volksbund, United States voice of nazi-ism, has been seeking to consolidate their varicolored shirts into one great movement which the Hitler-inspired bund is to lead.

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, testimony before the committee revealed.

Many of the antiracial organizations that have come under our scrutiny were created for the pecuniary and selfish aggrandizement of crackpots whose offspring they are.

From the testimony we heard we are convinced that a rather large number of the employees on the Federal Theater Project are either members of the Communist Party or are sympathetic with the Communist Party. It is also clear that certain employees felt under compulsion to join the Workers' Alliance of America in order to retain their positions. The evidence is very clear that certain employees carried on communistic activities openly in the Federal Writers' Project.

The real influence of Communists must be measured in terms of their ability to direct or influence other organizations and groups who have many times the membership that the Communist Party claims. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the great majority of citizens of the United States of every race, religion, social, or economic condition in life are loyal and patriotic Americans, that the great majority of laboring people, both organized and unorganized, are opposed to communism.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS

Although this committee has worked continuously since the adjournment of Congress and has done everything within its power to get as many facts as possible to the people we have only skimmed the surface. We were able only to hold brief hearings in New York and Detroit. We were urged to conduct hearings in many other cities, such as Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Birmingham, Atlanta, New Orleans, San Antonio, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland, but due to limited time and funds we were unable to comply with these requests. We had hoped and planned to conduct extensive hearings on the west coast because the evidence before the committee indicates that this area ranks first in the extent of un-American activities and propaganda. We received numerous letters from citizens and public officials in the west coast area urging us to hold hearings there. We have approximately 150 witnesses in the west coast section that should have been heard. However, due to a lack of funds we were unable to devote any extensive consideration to west coast activities of Com-

munist, Nazi, and Fascist groups. The situation is so serious on the west coast that it would require 6 months of preparatory investigation before a committee would be ready to conduct hearings, and it is probable that hearings would last 3 or 4 months.

Not only were we unable to investigate un-American activities and propaganda in many important sections of the country, but as a matter of fact, we found it impossible to investigate many of the important phases of un-American activities. Even as to those that we did investigate, we only scratched the surface.

In view of the foregoing, we do not think that the investigation has proceeded far enough to justify us in recommending legislation to Congress. We need and can secure much more information not only from sections of the country that we have investigated but also from the larger areas that we have not even touched before recommending legislation to Congress. Even after we are supplied with full and complete information and facts several months of consideration must be devoted to the question of legislation. This will require expert assistance and thorough research.

It is our recommendation that the House of Representatives adopt a resolution continuing this committee and investigation for a period of 2 years, and that the House of Representatives place at the disposal of the committee not less than \$150,000; that the committee continue its investigation along nonpartisan and courageous lines because any investigation conducted along any other line would be more harmful than helpful; that unless the committee is supplied with adequate funds upon the definite understanding that the investigation shall continue along nonpartisan lines, without regard to any other question except the discovery of the truth, the investigation should not be continued. No individual or organization engaged in un-American activities should be shielded because of political expediency. The Congress should also require the appropriate departments to cooperate with the committee. The continued success of the investigation will depend solely upon the courage, fearlessness, and the thoroughness with which it is conducted, and upon the assumption and maintenance throughout the investigation of a strictly nonpartisan attitude and policy.

MARTIN DIES, *Chairman*,
JOE STARNES,
JOHN J. DEMPSEY,
HAROLD G. MOSIER,
ARTHUR D. HEALEY,
N. M. MASON,
J. PARNELL THOMAS,

Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

Attest:

ROBERT E. STRIPLING, *Secretary.*



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