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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS BEFORE A SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

### H. Res. 282

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

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### VOLUME 14

AUGUST 29, OCTOBER 1, 2, 4, 1940; MAY 21, 22, 26, 27, 29  
JUNE 10, 12, AUGUST 11, 1941

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





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WASHINGTON : 1941

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

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JOE STARNES, Alabama

HARRY P. BEAM, Illinois

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J. PARNELL THOMAS, New Jersey

ROBERT E. STRIFLING, *Chief Investigator*

J. B. MATTHEWS, *Director of Research*



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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1940

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

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., the Honorable Martin Dies (chairman), presiding.

Present: Hon. Joseph E. Casey of Massachusetts, Hon. Noah M. Mason of Illinois.

Also present: J. B. Matthews, director of research for the committee; Brien McMahon, Esq., counsel representing Lt. Carl Byoir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order, please.

Because of the absence of a quorum the Chair will designate himself and the gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Casey, and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Mason, as a subcommittee for the purpose of hearing Congressman Wright Patman, and also for the purpose of hearing Mr. Carl Byoir.

As is known, several months ago the Chair appointed a subcommittee, composed of Mr. Dempsey of New Mexico, Mr. Mason of Illinois, and Mr. Casey of Massachusetts, to hear and investigate certain charges made by Mr. Patman with reference to Mr. Carl Byoir.

The committee had one of its investigators go into the matter, and a report was filed by this investigator.

This report, together with a report of the F. B. I., was considered, as I understand, by the subcommittee.

Since the Chair was not present, he will call on one of the gentlemen here on the subcommittee to make a more complete statement with reference to the matter

Mr. Mason, I will call on you.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, in summarizing the situation to date in this matter, I would say that certain charges were made on the floor of the House by Congressman Patman against Mr. Carl Byoir that would tend to give the impression that Mr. Byoir was un-American and that certain activities in the past, and perhaps the present, would indicate so.

Mr. Byoir first requested of the Dies committee that the committee go into the matter as to charges made against him in full, check on his past, go over all of his accounts, and—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That part is true. But it should be stated also that Mr. Patman first made the request that the matter be investigated. Mr. Byoir made the request also later.

Mr. MASON. All right.

Our investigator, Mr. Stedman, made an investigation, quite an elaborate investigation, a thorough one, and brought a report to our committee—that is, the full committee—and the F. B. I. had also made an investigation of Mr. Carl Byoir, and also had in its files a report on the matter.

So that when your subcommittee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Dempsey, as chairman, Mr. Casey, and myself, to take this matter up we had available the files of our investigator, Mr. Stedman, and the files of the F. B. I. Your subcommittee went over the files with the investigator quite thoroughly and conscientiously, and also, through the Department of Justice, the files of the F. B. I., and as a result of that careful investigation your subcommittee made the following report in this matter:

The subcommittee you appointed to investigate the un-American activity charges made against Mr. Carl Byoir, after carefully going over the report of our special investigator, Mr. Stedman, and also after consulting the files of the F. B. I. in the case, find nothing to justify the charges made, nor any evidence that could possibly form a basis for such charges.

We, therefore, find satisfaction in clearing Mr. Carl Byoir of the charges made against him, and recommend that a resolution covering a complete exoneration of Mr. Byoir be voted by the full committee as soon as possible, such resolution to be based upon this subcommittee report.

We also believe, in fairness to Mr. Byoir, immediate publicity should be given to the subcommittee's findings.

Signed by John C. Dempsey, chairman; Joseph Casey, and N. M. Mason.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes to make the statement that Mr. Patman was assured by the Chair that he would have an opportunity to be heard, and present any facts or any information which he had, and that this was in accordance with the practice that we have heretofore engaged in, and that the committee intended to go into this matter fully and hear all evidence that we could obtain on the subject matter.

Mr. CASEY. I do not think the subcommittee was aware of that assurance given by the Chair, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not recall about that fact.

Mr. MASON. But I think it is perfectly proper that such assurance should be given, and that before action of the full committee on this report of the subcommittee be taken that should be done.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. Then we can go ahead?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. Does that clarify the situation for the sake of the record?

(No reponse.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Patman, will you please come around? Will you raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

**HON. WRIGHT PATMAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM  
THE STATE OF TEXAS**

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Patman.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, knowing the fairness of the Members of the House, and the reputation for fairness of Mr. Mason and Mr. Casey in particular, I feel like that they will lay aside any convictions

they have had in this matter in the past, and start anew in its consideration. I presume that is true. If it is not true I do not feel like going ahead.

On a committee of three, two of them, Mr. Mason and Mr. Casey, have gone on record as being opposed to what I am going to say, and exonerated this man.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Patman, the answer can be made to that by these gentlemen by saying that they were basing their decision on the evidence that they had before them at the time.

Mr. PATMAN. At that time?

The CHAIRMAN. They had the report of the investigator, Mr. Stedman, and the report of the F. B. I.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, if there is evidence in addition to that of course these gentlemen will be governed by the new evidence. I do not have any authority to speak for them.

Mr. CASEY. There is no question about that in my mind.

Mr. MASON. However, Mr. Chairman, having gone over all the evidence available, and having found on that evidence a judgment conclusion, it will be necessary before I change my mind that additional evidence shall be adduced which would at least change the situation insofar as the evidence that we have gone over is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what Mr. Patman proposes to do.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. Of course, that places quite a burden on me, and ordinarily one occupying Mr. Mason's position would not be qualified for jury service, but I am perfectly willing to trust the gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. I think Mr. Patman should have the opportunity, first as a Member of the House of Representatives, and then his responsibility as a citizen, as well as a Member of the House of Representatives, to be heard, as he is making certain statements and charges here, and I am sure the committee has every disposition and desire to hear what you have to say, because it is our duty to receive information, and we are glad to give you the opportunity to proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. All right, Mr. Chairman; I appreciate the opportunity you have given me for a hearing.

Regarding Mr. Mason's statement that he was probably influenced in some way by the F. B. I. report, the F. B. I. could only investigate one thing, and that was whether or not Lieutenant Colonel Byoir had registered according to the law as representing a foreign principal. And of course they failed to find that since 1938, when that law was passed, that he had violated the law. So any exoneration of the F. B. I. is necessarily restricted to that one point only.

The charges that I made on the floor of the House, and the charges which I feel confident that I can sustain before this committee, were that Lieutenant Colonel Byoir was guilty of un-American activities.

I realize, gentlemen, that is quite a serious charge, and I do not make charges unless I have what I consider to be adequate and sufficient proof to sustain those charges.

It will be remembered—of course, gentlemen, I hope you bear with me, and are patient with me, and will indulge me for the reason that I have a greater burden now than I would ordinarily have by reason of the fact that this subcommittee, which I mentioned, passed on it, although I was not heard, and so there has been a prejudgment of the subcommittee, and that will necessitate my going into the matter in

greater detail and possibly at greater length than would ordinarily be necessary, and I hope you will be very patient with me regarding this matter.

I have no feeling in this matter. I am an American citizen, a Member of Congress, and I have information which comes to me, and I feel like it is my duty to present it to the right people if anyone is guilty of conduct that an American citizen should not be guilty of and he occupies a position in our armed forces that will possibly permit him to have a great deal to do with the enforcement of the conscription law when it is passed, and if it does pass, or the voluntary system in the event the conscription law does not pass, and I think it is a matter of serious and great importance. And I suggest to you that if this man, Lt. Col. Carl Byoir, had been guilty of the same thing, as I believe he was guilty of in time of peace, if he had been guilty of it in time of war I believe he would have been guilty of treason. Of course, that is a pretty serious charge to make. And I believe before I am finished you will see I am 100 percent correct, and there is no doubt about it.

Lieutenant Colonel Byoir was hired to disseminate Nazi propaganda, including anti-Semitic and church and State propaganda.

January 30, 1933, Hitler became Chancellor of Germany.

Before I go further, Lieutenant Byoir as a lieutenant colonel was not promoted from the ranks, but he was just picked out and made a lieutenant colonel.

In 1931 it shows that he went into the specialist reserves, and he is carried in the specialist reserves of the United States Army Reserves right now.

In less than 18 months from the time he was appointed lieutenant colonel Hitler became Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, and very soon thereafter there was an immediate new life taken on by German organizations in America to sell new Germany to American people and make them crave a dictatorship under Hitler instead of a democracy, the kind we had.

Mr. Byoir was a propagandist, in addition to being a lieutenant colonel in the Army Reserves, with offices in New York, and he was employed by the German consul, Kiep, in New York at that time, and within 60 days after Hitler became chancellor was paid \$4,000 in cash, in bills to represent the German consul in distributing certain literature, which was anti-Semitic literature.

The CHAIRMAN. You say he was paid \$4,000 cash, in bills?

Mr. PATMAN. In cash, in bills.

The CHAIRMAN. Was any explanation given as to why the payment was made in cash?

Mr. PATMAN. No; I do not know of any explanation. I know that Mr. McCormack, the chairman of a committee, at one time looked into this, and partially made some statement about it, and here is what he said. Mr. Raymond Moley was on the witness stand, and the chairman, Mr. John W. McCormack, asked Mr. Moley this question:

The CHAIRMAN. There was authentic evidence produced at the Washington hearings, both testimony and documents, in the case of the former German consul, Kiep, paying \$4,000 for propaganda directed against people in this country, whether citizens or not, because of their race. Have you any opinion that you desire to express as to the propriety of such actions?

To which Mr. Moley replied:

MR. MOLEY. I think it is thoroughly improper to do any such subsidizing of any movement in the United States of that character by anyone who is a German citizen, and particularly so when he occupies an official position.

Now, at that time Mr. McCormack did not know that this man, Mr. Carl Byoir, was a lieutenant colonel in the Army, and had he known that he would have known there were two people who were doing something that the American people would frown on. First, one from a foreign country coming in and trying to dictate our affairs, and another was to employ one who occupies an important position in our armed forces.

MR. CASEY. Mr. Patman, you said Mr. McCormack did not know that Mr. Byoir was a lieutenant colonel?

MR. PATMAN. No; he did not know it.

MR. CASEY. And he did not say that Mr. Byoir received \$4,000, did he?

MR. PATMAN. I know; but I now refer to that testimony in Washington which shows that Mr. Byoir did get the money.

MR. CASEY. What testimony is that, Mr. Patman?

MR. PATMAN. The testimony before the committee here in Washington. Before I finish, Mr. Casey, I believe you will be thoroughly convinced on that point, if that is the only thing that is bothering you.

MR. CASEY. I wanted that cleared up.

MR. PATMAN. In the spring of 1933 Byoir was employed by the German Tourist Information Office, and received \$2,000 and \$3,000 a month for distributing literature, which I consider, and I believe the members of the McCormack committee considered, to be prejudicial to our form of government.

George Sylvester Vierick, a noted propagandist for Kaiser Wilhelm in the World War, and who said that he was ashamed of America, went to Germany in August 1933 to obtain a contract for Carl Byoir to represent Hitler in America.

Mr. Carl Dickey, one of the two partners of Byoir's, was also in Germany at that time.

Now, while Vierick was there in Germany he discussed the matter with Hitler himself, and obtained the promise of a contract for Carl Byoir, which was later approved by the German Minister of Propaganda, for Byoir to receive \$6,000 a month for a period of 18 months.

I am giving you a summary of this, gentlemen, for the purpose of backing it up with proof. I thought that you gentlemen would appreciate summarizing the case in advance, so that you would know what to expect, and also to allow me an opportunity to present to you what you require me to present.

The CHAIRMAN. May I make a notation at this time that there is now a quorum present, and we are sitting as a full committee. There are present, Mr. Casey, of Massachusetts; Mr. Mason, of Illinois; and Mr. Voorhis, of California, who has just entered.

MR. MASON. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, Mr. Mason.

MR. MASON. Mr. Patman, all of this summary that you are giving is a summary of what the McCormack committee went into and found, and upon which they made a finding, which we had available when we went over this matter.

It adds nothing new. And unless you have got new evidence, which was not included in the McCormack committee testimony, it seems to me this is water over the dam, and is past.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not agree with you, Mr. Mason.

Mr. MASON. The McCormack committee did not find this man guilty of un-American activities.

Mr. PATMAN. I beg your pardon. They did. And if you will let me go ahead I will convince you they did. So there is a difference of opinion there. And I do not think you have read the committee report very carefully.

Mr. MASON. That was my impression, and I went over it.

Mr. PATMAN. I think I will give you a different impression of it.

Now, while Vierick was in Germany to get this contract for Byoir he discussed with Hitler this matter, himself, and later there was a contract of 18 months, which was to extend from October 1933 but which was changed November 23, 1933, providing that Byoir would be paid \$6,000 a month, or \$108,000 in all, and certain expenses, when he incurred certain expenses, in connection with this work that he was engaged to do, and also trips to Germany and back in the event it was necessary to send people there.

Therefore, Lieutenant Colonel Byoir became the highest paid German representative of the German Government in America.

In Hitler's book, *My Battle*, he said this: That the masses must be misled in order to be led. That fits in with his then Minister of Propaganda, Goebbels, who said: "Propaganda knows neither right nor wrong, neither truth nor falsehood, but only what it wants."

Col. Edwin Emerson, of New York, was named the Nazi Party's representative in America about the same time that Byoir was given a contract, both by the German Consul in New York and by the German Tourist Information Office, which was nothing more than a bund for the purpose of disseminating Nazi propaganda in America.

The Nazis commenced in dead earnest with such leaders as Lt. Col. Carl Byoir, Colonel Emerson, Spanknoble, Schmitz, and others, to make the American people like Hitler and dislike their own form of Government, the American democracy.

Many different organizations were formed and old ones taken over.

This commenced immediately after the employment of Lt. Col. Carl Byoir.

"Teutonia" was organized. The name did not sound so good. So they changed it to the "Friends of New Germany." The people of German descent did not seem to like that so much, so they changed it to the "Friends of Germany." And the purpose of organizing these different groups throughout the country was to induce the German people to join and thereby assist Hitler in what he was trying to do. There was the National Socialistic German Party, the Steel Helmets, the Order of '76, Sons of '76, the bunds of the Friends of New Germany and they organized all of these and many more different kinds of organizations.

Mr. CASEY. I understand that Mr. Patman is going to tie Mr. Byoir up with these organizations; is that right?

Mr. PATMAN. I say this: He was head of publicity of all of this, and it was done for the purpose of creating good will for Germany under the leadership of Feuhrer Hitler.



Mr. CASEY. I mean you are going to show he has some connection with this?

Mr. PATMAN. You would not expect that. He has that proof. You would expect this as a part of the general program. In other words, if he was a player on Hitler's team he would have to show about this.

Mr. CASEY. That follows very well; I mean you can get a great deal of color with you, but I do not see the relevancy if you do not tie him up with this.

Mr. PATMAN. I think I can tie him up. I think that testimony would be good in a court.

Mr. CASEY. I want you to tie it up.

Mr. PATMAN. I want to do it in my way.

Mr. MASON. Of course, Mr. Chairman, at that particular time in our State Department the whole set-up was engaged in relations to make friendship long before this happened, long before Hitler began to show himself, and so the State Department and other Departments of the Government were cultivating friendship with the new Germany at that time.

Mr. PATMAN. Do you mean in that anti-Semitic drive?

Mr. MASON. I am not meaning any anti-Semitic drive. I am meaning that our State Department was at that particular time cultivating economic, friendly relationships with the new Germany.

Mr. PATMAN. This was not economic relations entirely, my dear sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let us proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. Hitler Youths was another organization, and the literature distributed to these children included this statement: "If the world at large bares its teeth at Germany, we will smash it."

And it was always carried on a placard.

Clearly the main objective of this group is to breed soldiers for a war in which Nazidom will conquer the world.

All got literature from Nazi Germany, that is, these different organizations, which was distributed. It came over here on the steamship lines, represented by the very group which employed Lieutenant Colonel Byoir. They brought in literature at will and carried literature back at will.

Party leaders in the United States had to have the approval of party leaders in Germany.

All of the steamship employees in America must belong to the German union.

German citizens came in and elected leaders. Some of them had uniforms in some organization the same as the storm troop uniforms in Germany.

One of these organizations taught Germans how to fly at an aviation field in New York City.

Mr. CASEY. Before you leave Hitler's Youth distribution of literature, have you any evidence that Mr. Byoir had any part in the distribution of that literature?

Mr. PATMAN. I think you will be convinced that he was a part of the program, the whole program, and in fact he was the highest paid representative of Hitler in America. And how can he avoid responsibility entirely for what was done by the groups who were working in the direction of the same end toward which he was going?

Mr. CASEY. By virtue of that you could tie a man up with anything. I mean if you are going to make a particular issue about Hitler out of this, and just say that Mr. Byoir was in general a part of the program, I do not see that is relevant.

Mr. PATMAN. I think you gentlemen will be able to cast aside that part which you consider material, and that part which you consider immaterial.

Mr. CASEY. I think we will be able to do that too, Mr. Patman.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I was just wondering if you had anything more specific than that to tie up.

Mr. PATMAN. That is my belief.

Mr. CASEY. I was just seeking something.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. I think I will be able to prove that Lieutenant Colonel Byoir had been guilty of un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. In all of these organizations members were taught that Hitler was a leader of German people all over the world. Bales of propaganda came in on every ship from the German propaganda office.

And, speaking of Hitler, Lieutenant Colonel Byoir prepared a booklet, Speaking of Hitler, in his office, and it was distributed over the Nation to boost Hitler and the Nazi form of Government, and most certainly it was not anything to harm Hitler. It was something which Lieutenant Colonel Byoir would not have sent out or the Nazis would not have had sent out if that had been the case.

Mr. CASEY. What was that name again?

Mr. PATMAN. Speaking of Hitler.

Mr. CASEY. Have you a copy of it?

Mr. PATMAN. No; I wired for it, and it was not available at any place. But I have seen some references to it in the different newspapers and magazines only, which, of course, I am not using here.

No propaganda was confiscated before Byoir became the highest paid Hitler representative in America, but immediately after his employment the amount of propaganda became noticeable.

German citizens were allowed to go and come at will on German steamship lines represented by Lieutenant Colonel Byoir.

German citizens swore that they were American citizens in order to become members of the National Guard in this country. It seems they were trying to get them just as high in the Army as they could, and trying to get some in the ranks, too. The evidence cannot be refuted that while Lieutenant Colonel Byoir was representing them that they also were trying to influence aliens in order to get them to become National Guards in America in a number of cities.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Patman, your point is that Mr. Byoir was an agent of the German Government?

Mr. PATMAN. Absolutely. And also that the German Tourist Information Office was nothing more than a front for the German Government.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his agency so that he would have to take that responsibility, what other acts for the German Government other than what he was?

Mr. PATMAN. In the beginning of this campaign——

The CHAIRMAN (intreposing). What I am trying to find out is was his representation as a publicity man, or propaganda man, or whatever you want to call it, such as to imply the whole range of Nazi propaganda, which now and then has included a number of different subjects, and is there anything to show just what the scope of this agency was?

Mr. PATMAN. That is they picked out a tourist office because there is no limit to what they could do or say. They are doing that in South America now. They are doing that in other countries of the world. Of course, they do it under the guise of "Build up Hitler," and if they build up Hitler you know what that will mean. They say also that "We are trying to build up a good relation," and they have selected a subject that covers every water front that permits the dissemination of any kind of propaganda, and their answer is that it is to build up trade, and "We want you people to feel kindly to Germany so you will go over there and travel." So the tourist office has been selected by the officials of the propaganda German office for them to go into those fields and whatever they do or say it is to encourage trade and travel.

I shall go into that further, Mr. Chairman, in my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. The theory is, and seems to be beyond a doubt conclusive, that Mr. Byoir was employed by the German Government, or by some official of the German Government, and he was employed for certain purposes. It is not clear in the mind of the chairman just how those purposes were expressed, whether limited so as to comprise a particular field, and whether that field was legitimate, and the reason I have inquired into it is that all governments employ government agents. And I am informed that the two Communists are employed by a certain government, and while in the employment of that government at the same time they were writing columns, and I think it is material to determine if this contract, general in nature, covered all propaganda, or whether Mr. Byoir had a contract which was specifically limited as to the character of publicity that he was to direct.

Mr. PATMAN. The chairman has a copy of that contract in his possession, and I suggest he read paragraph number 2.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I would like to do. Where is that? Have you a copy of that? I must confess I have not read it.

Mr. PATMAN. Anyway, it says "To build up good will between the two countries," which covers anything. Of course, he is not to do anything which is of a political nature, or against the American Government. But I do not consider that just because a contract is worded a certain way that you are bound by the wording of the contract, and oftentimes when people have in mind doing something they put in the contract that it will not be done.

Mr. MASON. I have read the contract very carefully. I found that it is legitimate in every respect. And at that particular period in our history, which is different than now, anyone would have signed that contract and entered into that contractual relation.

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman can examine the lease contracts on every house that is conducted for unlawful purposes in Washington, and they will look good, too, because nobody ever leased a house for gambling purposes, or at least did not put in that contract that they had leased the house for gambling purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The point you raise is the fact that if it did not contain specific language it would not be conclusive itself, because the German Bund and many organizations have had high-sounding titles and high-sounding purposes and still not followed them, is that a fact?

Mr. PATMAN. That is a fact.

Mr. MASON. It is being used as a contract.

Mr. CASEY. But, as I understand, this contract sets forth certain things, and not such as the witness suggests, and on which I understand from the witness he has positive evidence in regard to.

Mr. PATMAN. No, no; I did not say I had positive evidence as to that. Do not put words in my mouth. I did not say I had positive evidence as to that.

Mr. CASEY. I did not quite get your position on that.

Mr. PATMAN. I said if you were going to lease a house for gambling purposes you had never seen one in your life that did not contain a prohibition against gambling. I say that not as positive evidence that the reverse is true, but as evidence it does not always mean anything.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let us proceed.

Mr. CASEY. You say the duration of this contract was for 18 months?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; but do not overlook the fact that the German consul employed Lieutenant Colonel Byoir and paid him quite a lot of money when there was no contract there that I know of. We do know that he disseminated anti-Semitic literature, evidently under that contract, and that alone should be an un-American activity.

There is propaganda on every ship as to Byoir's employment. There were armed Nazis aboard every vessel after Hitler came in and Byoir was employed.

Uniforms were taken by German citizens from ships and smuggled into this country for drilling purposes, tickets, passports, or anything else. And we do not know how many of them are left over here in our "fifth column" today, because they came over and left at will and came over and stayed at will.

Rifles were used by German organizations to drill a certain time each week, and they recognized a dual citizenship because they went to the trouble of following up these instructions at a certain time each week.

These German-American organizations were formed to preach racial and religious hatred; to oppose preparedness; to oppose all expenditures to protect our country; and to obtain names and addresses of all sympathizers of Nazi-ism.

Since Lt. Col. Carl Byoir accepted employment from the German consul in New York, and German interests spread Nazi propaganda in this country which was inimical to our form of government, he should certainly not be permitted to remain a lieutenant colonel in the Army. This is no time to trust aliens in a national defense program nor to trust representatives of aliens.

I hope you gentlemen will notice this, because I am serious about it, and because I think it requires an investigation by your committee.

There is sufficient evidence to warrant an investigation into the unholy alliance and close connection between Nazi propaganda in this country and big business, or certain parts of big business.

Recently, a representative of the German Government was here to cement Nazi propaganda and big business together, and was even bold enough to take interest in our internal political affairs.

In this particular Lt. Col. Carl Byoir said in October 1938, at Rye, N. Y., in a booklet that was distributed by one of his organizations, and which was evidently approved by him, that he represented American industry in this country, with assets of \$14,500,000,000. That is a lot of money. If he represents American industry with assets of \$14,500,000,000, like he said, he represents about 90 per cent of the advertisers in this country, and he has tremendous power and influence. And I think this committee should call upon him to give the names of those concerns, in order that this committee might look into them and see if they have any connection with this unholy alliance between Nazi propaganda and this certain part of big business.

Now, I saw the statement which he gave to this committee, about the connections he had in 1938 and in 1939, and they only aggregated just a very small percentage of \$14,500,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. My information is—and I know it is correct, that our investigator went to the offices of Mr. Byoir. Mr. Byoir gave him access to all of his books and records and to his clientele; his clientele was in the interview, that his books were produced; and I merely make that statement to keep the record straight.

Do not the investigator's records show that?

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; after the report had been made.

Mr. MASON. I saw a record of the interviews that had been had by these people in that report.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me get the record straight.

The first thing you did was to make a request for an investigation. Mr. Stedman was placed on it. Mr. Stedman went to New York. He saw everybody, followed every lead he could get, and he made a report, which was before the subcommittee.

Mr. MASON. Yes, sir; and he was appointed to do that.

Mr. PATMAN. Now, Mr. Chairman, would you mind letting me have a copy of that report?

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, you came to the office and read the report?

Mr. PATMAN. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want a copy of it?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I just want to clear up this point about big business. I am somewhat confused about it. As I understand the reasoning of the gentleman is that he says there was an unholy alliance between the Nazi propaganda and big business.

Mr. PATMAN. Certain parts of big business.

Mr. CASEY. And Mr. Byoir represents \$14,500,000,000 of big business?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Therefore, Mr. Byoir is un-American?

Mr. PATMAN. No; that is not the point at all.

Mr. CASEY. What is it?

Mr. PATMAN. You failed to catch it. I want this committee to investigate and determine what cooperation there is between certain

parts of big business and the spread of nazi-ism in this country. I think they are doing it for the purpose of causing appeasement. I think they are working together for that purpose.

I think I will have something more on that.

The CHAIRMAN. I merely wish to say, since you brought up that point, that charges were made that there was some collaboration between certain representatives of big business and certain representatives of the German Government, that the chairman directed a full and complete investigation of that matter, and there have been investigators in New York on it, and in the course of the investigation we have received no evidence sustaining those charges. And we have three men there now investigating it, going into those affairs and the records, so I wish to say that that suggestion has been acted upon.

MR. PATMAN. That is fine. I have some information I will be glad to give the committee on it.

Now, then, summarizing this matter, which I shall back up with proof:

1. Travel offices generally used by Nazis as a front to disseminate their propaganda.

2. Byoir employed when he was lieutenant colonel by German consul and by Hitler representatives.

3. Byoir caused to be distributed literature relating to Germany and her debts, church and state, and anti-Semitism.

4. Byoir's crime is as great in time of peace as treason would be in time of war. In fact, his conduct would have been treason in time of war. Time element makes no difference. Each one is a serious offense, although there is evidence in the files of this committee that he represented the German Government as late as 1938. I am making no claim about that at all, so it is not necessary to go into it even, and it is not necessary to follow it up, but the point is: Did he ever represent the Hitler government? Was he ever engaged as a lieutenant colonel to distribute Nazi literature in this country? It makes no difference when it was. That alone to my mind would be sufficient.

The only question is: Are the allegations I make relative to his employment and activities true? If so, he should not be a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army at sundown this evening.

I respectfully submit that every allegation has been proven.

I urge that this committee investigate big business' connection with Nazi propaganda in this country. These thoughts should not be overlooked: That Vierick was a partner of Byoir, if not now; that Dr. Heinrich Albert was a partner of Byoir when he was German commercial attaché here. Dr. Albert is now the partner of Gerhardt Westrick, now German commercial attaché here as Hitler's secret emissary to influence Wall Street leaders.

I just make that suggestion in connection with the big business part that was mentioned a while ago.

Now, I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that sworn testimony cannot be improved upon, and Mr. Mason suggested that the McCormack committee's testimony should not be used. I respectfully disagree with him for the reason that when that testimony was taken it was not known that Byoir was a lieutenant colonel in the Army. Ofttimes in the trial of lawsuits a stranger can take a transcript of the testimony and possibly not see the points at all, but someone who is familiar with it, or who has given it study and thought, can take it, piece it

together, make a case out of it, and a good case. So, in reference to the McCormack committee's testimony I am bringing that out only for the purpose of bringing this matter up to date to show you that it is absolutely material now, and that the charges that I made are true.

And I do not think any member of this committee will say that if Lieutenant Colonel Byoir, or any other colonel or officer of the United States Army, ever represented Hitler that they should remain a lieutenant colonel, or any other rank, in the United States Army.

Mr. VOORHIS. Can I ask you a question at that point?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it, your point in that particular respect is made on account of the fact that Lieutenant Colonel Byoir was in the Army, and it is not made because he represented some other foreign agency; is that right?

Mr. PATMAN. I think he is guilty, both as an American citizen, and particularly because he was an officer in the Army. I think he was guilty of conduct unbecoming an American citizen, as well as conduct certainly unbecoming a United States Army officer.

Mr. VOORHIS. But what I mean is that we have many people in this country, and have had over a period of years, of course, who have had connections with foreign countries in various ways. We might not like it very much. But what I am trying to get at is whether that is the main point, or whether the main point you are making is the fact as an officer in the Army that he did that.

Mr. PATMAN. I meant both. As an American citizen it is unbecoming of him. It is an un-American activity, and I think you will find that anything that he has done toward supporting nazism in this country in recent years has been because of the big-business element, not because of anything else, and I think Hitler ordered his discharge for a reason which I would consider, and consider logically, a good and sufficient one, so the point is he did represent the Nazi government while Lt. Col. Carl Byoir was in the Army, and that is the proof I want to submit to you gentlemen.

Mr. MASON. There is no need for that proof, because that was one of the findings of the McCormack committee. It has been definitely established that he was employed by the German Government at that time under this contract, and it has been definitely established that he was employed by the German consul, and did receive a certain remuneration for it, all of which has been definitely established. So there is no need to bring up evidence or proof of that now.

Mr. PATMAN. Now, can I answer that?

Mr. MASON. Sure.

Mr. PATMAN. I think there is need, because the gentleman showed he had gone over that testimony too lightly, or not carefully enough, because he did not get the point.

Mr. MASON. They did not find against him as to un-American activities, and that is the question.

Mr. PATMAN. I say that they did. That shows one of us is bound to be wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the finding.

Mr. PATMAN. If Byoir is exonerated he will occupy a key position in our national-defense program. It will be one of his duties to have charge of recruiting, enlisting, and drafting of the personnel for the armed forces.

Lt. Col. Carl Byoir's associates consist of Carl C. Dickey and Vincent Lancaster. I presume everyone knows that the firm was really Carl Byoir. I did not think anyone considered it as anyone else.

Mr. CASEY. If they were associates then he was considered as the principal man.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I should say that he was the principal man even though he had associates?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; that is right.

Now, Carl C. Dickey testified before the McCormack committee June 5, 1934, and said that his address is No. 10 East Forty-second Street, New York; that his business was publicity and business promoter. That his firm name was Carl Byoir & Associates; that the partnership was composed of Mr. Byoir, himself, and Mr. Vincent Lancaster; that the organization had been in business about 3 years; that his firm represented the German Tourist Information Office, 665 Fifth Avenue; that the purpose of the organization was to promote travel to Germany on the railroads and other means of transit, including steamship lines and hotels.

Dickey admitted that the Government would have some control over the German railroads. That formerly his concern was the adviser of an organization known as the National Committee of Jews and Christians, which was called National Conference of Jews and Christians, an organization to combat intolerance—religious intolerance of all kinds. Dickey testified that about March or April 1933 he was consulted as a representative of Carl Byoir & Associates by German interests in New York regarding the effect upon their business of anti-Semitism in Germany; that he does not remember the exact time, but it was in the spring of 1933, after Chancellor Hitler came into power in Germany. That he had a contract with the German Tourist Information Office for Carl Byoir, commencing October 1, 1933, which obligated the tourist office to pay them \$6,000 a month for 18 months, which represented \$108,000. That about all they did for the \$6,000 a month was to give to them advice and counsel and cooperate with them in getting up material for travel promotion; that they also got out a little bulletin called the German-American Economic Bulletin. That is about all that he could recall that they did for their money.

That he sent out some material for the consul general in New York, page 35, that the German consul's name was Dr. Kiep, and he also had conferences with Dr. Schwarz and Dr. Borchers, when they were consuls there.

Dickey said he was in Berlin in August 1933. That he knew George Sylvester Vierick and had known him for 10 years. That he knew of Vierick's activities during the World War; that Vierick received \$1,750 a month out of the \$6,000 paid to Carl Byoir; that he could not think of anything that Vierick had done to assist Carl Byoir & Associates, although they furnished him an office and stenographer; paid all the electric bills and other incidental bills around his office, besides the \$1,750; that Vierick's office rent was worth about \$1,000 a year, which they paid.

Byoir also had a Berlin office.

Mr. CASEY. \$1,000 a year?



Mr. PATMAN. That was the office rent only. He got \$1,750 a month.

Mr. CASEY. That is just for that German Travel Office?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know what it was. He was up there in Byoir's office. He had an office with them. I do not know what he had him doing.

Dickey testified, page 38, that Carl Byoir kept a representative of his own in Germany; that his name was Fred Hamlin, and that his office was in Berlin. And that was during the time that this was going on, and they had an office in Berlin and also one in New York.

Dickey said that his firm got out an economic bulletin. Seventeen of these bulletins were gotten out. They were assisted in getting out the bulletins by their representative in Germany, also by a committee composed of Schmidt—incidentally, Schmidt is the president of that German Tourist Information Office that your representatives went into the other day.

Mr. CASEY. This is in 1933?

Mr. PATMAN. It was in 1934 that this testimony was given.

Mr. CASEY. You are talking about 1933?

Mr. PATMAN. This is with reference to the 1933 contract.

They were assisted in getting out the bulletins by their representative in Germany, also by a committee composed of Schmidt of the German Tourist Information Office and Schroeder of the North German Lloyd Steamship Line, Mr. Beck of the North German Lloyd, or rather the Hamburg-American Line, Dr. Degener, of the German-American Board of Trade and Mr. Johnson, Leipzig Trade Fair. Dickey said perhaps they were members of it too and there were also one or two others who were members that he did not name, he said. About 5,000 copies of the bulletin were printed each time and sent out principally to newspapers and different publications; that the material for it came from Mr. Hamlin of the Berlin office. In other words, Byoir had an office in Berlin, with a man there who would furnish him information over here, and he would take that information and disseminate that information from the New York office.

Mr. CASEY. What kind of information was it?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know what kind. I know what some of it was. I do not know what all of it was.

Some few things were prepared by Vierick from his own organization and some items from the members of the committee.

Dickey said in the issue of January 29, 1934, there was an article on Germany and her debts in the bulletin. That the reason it was carried was because the question of debts had some bearing on trade and travel.

That answers the chairman's question as to the discussion on any of these bulletins you can always say that refers to trade and travel in Germany.

Mr. CASEY. By the same token, if it was trade and travel, you would have to say it was trade and travel.

Mr. PATMAN. Dickey said when he made the contract with the German Tourist Information Office that no such bulletin as the economic bulletin was contemplated or thought of; that he did not have it in mind at all. There is further corroboration that it was

not necessarily the contract. The contract had nothing to do with this economic bulletin. The only thing they even claimed to have done was to get out this economic bulletin, and he swears it was not contemplated or thought of when the contract was made. So what they did for \$6,000 a month was not even contemplated nor thought of when the contract was signed. They did not have it in mind at all, he said.

Dickey testified, page 43, that he got up a report on the sentiment in America toward Germany. You see, they did not do anything, except they were using the Travel and Tourist Office as a front to get up sentiment. This report indicates the amount of publicity that Byoir was getting for Hitler in this country that was favorable. Page 45, Dickey admitted that these reports were submitted in German because some of the people who would read them could not read English; that some of the reports went to their man in Berlin, Mr. Hamlin.

In other words, they tested the sentiment of this country, got up reports, put them in the German language, and sent them to their man in the Berlin office.

Dickey admitted, page 46, that he collected for Carl Byoir & Associates \$4,000 from Dr. Kiep, the consul general in New York, in currency.

Nothing was said about whether it was in cash or bills. Dickey himself admitted it was in currency. He said it was an unusual amount to be paid in currency, but it was paid in bills.

That Vierick took him to see Dr. Kiep and Dr. Kiep asked him to get out some releases for the consulate, which he did, and for getting out these releases, including the postage, they were paid the \$4,000.

Dickey stated, page 48, that on his trip to Germany, his employers paid about two-thirds of his expenses, and he paid the other third.

Page 50, Dickey admits that he had meetings with the German consul and at these meetings the policy of the German Government toward certain races of people in this country were discussed. He further admitted it was one of his duties to minimize the effect of the anti-Semitism policy of Germany in this country; in other words, to combat the effect of that policy in this country; that in order to get the sentiment of the people they had read about 60 newspapers a day from all sections of the country. When the reports were compiled, some of them were sent to Hamlin in Berlin and some to Mr. Schmidt of the Railroad Bureau and Vierick always looked at them, said Dickey.

MR. CASEY. That was Byoir's representative?

MR. PATMAN. That was Byoir's representative.

The reports were gotten out about once a week; sometimes every 10 days or twice a month.

Dickey testified, page 53, that Byoir had been receiving two or three thousand dollars a month to represent this same concern before the written contract was entered into.

The committee will notice that the written contract was entered into on November 23, 1933, I believe, but within a very short time less than 60 days after Hitler went in as chancellor on January 30, 1933, the German consul and the German Tourist Information Office also employed Byoir. And that the German consul paid him \$4,000 and the German Tourist Office paid him \$2,000 or \$3,000 a month.

Dickey testified that the German consul paid him \$4,000 to obtain publicity in this country on the question of anti-Semitism.

The \$4,000 was paid by the German consul to Byoir in May of 1933, see page 56.

Dickey admits, page 58, that they never represented the railways or the German Government until after Hitler came into power. Dickey admits, page 58, that the railroads were under control of the German Government.

Mr. CASEY. Let me see if I got that right. You say that Byoir was paid two or three thousand dollars a month prior to the contract?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; he was.

Mr. CASEY. Was it prior to Hitler becoming chancellor?

Mr. PATMAN. No; it was after Hitler became chancellor. Byoir did not get any contract, nor receive any money, until after Hitler went in.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, this is going over all of the testimony that was taken by the McCormack committee, and it is a relash of the same, and what we are interested in now is the findings of the McCormack committee rather than the testimony, which is all old stuff.

Mr. PATMAN. If the gentleman will bear with me about 2 minutes I will get to that.

Page 60, Dickey testified that he sent out, at the request of Colonel Emerson, a pamphlet dealing with church and state in Germany. I am sure the members of this committee know something about the background of Colonel Emerson. He was one of the first to come here representing the Nazi form of Government in America. He had charge of Nazi activities in 1933 and in subsequent years.

Dickey has testified that he sent this pamphlet out at the request of Colonel Emerson, and it was printed by the Friends of New Germany, 17 New Battery Place, New York City; incidentally, this is the same place where the Facts in Review publication is printed and Vierick is one of the editors. It is where the German Consulate is located.

On page 61 Dickey praised Colonel Emerson's work by saying that he was doing a fairly good job. Dickey sent the church and state pamphlets to the same list that he sent the economic bulletins.

The testimony of Vincent Lancaster, page 67, was that he was a member of the firm of Byoir & Associates; that he was treasurer and business manager; that he merely takes care of the books and just business matters; and that there was a journal entry of \$4,000 every month which was collected from the German Consul, and that he gave Mr. Byoir \$2,000 of it and gave Mr. Dickey \$2,000 of it.

Now, in regard to Vierick I hope that the committee will give me an opportunity to go into that a little bit more fully, because I believe it is important in view of what this committee is now investigating, as well as this particular investigation.

The gentleman from Illinois asked me to get to the findings of this committee. This committee was composed of the Honorable John W. McCormack, chairman, Samuel Dickstein, vice chairman, Charles Kramer, Carl Weideman, Thomas Jenkins, J. Will Taylor, and U. S. Guyer. And the resolution giving the committee its power was passed on March 20, 1934, by the House, House Resolution 198.

The committee derived its authority from House Resolution 198, adopted by the House on March 20, 1934. Byoir left immediately for Europe.

The committee was charged with the duty of conducting an investigation to find out the extent, character, and object of Nazi propaganda activities in the United States, the diffusion within the United States of subversive propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The first public hearing was conducted by the committee on June 5, 1934, in Washington, D. C., and is covered in Report No. 153, Seventy-fourth Congress, first session of the McCormack committee.

The committee report covers two periods. The first one, the time prior to the designation of Adolph Hitler as Chancellor of Germany, and the second one covering the period after Adolf Hitler became chancellor and to the present time. That is, the time of the report which was made February 15, 1935.

Let me quote the committee's report. I am quoting it now:

During the first period, as we have characterized it, efforts were inaugurated by individuals and groups, who believe in the policies of the National Socialist German Labor Party, to establish them here. This committee has evidence of such efforts particularly in the cities of New York and vicinity, Chicago, and Los Angeles. They sought diligently to bind together in this country people of German birth and German descent into a political group that was and was to be directed from abroad, in distinct violation of every known American principle.

Another quotation:

These individuals organized a group which became known as Teutonia, and which, through various stages, finally became known, after the advent of Adolf Hitler, as chancellor, as the Friends of New Germany, which brings us to the second period of activity.

That was a quote.

After Hitler became chancellor of Germany, what was done through the Friends of New Germany in the United States to disseminate Nazi propaganda?

And I quote:

Early in the history of the Friends of New Germany the leadership was usurped by one Heinz Spanknoebel, an alien, who entered this country claiming to be a clergyman.

Mr. CASEY. What was that name again?

Mr. PATMAN. What was that?

Mr. CASEY. I said—what was that name again?

Mr. PATMAN. Spanknoebel. Maybe I did not pronounce it correctly. I do not know whether I have been pronouncing these names correctly or not.

Mr. CASEY. I did not know; but was it Spanknoebel?

Mr. PATMAN. What is that?

Mr. CASEY. I said—was it Spanknoebel?

Mr. PATMAN (spelling): S-p-a-n-k-n-o-e-b-e-l.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right; Spanknoebel.

Mr. PATMAN. And I am still quoting:

One of his first activities was to take over, by intimidation and without compensation, a small newspaper in New York published by the German Legion, which paper he largely financed by subsidies under the guise of advertisements granted him by the German steamship lines as well as the German railways.

In other words, gentlemen, the same people that were behind Spanknoebel were behind Byoir, and I make that comment because the money was coming from the same source, and that is the reason I am bringing this in.

And I quote again:

Documentary evidence before the committee obtained from the companies shows that this subsidy was ordered from Germany and amounted, in the case of the steamship lines, to \$600 per month and in the case of the railways to \$200 per month without regard to the amount of space used. The evidence established that Spanknoebel ordered another American-German paper in New York City to discontinue its publication, which order, while resented, was complied with. The evidence also shows that he undertook to determine and supervise the news and editorial policy of certain other American newspapers, and that in at least one case his orders were refused and his efforts resisted.

Spanknoebel was working for the same people who were using the same "front" that Carl Byoir was working for. Spanknoebel was working at the same time that Carl Byoir was working. In other words, the two of them belonged to the same group that was attempting to sell nazi-ism to the American people.

Mr. MASON. Wait one moment.

Mr. PATMAN. Just a moment, please.

Each, however, had his own distinct duties to perform in that connection. Spanknoebel, a clergyman; Byoir, a publicity man; but both working for Adolf Hitler.

Mr. MASON. The fact that Mr. Byoir was working for the German Government, and that Spanknoebel was working for the German Government, and that Spanknoebel perhaps was doing certain things and Byoir doing certain other things, and then you say Byoir is to be blamed for any un-American activities which Spanknoebel did?

Mr. PATMAN. Not personally did, but carrying out this program, both of them playing on Hitler's team—Byoir one part and Spanknoebel the other.

Mr. MASON. Hitler's team at that time had not shown his mailed fist.

Mr. PATMAN. Oh, I think so.

Mr. CASEY. It was after that that Colonel Lindbergh and Henry Ford got medals from the German Government, and at a time when there was not such a dispute as there is today.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is this what you are reading now? The testimony from the committee?

Mr. PATMAN. Those are the conclusions of the committee, the unanimous conclusions, except I do not know why Mr. Weideman did not sign it, but these are the conclusions of the McCormack committee.

What influence did Spanknoebel exert over German organizations?

The members of the German organizations consisted in the main of aliens.

Spanknoebel, indicted by a grand jury in New York in the fall of 1933, when both he and Byoir were working for the German Government. He is now a fugitive from justice.

Spanknoebel's organizations in this country took orders from the members of the Cabinet of Germany.

And I am now quoting again:

He also became very active in, and obtained control of, the Stahlhelm, a German veterans' organization, causing those members who were opposed to his policies to withdraw, and utilized the remainder of the membership and this organization in the Nazi movement.

Further quoting:

Through devious methods he gained control of the United German Societies of New York—a body in that city composed of delegates from many American-German organizations—causing a breach among the members which has not yet been healed. As a result of such efforts Spanknoebel exerted tremendous influence on the various organizations, most of which had been in existence for decades in the United States.

Successful efforts were made to establish locals or units of the Friends of New Germany in many other American cities, the membership consisting in the main of aliens, and the evidence clearly shows that the movement received the direct and indirect aid of certain accredited German representatives to this country.

In the fall of 1933 a Federal grand jury in New York City indicted Spanknoebel for failing to register as the agent of a foreign country, and he is now a fugitive from justice.

His successor, Fritz Gissibl—

I presume that is right—

one of the original founders of the Teutonia, also an alien, then became the leader of the Nazi group in this country and carried on the same general activities.

Later Gissibl was succeeded by one Reinhold Walter, who is a citizen of this country. This was done in an effort to give the organization the appearance of being American in character, although Walter admitted to the committee that Gissibl remained the real head of the movement and continued to dominate its policies, although he, Walter, desired to divorce the organization from its German connections. Mr. Walter was succeeded, in July 1934, by Hurbert Schmuch, a naturalized citizen and college graduate, who was chosen for the position by Gissibl and continued Gissibl's policies. He is the present party lead r.

Although started 7 or 8 years ago, its self-appointed leaders did not seek to charter their organization until the fall of 1934. Recently Justice Edward J. McGoldrick, of the supreme court, New York County, N. Y., refused to grant them a charter.

However, lack of a charter, lack of a constitution or bylaws or any of the steps usually taken by American organizations, did not hinder these leaders from functioning.

The evidence plainly shows that they took orders not only from the National Socialist German Labor Party but from some members of the Cabinet of that country.

That is the end of the quotation.

Now, then, did Lt. Col. Carl Byoir engage in un-American propaganda activities while he was working for the German consul or for his German principals in 1933 and 1934?

This can be answered by an excerpt from the committee report.

Now I am quoting from that committee report:

This committee found indisputable evidence to show that certain German consuls in this country, with all the appurtenances of diplomatic immunity, violated the pledge and proprieties of diplomatic status and engaged in vicious and un-American propaganda activities, paying for it in cash, in the hope that it could not be traced.

The references in that committee report to support this statement are to the testimony that Byoir received \$4,000 from the German consul. So there is a statement from the committee itself that he was engaged in un-American activities.

Mr. MASON. Oh, no. That is that the German consul at that time was engaged in putting this across.

Mr. PATMAN. Would the gentleman say that the fellow on the other end of the line was not just as guilty?

Mr. MASON. I would not say it.

Mr. PATMAN. I would.

Mr. MASON. I might be hired by someone with reference to German activities, but that would not mean that I was hired for un-American activities.

Mr. PATMAN. Let me finish.

Did Carl Byoir engage in vicious and un-American-propaganda activities in 1933 and 1934? The answer is "yes." The McCormack investigating committee said that he did.

Mr. MASON. I have not found it.

Mr. PATMAN. How can the German consul engage in un-American activities and pay Lieutenant Colonel Byoir in the United States of America here to help him without Lieutenant Colonel Byoir being engaged in un-American activities at the same time, when he was paid to engage in it? That is what I cannot understand. If the gentleman takes that position——

Mr. MASON (interposing). The German consul can hire this man to do a certain thing, and that man to do a certain thing, and that other man to do a certain thing, and because one was engaged in German activities does not prove that this one over here is.

Mr. CASEY. May I point out this situation: A gentleman was engaged in certain activities before McKesson & Robbins, and nobody would say that he was engaged in un-American activities.

Mr. PATMAN. I have not done anything wrong with McKesson & Robbins; and if you say I did anything wrong then put it down in writing and say it.

Mr. CASEY. I have not said whether you did it or not, nor accused you.

Mr. PATMAN. That is unfair. You do not say I did anything wrong.

Mr. CASEY. No; I did not.

Mr. PATMAN. Then why bring it up?

Mr. CASEY. I am making a point analogous to your point that this man was engaged in un-American activities.

Mr. PATMAN. No; it is not analogous at all, and it does not touch either side, edge, or bottom.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. All right.

Did Carl Byoir engage in vicious and un-American propaganda activities in 1933 and 1934?

I just read that.

When Lt. Col. Carl Byoir was working for the German consul and for the German Tourists' Information Office, the front organizations for Adolf Hitler, did he engage in propaganda activities?

This can be answered by another excerpt from the committee. Remember, this is John W. McCormack, and five other members, who signed this report, which says:

Several American firms and American citizens as individuals sold their services for express propaganda purposes, making their contracts with and accepting compensation from foreign business firms. The firms in question were Carl Byoir & Associates and Ivy Lee—T. J. Ross.

Mr. MASON. That is right; yes.

Mr. PATMAN. Therefore, the McCormack committee said that Carl Byoir sold his services for express propaganda purposes.

And there is a finding of the committee that he was engaged by German interests for the purpose of disseminating propaganda.

Mr. MASON. And that was legitimate, and is legitimate, even today.

Mr. PATMAN. Let us see about that.

Mr. MASON. And it has been recognized, even by the Registration Act.

Mr. CASEY. That is right. In 1938 Congress passed a law with reference to that.

Mr. MASON. And recognized it.

Mr. CASEY. Making it necessary for representatives of foreign governments to register as to their activity.

Mr. PATMAN. So that was the finding as to propaganda of the McCormack committee.

Mr. MASON. Yes; German propaganda.

Mr. PATMAN. That is right. But they said they sold their names for express propaganda purposes.

Mr. MASON. That does not mean that propaganda was un-American.

Mr. PATMAN. The gentleman can place any interpretation on it he desires, but I am merely stating what the report of the committee says.

Mr. MASON. I have read that committee finding, and have read it very thoroughly.

Mr. PATMAN. The McCormack committee made another finding that Carl Byoir was propagandizing the country for Nazi Germany.

The committee report is the best evidence. An excerpt is quoted herewith:

Carl Diekey, junior partner of Carl Byoir & Associates, testified that his firm handled the contract with the German Tourist Bureau with the fee for service set at \$6,000 a month. He testified that the contract was secured with the help of George Sylvester Viereck, who received \$1,750 per month with free office space and secretary as his share of the \$6,000. The committee finds that the services rendered by Carl Byoir Associates were largely of a propaganda nature.

Mr. MASON. That is right. That is the finding of the McCormack committee.

Mr. PATMAN. What kind of propaganda was the McCormack committee investigating?

Mr. MASON. Nazi propaganda.

Mr. PATMAN. That is right, Nazi propaganda. And they found that this firm and its services were largely for propaganda purposes. Is not there a difference between distributing propaganda and travel?

Mr. MASON. No.

Mr. PATMAN. I thought there was.

Mr. MASON. It is very far-reaching, it seems to me, when the McCormack committee found, on the basis of the evidence of Carl Byoir & Associates, that they were hired by an agency of the German Government for certain work, mainly propaganda, if you want to call it that, that that is un-American activities. There is a difference there.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us see if we can get at what the situation is. It seems that Mr. Patman is making the charges, as expressed in the McCormack hearings, which is that Mr. Byoir was engaged in un-American activities by reason of the fact that he was employed by the German Government.

Mr. MASON. That has been established. Those are not the charges, but they are established facts.

The CHAIRMAN. And in addition to those charges, which according to the record here terminated in what year—what year did his connection terminate?

Mr. MASON. 1934.

Mr. PATMAN. In 1935.



The CHAIRMAN. In 1935. Now, from the period of 1935 up to the present date is there any difference, or do you make any charge that he either continued the relationship, or that he has been engaged in it since?

Mr. PATMAN. I have made no effort, because what better proof do you need? If a man is guilty of treason 50 years ago would you trust him in the Army now? And if he was guilty of conduct equal to treason 5 years ago would you trust him in the United States Army now?

Mr. MASON. Of course, that is a matter of opinion, as to whether it is equal to treason.

Mr. PATMAN. You have a letter in your files from a man in Miami, Fla., stating that he was representing the German Government in 1938. I do not need it here. The mere fact that you can, or I can, prove it at any time is sufficient.

The CHAIRMAN. I am trying to get your charges straight. And you say up to 1935 he was a representative of the German Government or, rather, an employee for propaganda purposes, and based upon that and upon the record of the McCormack committee, it is your contention having once been found guilty as a representative that he is now guilty of un-American activities?

Mr. PATMAN. And that he is not a fit person to be a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army, and that he is guilty of un-American activities for doing that, not only as a citizen, but as an officer in the Army.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean he is guilty of un-American activities up until 1935?

Mr. PATMAN. We know he was then.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no evidence since then?

Mr. PATMAN. We need no further evidence. What more do we need, or do you need? If you have a colonel in the Army who has done something that has been equal to treason in time of war, what would you do with him?

The CHAIRMAN. I am not confusing his position as a colonel in the Army with his position as being guilty of un-American activities. Your position was that because up until 1935 he was employed by the German Government that he was guilty of un-American activities?

Mr. PATMAN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is no record that while he ceased his activities in 1935, though nevertheless you think he should be discharged from the United States Army?

Mr. PATMAN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And your second position is having once been guilty of un-American activities that he is still guilty?

Mr. PATMAN. No; that he was guilty of un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, he had a hearing before the Committee.

Mr. PATMAN. How is that?

The CHAIRMAN. In the McCormack hearings.

Mr. PATMAN. No; he was gone to Europe. The very minute the resolution was passed he left for Europe and did not come back until the committee adjourned.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, may I make this observation: I want to say that so far as Mr. Byoir's qualifications to act as a lieutenant colonel in the Army are concerned, it seems to me that they should be based and referred to the Army officials, and not to this committee.

As to his un-American activities, if those un-American activities were after the time of the McCormack committee, which gave him a clean bill of health, then it is up to our committee to investigate.

Mr. PATMAN. Here is the clean bill of health that the McCormack committee gave him:

Several American firms and American citizens as individuals sold their services for express propaganda purposes, making their contracts with and accepting compensation from foreign business firms. The firms in question were Carl Byoir & Associates and Ivy Lee-T. J. Ross.

The German Tourist Office referred to in this report is the German Tourist Information Office that is now under investigation by the Dies committee, and was the front organization for Germany that employed Carl Byoir.

Therefore, this committee of seven members, unanimously declared that Lt. Col. Carl Byoir's work was largely of a propaganda nature. What better evidence is needed?

In order for this committee to say that Carl Byoir was not engaged in un-American activities, it must say that the McCormack committee was wrong.

At the hearings in New York City before the McCormack committee, when George Sylvester Viereck was on the witness stand, Vierick testified that he went to Germany in August 1933, to secure a contract for Carl Byoir to offset the wave of Nazi propaganda in this country. When asked the direct question if he obtained the contract, page 103, he replied that he was helpful in securing it. When pressed for an answer, he said he was one of the instrumentalities through which the contract was obtained and that the other instrumentality was the German Railroad Information Bureau.

In other words, two of them getting this for Byoir, one the German Tourist Office and the other was Viereck, and they are interceding with officials in Germany to get Byoir the contract. I think the question and answer is self-explanatory.

The CHAIRMAN. The point that I have in mind is that there was a McCormack committee to investigate un-American activities, which they did, and that brought it up to what year?

Mr. PATMAN. 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. And all you have given the committee—

Mr. MASON (interposing). So far.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). Is the same testimony and the same evidence that appeared before the McCormack committee, and that brings it up to 1935, and that is a matter of record. I mean whether it goes in this committee or not it is still a part of the files of Congress. And from 1935 to the present, beginning with our jurisdiction in 1937 or 1938, the question so far as we are concerned is to bring the matter from 1935 up to the present time. And this committee takes cognizance of what took place before the McCormack committee, as we have a right to do, but you should bring it up to date, from 1935 to 1940, and the material question, insofar as our finding is concerned, would be determined by what evidence we have from 1935 to 1940.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that all of this extraneous matter should be brought into this testimony until I have an opportunity to present my case.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PATMAN. I think other extraneous matter should come at the proper time. Of course, I am not criticizing the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. No; but I was trying to get this point over: I understand all these matters are matters of record, the McCormack committee heard them, made a finding.

Mr. PATMAN. I will bring it up to date.

The CHAIRMAN. I am thinking about the time we are concerned about, of course.

Mr. PATMAN. I think I am doing that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. Therefore it appears that the contract was obtained from the German Government through two instrumentalities, Viereck and the concern that Byoir was supposed to have represented. The following question and answer relative to this contract is self-explanatory:

The CHAIRMAN. As to this particular contract, did you take it up with anybody who was an official of the German Railroad?

Mr. VIERECK. I advised all my German friends that it was necessary to do something to counteract this wave of propaganda.

In other words, when Viereck was in Germany in 1933, he was convincing everyone he came in contact with that it was necessary for Germany to be properly represented in the United States to counteract the wave of propaganda against Germany, which was in effect saying, to build up nazi-ism in the United States.

You see, there is a representative of Byoir talking to the representatives of Germany in German about a wave of propaganda. They are not talking about tourist travel. They want to build up Hitler, and build up nazi-ism in the United States.

Now, about the contract for Carl Byoir. I will quote you some testimony. This is from Mr. Hardwick, and he was counsel for the committee—but the first is the charge true that Viereck went to see Hitler himself about the contract for Carl Byoir?

Mr. HARDWICK. How long have you known Mr. Hitler—Chancellor Hitler?

Mr. VIERECK. I met him for the first time, I believe, some 8 years ago in Munich, when I interviewed him.

Mr. HARDWICK. Have you seen him since then?

Mr. VIERECK. I have seen him, yes. I met him for the last time late in August or in September.

That was in 1933, while Byoir was representing the German interests at two or three thousand dollars a month, as well as the German consul in New York.

Mr. HARDWICK. In these last interviews that you had with Mr. Hitler, did you discuss German-American relations with him?

Mr. VIERECK. Yes. Before meeting him, I conveyed to him certain ideas suggested to me by the American Ambassador at Berlin.

The testimony discloses that Viereck had quite a conversation with Hitler about building up good will for Nazi Germany in America.

It will be noticed that Viereck said that he conveyed to Hitler the ideas suggested by the American Ambassador in Berlin. It will be recalled that Byoir was then employed by the German Ambassador in New York City and very likely there was a close relationship existing between them.

The time that Viereck refers to as having conferred with Hitler was in August or September of 1933, when Byoir was then working for the German consul in New York and when Viereck was in Germany suggesting a long-time contract for Byoir.

Viereck said he discussed better relations with America in all of his conversations with the prominent people in Germany when he was there in August or September 1933 to get a contract for Byoir. Among those with whom he evidently discussed this matter was Von Papen. His name is very much in the print now—Von Papen.

He said he saw him on that trip to Germany and that he was an old friend of his.

The next is: Were Viereck and Lieutenant Colonel Byoir partners?

I will ask the chairman to listen to this testimony.

The testimony before the McCormack committee at the hearings in New York, commencing at page 92, disclose that Viereck received—out of the \$6,000 per month that Byoir was receiving from the German interests—Viereck received \$1,000 a month and a commission of \$750 a month, or \$1,750 a month out of \$6,000 a month that Byoir collected from the German interests. In addition, he had an office with Carl Byoir and he was furnished a secretary by Carl Byoir.

Therefore, Viereck and Byoir were partners.

The testimony further discloses that at the same time that Viereck was working for the German consul in New York, Dr. Kiep, before the long contract was entered into in November 1933, that Byoir was also working for the German consul in New York, Dr. Kiep. Viereck received \$500 a month. It is not known what Byoir received at all, but it is known that he received at one time \$4,000 in cash from the German consul in New York.

What did Viereck and Lieutenant Colonel Byoir do under this contract with the German Tourist Information Office?

Viereck says, page 97, that he did not write any bulletins, that he may have helped to edit them. When pressed for further explanation, he admitted that bulletins were issued, and the first one of the bulletins issued "were a sheet of press excerpts called Speaking of Hitler." [Reading:]

Mr. HARDWICK. That was the first?

Mr. VIERECK. That, I think, was the first.

Mr. HARDWICK. And the second—

Mr. VIERECK. The second was an economic bulletin; yes, sir.

Mr. HARDWICK. You did edit or help to prepare these two bulletins, did you not?

Mr. VIERECK. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARDWICK. And he sent them out in this country?

Mr. VIERECK. Yes, sir.

Mr. HARDWICK. How many of them went out; do you know?

Mr. VIERECK. I believe between three and five thousand.

Mr. HARDWICK. Of each one?

Mr. VIERECK. I believe so; I did not count them.

Regarding different people that Viereck talked to while he was in Germany in August 1933, the following testimony, at page 97, is self-explanatory:

Mr. HARDWICK. While you were in Germany last year, did you get in touch with a man over there named Feltmann?

Mr. VIERECK. Yes.

Mr. HARDWICK. What kind of an office does he hold, if you know?

Mr. VIERECK. As I recall it, I believe he is with the propaganda ministry, and I presume he was a liaison official between that bureau and some industrial interests.

Regarding the different people Viereck met and talked to when he was in Germany in August 1933, the following testimony, at page 98 of the New York hearings of the McCormack committee, is self-explanatory:

Mr. HARDWICK. Were you, on these several trips to Germany, in close and constant contact with the foreign offices, the foreign ministry, in Berlin?

Mr. VIERECK. I would hardly say that. I have many friends in the foreign office, and I visited them.

The CHAIRMAN. Please answer the question.

Mr. VIERECK. The question is, whether I was in constant touch with them. That means that I communicated with them daily, and so forth. I did not. I have friends there whom I visited and with whom I discussed various matters of interest to me.

Mr. HARDWICK. That was in connection with this matter of German-American relations?

Mr. VIERECK. Not only that, but it was in relation to material that I sought for interviews and articles, materials for books, historical and otherwise, on which I was working. But naturally they sought my advice.

Mr. HARDWICK. You did discuss, with these German officials, German-American relations and policies?

Mr. VIERECK. Undoubtedly. The topic could not be escaped.

The kind of literature put out by Viereck and Byoir and where it was prepared is interesting.

The following testimony, page 98 of the New York hearing, is self-explanatory:

Mr. HARDWICK. That book or pamphlet, Speaking About Hitler, who prepared that?

Mr. VIERECK. It was prepared in the offices of Carl Byoir.

Mr. HARDWICK. Did you give it the final finishing touch?

Mr. VIERECK. I was consulted on each issue before it was published. I occasionally gave them contributions, excerpts, which had come to my attention and which I thought should be distributed.

I think, gentlemen, that is very interesting. There is Viereck, a lifelong propagandist for Germany, a man who said he was ashamed of America, who is now engaged in propaganda purposes for the German Government, and was a partner working with Carl Byoir, editing all the information that went out from his office to the different people throughout this Nation. I think that is a point worthy of consideration.

People with whom Viereck discussed Byoir contracts in Germany in August 1933.

Commencing on page 104 of the hearings of the McCormack committee in Viereck's testimony, Viereck testified that when he was in Germany he discussed the Byoir contract with Mr. Winters, of the German Railroads, and Mr. Feltmann; that he took it up with them personally when he was in Germany and insisted that the sensible point was to take some defensive measures; that he discussed the necessity of employing somebody in the United States; that before the contract was made, he not only discussed it with at least two of the officials of the German Railroads, but "with innumerable people in Germany."

It then developed in Viereck's testimony that Mr. Feltmann is not with the German Railroads at all, but that "he is propaganda minister," and that the contract was made afterward.

In the McCormack report, after a discussion of the contract of Carl Byoir and Viereck, the report said:

The National Socialist German Labor Party, through its various agencies, furnished tons of propaganda literature, which in most cases was smuggled into this country. Some of it, however, came through our customs, because there is no law against it. This is the committee's report:

"With the advent of Adolf Hitler as Chancellor, efforts to obtain supporters for the Nazi movement were redoubled in the United States. Campaigns were conducted, gigantic mass meetings held, literature of the vilest kind was disseminated, and the short-wave radio was added to the effort."

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, this is nothing but a reiteration of the McCormack report and the findings of the McCormack committee. Those are matters of record, and this committee has no right to go behind the McCormack report. All we should do is to take into account the McCormack report as a starting place, and form our own from there on, and there has been not one scintilla of new evidence which has been adduced here with this whole morning's testimony.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not think the gentleman is justified in saying that, but if it will satisfy him I will add three or four more matters before I get through.

Mr. MASON. I am looking for new evidence.

Mr. PATMAN. This all connects up.

Mr. MASON. I am not looking for what I have looked over with a fine-tooth comb already.

Mr. PATMAN. I think I should have a right to present my case in my own way. I think all of this is material. It is certainly material to show that soon after Hitler went in office that this man was being paid the highest salary in America as the representative of the German Government, which is the man we are talking about.

Mr. MASON. That is all shown in the McCormack report and the McCormack testimony. If the gentleman has anything further to show than that we would like to hear it.

Mr. PATMAN. It is material now, because you have attempted to exonerate him of un-American activities, and how can you do that when the proof shows that at the time he was spreading Nazi propaganda, both as to the church and the state? I am under a handicap here. That is what I have to overcome. And that is what I wish to go into.

Mr. PATMAN. It must be remembered that all this was taking place while Carl Byoir was representing Hitler under the terms of the contract.

While Byoir was representing Germany under this contract the McCormack committee says that the following occurred:

German steamship lines not only brought over propaganda but transported back and forth certain American citizens without cost, for the purpose of having them write and speak favorably of the German Nation. A German steamship company's records show that some of these persons received free transportation at the request of the German Ambassador "in the interest of the state." Members of the crews of these ships carried messages between party officials in Germany and leaders of the Nazi groups here.

It was quite a common occurrence for steamship companies to invite residents in this country to attend social parties on board ships while they were in port, and persons attending these parties were addressed by representatives from Nazi organizations abroad on the subject of nazi-ism and the philosophies of the National Socialist German Labor Party.

All this taking place while Carl Byoir, lieutenant colonel, was representing German interests.

While Byoir was representing Germany under this contract the following occurred, according to the McCormack committee:

The membership lists of The Friends of New Germany showed a large number of aliens, who, although they have resided in this country for a number of years, had never made an effort to obtain their first papers to become citizens. Yet, these self-same aliens sought to dictate to American citizens and to find fault with the American philosophy of government.

While all of this was occurring Byoir was one of the players on Hitler's team.

While Byoir was representing Germany under the contract, the following occurred [reading]:

Naturalized German citizens believed that this conferred upon them a dual citizenship.

The Friends of New Germany conducted so-called youth summer camps at different localities, at which camps nothing of American history or of American principles of government were taught, even to the children of American citizens of German extraction.

On the contrary, the children were taught to recognize Chancellor Hitler as their leader, to salute him on all occasions, and to believe that the principles of government taught by him were superior to the principles of our Government.

At these camps the official language was German, the swastika flag was prominently displayed at the headquarters tent, and at the morning and evening exercises the flag was saluted in Nazi style, and the director of the camp, in charge of these children, was an alien who displayed unusual ignorance of many of the principles of the United States Government, and whose personal allegiance was solely to the German Government and its present ruler.

The investigation conducted by the McCormack committee extended over the period of time when Carl Byoir was known to be representing German interests. Keeping that point in mind, let us see what the committee said about what took place during the time of Carl Byoir's activities. Its report is self-explanatory, and a part of it is as follows:

From the evidence taken by this committee in its investigation of nazi-ism in the United States it develops that all kinds of efforts and influence, short of violence and force, were used to obtain its desired objective, which was to consolidate persons of German birth or descent, if possible, into one group, subject to dictation from abroad.

When this committee was appointed, the Nazi movement had made considerable headway, greater in its influence than its actual membership would indicate. Its efforts and activity, particularly with reference to its intolerance features, were disturbing.

The disclosures made by the committee not only have stopped their progress and caused the activities of certain German accredited representatives to this country to cease, but a disintegration of the movement has and is taking place. Efforts are still being made by the leaders of the movement but without the success that they heretofore enjoyed.

This committee condemns the establishment and the propaganda of the Nazi principles in this country.

There is another committee finding which contains the activities of Byoir, because it condemns the propaganda of Nazi principles in this country, which he was disseminating, which is a condemnation by the McCormack committee.

Now, then, in bringing it further up to date, I desire to mention a few things in connection with travel bureaus, but before I do that I would like to offer in evidence a letter from the Secretary of State that Byoir is now representing German interests.

The CHAIRMAN. We have that already in the record.

Mr. PATMAN. You do?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. And a copy of the contract with the German interests?

The CHAIRMAN. We have that.

Mr. PATMAN. And where he obligates himself to cover the news?

Mr. MASON. That is not Byoir, but Viereck.

Mr. PATMAN. I know; but there is nothing in the record to presume they were not partners. We know at one time they were partners disseminating propaganda, and we know nothing further than that.

The CHAIRMAN. You can offer that.

Mr. PATMAN. You take the White Book, which goes to every Member of Congress, and probably goes to a number of people over the Nation, and there is postage of 21 cents paid on it, and also here is Facts in Review, sent out every week.

The CHAIRMAN. We have all of that.

Mr. PATMAN. This is from an organization in New York State, as well as other propaganda.

Here is the man who is still disseminating Nazi propaganda in America, who obtained the contract, and was a partner of Lieutenant Colonel Byoir, and yet you say he is not guilty of un-American activities.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Byoir is no longer engaged in those activities—

Mr. PATMAN (interposing). But when Lieutenant Colonel Byoir was engaged in that activity.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Byoir is no longer connected with Mr. Viereck how can you connect him with it?

Mr. PATMAN. So far as I know there is nothing to indicate he is not.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to hear from Mr. Byoir later this afternoon as to what he has to say about this matter.

Mr. PATMAN. I have here in words, better than I can express it in any words, and it is an article in PM about Viereck and about this propaganda in America, and I want to ask the indulgence of the committee to read it. It is right along this point, and it is in corroboration of what I have said.

Mr. MASON. You have got to connect Viereck and his present activities with Mr. Byoir, and that is a pretty difficult thing to do, it seems to me.

Mr. PATMAN. Byoir represents some of the biggest interests in the country, and I believe there is a close working arrangement and coalition between them in disseminating propaganda; I believe that sincerely.

This is the issue of August 13, 1940:

George Viereck (Benedict Arnold) Is Germany's Paid Press Agent.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, Mr. Patman. That is from some newspaper, is it not?

Mr. PATMAN. It is information better than I can express it.

The CHAIRMAN. What newspaper is that?

Mr. PATMAN. It is PM. I think it bears right on this point as to these parts of big business, and I presume that the committee will want to hear that.

The CHAIRMAN. We have practically all of that.

Mr. PATMAN. This hooks up with what I have said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have voluminous evidence to show how many Communists are on the staff of this paper from which you propose to quote.

Mr. PATMAN. What is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I say we have voluminous evidence to show how many Communists are on the staff of this PM paper from which you propose to quote.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes. But what does that have to do with this?

Mr. CASEY. I understand they get out a pretty good newspaper.

Mr. PATMAN. I know; but I think this is something that corroborates what I have to present. I have some further testimony to present, of course.



The CHAIRMAN. We want to give you a full opportunity to be heard and want to give Mr. Byoir a full opportunity.

Mr. PATMAN. This reads: "Figure in World War Propaganda Is Still at Work in Present War," and it is by Henry Paynter.

#### HITLER'S NO. 1 BENEDICT ARNOLD IS GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

Some other prominent Americans parrot Hitler's Nazi propaganda for America, over the radio and in leading publications, and receive no pay for it.

But Viereck is well paid.

Viereck has been playing Germany's game against the U. S. A.—for dough—since long before Hitler.

He was naturalized in 1901, but he still comes close to Hitler's definition of all 8,000,000 German-Americans—"part of the German nation."

He has as interesting a Nazi record as any U. S. citizen.

He received scores of thousands of dollars in World War I for activities which ended with the exposure of the notorious Dr. Heinrich Albert, then German commercial attaché here. Dr. Albert is the partner of Gerhard Westrick, now German commercial attaché here, and Hitler's secret emissary to influence Wall Street leaders.

It was Viereck who wrote to the notorious Capt. Franz von Papen, German military attaché ousted for spying:

"I am thoroughly ashamed of my country."

#### "LUSITANIA" CHARGE

It was Viereck who, Albert L. Becker, New York deputy attorney general charged, received \$100,000 from German Government agents, *after the U. S. entered the war.*

It was Viereck, according to sworn testimony of a newspaperman, who said in advance that the *Lusitania* would be torpedoed. He later denied he'd said it, although he thought it "justifiable."

It was Viereck who testified in 1934 that he had got \$1,750 a month from Carl Byoir and Associates for swinging a German Government "publicity" contract to that firm.

It was Viereck who said in 1934: "I am a friend of Adolf Hitler's Germany."

In addition to special fees, Viereck now expects to earn \$15,000 this year for his talents in fitting Hitler's propaganda to current U. S. needs.

In the last World War, German propaganda here was clumsy. Viereck was a good deal less experienced. It was probably at least equally as effective as British propaganda in getting us into war against Germany.

Hitler didn't want to make that mistake, so Viereck shades Hitler's Nazi propaganda in getting us into war to *fit nuances* in U. S. feeling.

Viereck is paid \$500 a month by a Munich newspaper—

I will not call the name, I cannot pronounce it—

*Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, Sendlingerstrasse 80, Munich; another \$500 a month by the German Library of Information, Hitler's *official* Nazi propaganda agency in this country, 17 Battery Place. He lives at 305 Riverside Drive in a ten-room, \$3,500-a-year apartment.

#### SPECIAL FEE

During the critical period this spring when Hitler planned his United States peace-intervention barrage, helped by Lindbergh, etc., Viereck got a special fee of \$1,200 for special consultation from the German Library of Information. He expects to get more.

Hitler zealously tries to get his message to *every* American. On lowest levels, the propaganda comes here, now by way of Russia, from the Fichte Bund, Hamburg. For middle levels it comes from Welt-Dienst, World Service, in eight languages.

Similar material is broadcast by Father Coughlin, the Reverend Gerald Winrod, the Dishon. Joe McWilliams, and others.

For the highest levels, there is personal contact, such as Westrick, who uses the United States name of A. Webster. Westrick worked on James D. Mooney and many other prominent United States industrialists.

It is Viereck's Benedict Arnold job to corrupt the thinking of backbone Americans. His contract with the Germany Library of Information has his

signed promise to prepare news for *Facts in Review*, official Hitler upper level propaganda organ published under the supervision of Nazi Consul General Dr. Hans Borchers, to hold himself at all times for consultation on Nazi propaganda problems in the United States of America and to *interpret the news to favor Germany*.

## VIERECK'S JOB

It is Viereck's job——

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I protest that Mr. Viereck is not before us, and I can testify in connection with the indictment of Mr. Viereck, all of which is probably true, and I believe it probably is, that he had nothing to do with the situation we are facing and the question we have to settle.

The CHAIRMAN. It is now nearly 12, and Mr. Voorhis and some of the Members want to be on the floor, and we want to resume at 1 o'clock. How long will it take you to conclude, Mr. Patman?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know, Mr. Chairman. Probably 30 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. No longer than 30 minutes?

Mr. PATMAN. I am not quite sure, but that is my feeling.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to go on, gentlemen?

Mr. MASON. I would rather stay and finish.

Mr. PATMAN. The chairman told me that we would have just the morning session, but it makes no difference, and we can continue on. Of course, we have the tax bill coming up, and I do not think it will help by our being there, because it is under the gag rule, naturally.

The CHAIRMAN. Go right ahead.

Mr. PATMAN. If you are having an afternoon session I would like to wait until this afternoon, because having gone 2 hours, naturally I am just a little bit tired.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the members of the committee?

Mr. MASON. I would rather finish this part of it, and then take the other part of it up after lunch.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let us proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. This is entitled, "Viereck's Job."

It is Viereck's job to "interpret" or "color" information, whether it is to appear in the *Free American*, Hitler's No. 1 United States propaganda sheet, or elsewhere, so that it will further Hitler's strategy in his war against America.

It is obvious, then, that no Benedict Arnold is doing so much for Hitler in this crucial period as Viereck.

He is assisted by Herr Heinz Beller, actual manager of the library.

The chief function is to supply information for non-Nazi publications here, and for intelligent Americans. Germany's view of the progress of the war is told ably, with subtle implication always of Germany's confidence in victory.

Germany's post-European war economic plans for America are subtly developed.

By some strange magic, if you write to 17 Battery Place, you get other Nazi publications; if you write to Father Coughlin or other Hitlerite publicists, you are likely to get *Facts in Review*.

The German Library of Information is in the same building as the German Consulate General, where a bomb went off not long ago.

## MAILING EQUIPMENT

Its modern mailing equipment takes care of a mailing list of 100,000 individual names, including the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, clergymen, university faculty members, Members of Congress, university publications editors, school teachers, and radio commentators.

The library also puts out and mails propaganda tracts, such as one to prove that Polish atrocities against Germans caused the war.

They have been successful in getting their statements, including those in special books, reprinted in the *Congressional Record*, and distributed at public expense.

Among these were writings criticizing the Federal Bureau of Investigation for exposing "fifth column" activities.

Viereck's work in this field, important as it is to Hitler, is secondary to Viereck's work in toning down Nazi propaganda to fit the palate of the leaders of United States opinion, to whom it is fed by word of mouth through such persons as Westrick, and by slick paper monotonemes mailed to selected lists.

Thanks to Viereck, this vital Hitler propaganda seems superficially harmless, legal, even praiseworthy, to millions of Americans.

So it is not surprising such persons as Charles A. Lindbergh and James D. Mooney publicly parrot the same propaganda message as Hitler's short-wave radio.

Moreover, everything they have done has been perfectly legal. Hitler boasts that he can spread his power everywhere because the democracies are too dumb to prevent his propagandists from conquering before a shot is fired.

Everything Lindbergh said and Mooney said along the same lines as Hitler's propaganda for this country has been perfectly legal. It is clear they have not violated the Federal statute against treason. But the two men have done more for Hitler than all his bunds and spies here.

#### LINDBERGH, MOONEY

Lindbergh is an American idol. Despite his half dozen outbursts favorable to Hitler, he may have been until recently the most popular man in the United States next to President Roosevelt. His prestige, then, was tremendous. He holds a commission as a flying colonel in the United States Army Reserve.

PM has shown how, sentence by sentence, Lindbergh's recent radio talk paralleled official German Government propaganda broadcasts.

Of all Americans, only Roosevelt could have done Hitler a greater propaganda favor.

Mooney, relatively unknown to the public, has distributed similar ideas.

Mooney is also a Reserve officer, a lieutenant commander in the United States Navy, and occupies a key position in United States defense, as liaison and defense production man for General Motors.

#### SOCIAL JUSTICE

More than 100 Hitlerite propaganda publications here were hammering away at the same thing—one of the loudest and most persistent, Father Coughlin's *Social Justice*, in which official Nazi propaganda is continually parroted.

In the June 10 issue of *Social Justice*, Father Coughlin gave the entire back page to adulation of Senator Johnson of Colorado. In the same issue Coughlin's page one headline was "American Nations Need to Begin Peace Plans."

On June 10 Senator Johnson introduced into the *Congressional Record* the full text of Mooney's speech.

Then the *Congressional Record* publication was reprinted at private cost, but distributed at taxpayers' cost.

Thus, at a time when every possible means was being used to get President Roosevelt to intervene to bring peace—which would be a Hitler peace—the *Congressional Record* was distributing similar sentiments.

Asked by PM, Senator Johnson said he did not remember who paid for the reprinting, and that the speech had originally been sent to him by somebody in Chicago. He said he would look into it. He is for peace, and thought the speech was all right because it was for peace, he said.

Mooney also paid to have the talk reprinted in pamphlet form, and widely distributed.

But that apparently was not enough.

The *Saturday Evening Post* claims the largest audience of any United States periodical. One of the *Post's* largest single sources of income is from General Motors. In the *Post* of August 3, Mooney's talk, considerably bolder in amplification, was republished under the heading:

"Though the *Post* disagrees with much that he says here, we thought his recent speech \* \* \* so important and so little quoted in the press that we asked him to amplify that address for publication here."

In the *Post* article, called "War or Peace in America," Mooney again described the horrors of war, and said:

"Germany felt that England and France exercised too great control over the food for her people \* \* \*."

"On the day war is declared we can kiss democracy goodby and she won't be back during your lifetime or mine, or during the lifetime of our sons and daughters \* \* \*

"We have already done too much monkeying around in the European situation during the past 2 or 3 years, particularly in the direction of encouraging England and France to take Germany on for a fight.

## HELPING ENGLAND

"Most military authorities agree that the chances of our helping England are very slight. The present course of sending over military equipment is not promising, because the quantities of such war materials that we can ship in a hurry are relatively small. Besides, much of the equipment is out of date. It is not the kind of equipment that can stand up against a blitzkrieg \* \* \*.

"There is a lot of loose, theatrical talk going on in the way of encouraging the British to make a last stand \* \* \*.

"It is high time to stop this fight and save England from further misery. It is high time for us Americans to save our friends, the English, from a further beating \* \* \*.

"If we are to save our friends, the English, at all, we must save them right now *by using our strength in the situation to compel a peace.*

"We have got to state bluntly and frankly to the rulers of Germany and England that we insist upon an end to the holocaust \* \* \*.

## LOOKING AHEAD

"The German military victories in this war have been impressive, but farsighted leaders in that country must look ahead to the world structure after the war \* \* \*.

"England can now, on the strong intervention of a mediator, stop fighting without acknowledging shameful defeat and without loss of honor. Even now, through a mediated peace, there is still prestige, glory, and honor for all \* \* \*.

"In other words, what we have to say to the political group in England is, 'If you won't talk peace now, but insist on continuing with the struggle, we will not enter the war in a military way to help you.'"

This is almost precisely what the German short-wave radio has been saying to Americans for 2 months, except that England's plight is depicted somewhat more delicately by Mooney. And Hitler does not call the English "Our friends."

It is almost precisely what Westrick told Mooney 2 or 3 months ago.

*I know, because I heard Westrick say it, then.* At the time, I was a financial writer on the staff of the Associated Press.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am just a little bit fatigued, and if you are going to have a recess for a while I would like to have a rest.

Mr. CASEY. I would just like to ask you some questions on that PM. I do not remember the language, but it shows Mr. Viereck was doing the work of Hitler in this country, is that right?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And it also accuses Lindbergh of doing work for Hitler.

Mr. PATMAN. I will read what he says about Viereck, which is in a little box at the top of the page, which is as follows:

The man on the front page is George Sylvester Viereck, naturalized citizen of the United States of America, who had difficulties during World War I because of his German activities—for hire. Then, he wrote he was "thoroughly ashamed" of his country. Now he has a contract with the German Library of Information, chief source of Hitler propaganda here, and is well paid for it. The contract calls for him to interpret the news in Germany's favor.

Mr. CASEY. What does it say about Lindbergh?

Mr. PATMAN. About what?

Mr. CASEY. About Lindbergh.

Mr. PATMAN. I really did not pay any attention to that part of it, because I was not concerned about it.

Mr. CASEY. But you agree with the article with reference to Viereck.

Mr. PATMAN. It corroborates what I have said.

Mr. CASEY. Do you agree with what it says about Lindbergh?

Mr. PATMAN. I am not making any statement as to that.

Mr. CASEY. You put it in evidence.

Mr. PATMAN. I put it in evidence; yes.

Mr. CASEY. Do you agree with what it says about General Motors?

Mr. PATMAN. They are not concerned in this investigation. It was not material.

Mr. CASEY. Do you agree with what it says about the Saturday Evening Post?

Mr. PATMAN. I am not answering as to that.

Mr. CASEY. If we follow that course of procedure we will finish very shortly.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of you gentlemen? I wonder if we possibly can conclude.

Mr. PATMAN. I think 30 minutes would possibly conclude what I have to say, but you must realize that I have been talking over 2 hours already.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we come back at 1 o'clock?

Mr. PATMAN. I would not like to be bound by exactly half an hour, but I feel reasonably certain that I can be here. It is now 12:10.

The CHAIRMAN. You see, we are very anxious to conclude this as soon as we can.

Mr. PATMAN. These charges were made May 27, Mr. Chairman, and I do not see why they should be rushed and hurried through in 1 day. Of course, that is for the committee. I am more or less a guest of the committee, and I realize that.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I think you have been very much indulged here, and permitted as much latitude as we possibly have, and we want to conclude this if we can today. And there is the finishing of your testimony and the hearing of Mr. Byoir, who wants to be heard.

Mr. PATMAN. The committees usually recess until 2 o'clock. If that is all right with the committee it would suit me very well.

The CHAIRMAN. We have often recessed until 1 o'clock. It just depends upon whether you insist on it or not.

Mr. PATMAN. I am not going to insist on anything. Whatever the committee wishes to do will have to be all right with me.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us say at 1:30.

Mr. PATMAN. You know when a fellow has talked 2 hours and sometimes you do not get much rest in a half an hour, and you have to take a meal during that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we say we reconvene at 1:15.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., a recess was taken until 1:15 p. m. of the same day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 1:15 p. m., pursuant to the taking of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will proceed.

## TESTIMONY OF HON. WRIGHT PATMAN—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Congressman Patman.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Chairman, if it is agreeable with the committee, I can insert some of this material in connection with my remarks, and it need not be read at all.

Do I have the privilege of revising and extending my remarks, and inserting such things as I consider material?

The CHAIRMAN. You can just go along, and we will see what it is.

Mr. PATMAN. You say, for instance, although the committee has this registration statement, it is not in any record that I know of, and I want to insert it in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that.

(The registration statement referred to is as follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, June 27, 1940.

In reply refer to Co 800.01B11 Registration—  
BYOIR & ASSOCIATES, INC., CARL:

MY DEAR MR. STRIPLING: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 18, 1940, and, in reply, have to inform you that neither Business Organizations, Incorporated, 10 East Fortieth Street, New York City, nor National Consumers Tax Commission, 310 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is registered in conformity with the provisions of the Act of June 8, 1938, as amended, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals.

Carl Byoir, 10 East Fortieth Street, New York City, also is not registered in conformity with the provisions of the law mentioned above, but Carl Byoir and Associates, Inc., 10 East Fortieth Street, New York City, registered as agents of the Transpacific News Service, Inc., on October 7, 1938. By letter dated October 16, 1939, however, a sworn affidavit was submitted stating that the agency relationship described in their Registration Statement had been terminated and, accordingly, their Registration Statement was withdrawn from the public files of the Department pursuant to the provisions of section 4 of the Act. I may add that although this Registration Statement and its accompanying documents are no longer available for public inspection, this material will, of course, be open to inspection by your Committee upon request.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

(Signed) A. A. BERLE, Jr., *Assistant Secretary.*

Mr. ROBERT E. STRIPLING,

*Secretary, Special Committee on Un-American Activities,*

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. PATMAN. And I would like to introduce the letter from the Secretary of State also.

The CHAIRMAN. We will receive that in connection with your statement.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

JUNE 20, 1940.

MY DEAR Mr. PATMAN: I acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 17, 1940, and, in reply, have to inform you that George Sylvester Viereck is registered with the Secretary of State in conformity with the provisions of the act of June 8, 1938, as amended, requiring the registration of agents of foreign principals. A copy of the registration statement submitted by Mr. Viereck, together with copies of the supplements thereto, is enclosed for your information.

In addition to his contractual relationship with the German newspaper, *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, Sendlingerstrasse 80, Munich, Germany, Mr. Viereck also performs services in connection with the preparation of the publication, *Facts in Review*, which is published by the German Library of Information, 17 Battery Place, New York, N. Y. The German Library of Information is registered in conformity with the provisions of the law mentioned above in the name of its director, Mr. Heinz Beller, under the number 364 and date September

S, 1939. According to its registration statement, the "German Library of Information is a library of public information on the social, cultural, political, and economic development of Germany. It comprises several thousand books, pamphlets, periodicals, newspapers, official documents, and standard works on law, economics, history, philosophy, art, sport, etc. Its services are available upon request."

Sincerely yours,

SUMNER WELLES, *Acting Secretary.*

Mr. PATMAN. Are we ready to proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PATMAN. The German railroads have always used the travel bureaus and tourist offices for propaganda purposes.

Mr. Russell B. Porter, of the *New York Times*, made a trip to South American countries within the last 60 days, and his articles have appeared in the *New York Times* daily, and disclose a great amount of German propaganda that is being disseminated, and also discloses the tremendous sums spent in this country for that purpose. In this article, which appeared in the *New York Times*, it was stated—I will not read all of the article—but it says, "Travel Official Implicated." It reads, in part:

Herr Voigt, who used his railways office as a propaganda center, was shadowed and discovered ordering the printing of thousands of anti-Semitic pamphlets. He was also charged with organizing Nazi parades and demonstrations. Herr Voigt was arrested and expelled from Chile about a year ago. His case was handled so quickly that the German Embassy and his powerful friends had no time to intervene.

And if it is agreeable with the committee, I will insert the balance of it in the record. That is all that they do, use those offices for propaganda purposes.

(The editorial referred to is as follows:)

#### EX-DICTATOR HEADS GROUP

Another is the Chilean nationalist movement, whose former leaders, Gen. Carlos Ibanez, former dictator of Chile, and Gen. Ariosto Herrera, were expelled from Chile after loyal regiments discovered and exposed a plot to establish a regime on the Italian model.

Another organization that has been investigated is the Association of Friends of Germany, consisting of many prominent Chileans, including retired generals, university professors, writers, and intellectuals who were educated in or have visited Germany and admire German "kultur" or feel grateful for favors shown them in Germany.

This group meets regularly to talk about Germany. Its members make pro-German statements in press and lectures and on the radio, especially coming to Germany's defense when she's attacked.

The heading of this article was:

Nazis in Chile closely watched for evidence of subversive acts—Travel agent deported upon discovery that he financed an anti-Semitic paper—Enormous sums spent for propaganda.

This is especially interesting, in view of the fact that Lt. Col. Carl Byoir claimed to be only a travel agent representing the German Tourists' Information Service in the United States while he was employed by the German Consul in New York and other German interests after Hitler came in power.

There was the head of the Russian Tourist Information Service convicted for buying Navy secrets. That is a case which is on all fours, so far as using fronting is concerned, with this one.

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was the author of an article on how spies operate, in the magazine section of the daily newspaper for July 28, 1940, issue of This Week. In this article he discussed what I presume to be the only case in which the Department of Justice has obtained a conviction of an agent of a foreign government under the espionage statute. In this article, Mr. Hoover stated:

"SALICH-GORIN CASE

"A case handled by Naval Intelligence and the F. B. I. about a year ago throws further light on the manner in which spies operate. Hafis Salich was born in Moscow, Russia, in 1905. In 1920 he emigrated to the United States. He had attended St. Joseph's College in Yokohama, Japan, and spoke Japanese fluently. After he arrived here he completed a course at a business college in Seattle, Wash. He worked for steamship companies off and on until 1926, when he became a member of the Berkeley, Calif., police department. He worked there until 1936, when he was given a leave of absence to work on a special assignment for the Navy Department. In the meantime, he became acquainted with Mikhail Nicholas Gorin, who arrived in the United States on January 10, 1936, to take over the management of the Pacific coast division of Intourist, Inc., a travel bureau designed to promote travel in Soviet Russia.

"It is alleged that Gorin absent-mindedly left a document in a coat pocket that was sent to the cleaner's. A patriotic citizen found it. It immediately reached the hands of our efficient Naval Intelligence. An alert officer recognized the document as having come from Navy files. The F. B. I. was notified. A joint investigation disclosed that Salich apparently had received \$1,700 from Gorin for reports that Salich was accused of having secured from Navy Department files. Salich and Gorin were sentenced to serve prison terms for violation of the Espionage Statute. As this is being written the case is pending appeal in the United States Supreme Court.

"Espionage agents have but one code: 'The end justifies the means.' The means can be murder, robbery, burglary, barter of loyalty, or blackmail.

"Identifying spies is one thing—proving their mission is much more difficult. Of even greater importance to the protection of our internal defense is keeping a check upon their plans. These plans, as a rule, are carried out by the underlings of spycraft. The directors of espionage invariably remain behind the scene, well protected by many imposing 'fronts.'"

I invite your attention especially to the fact that Gorin, who was the representative of a travel bureau designed to promote travel in Soviet Russia, induced an employee of our Navy Department to sell him valuable secrets, which were secured from Navy Department files. Gorin occupied a similar position with the Russian tourist agency that Lieutenant Colonel Byoir occupied with the German Tourist Information Service when he first commenced spreading Nazi propaganda in America.

Now, another travel agency used as a front. In the Washington Times-Herald, of August 13, 1940, the following article appeared relative to 17 Battery Place in New York, which is headquarters for German propaganda, and this shows the agency bombed over there a short time ago was a tourist information office, just like that used in all other fronts as a disseminating propaganda office.

(The editorial referred to is as follows:)

ANOTHER TRAVEL AGENCY USED AS A FRONT

The Times Herald, Washington, D. C., August 13, 1940, carried the following article relative to 17 Battery Place, in New York, which is headquarters for German propaganda:

F. B. I. BARES GESTAPO RING IN NEW YORK—EVIDENCE GIVEN UNITED STATES  
BY FORMER GERMAN CONSUL

By John Cross and Guy Richards

NEW YORK, August 12.—F. B. I. agents, armed with the reluctant testimony of German Americans, including the Reich's former consul here, will soon submit evidence to the Federal grand jury that the firm of Deutcher Handels und



Wirtschaftsdienst, at 17 Battery Place here, is the New York, if not the United States, headquarters for Hitler's Gestapo, object of heretofore fruitless search since the New York German spy trials of 1938.

This is the firm, licensed as a travel and foreign exchange agency, whose offices were damaged on June 20 last by a bomb blast injuring nine persons. \* \* \*

#### THREE-YEAR FEUD

They called Dr. Paul Schwarz, for 4 years German consul here, and from him gained confirmation of their suspicions that the June bombing culminated a bitter 3-year feud between Dr. Borchers, a scholarly career man in the German foreign service, and the Gestapo staff that used the travel agency as a front.

Colonel Donovan's report on the "fifth columns" in the United States is very interesting. This appeared on August 22, and had a headline, as follows: "Strong 'Fifth Column' In United States Could Be Our Undoing—Hitler Conspiring for World Dominion—Immense Sums Spent for Propaganda. There have been as many as \$200,000,000 annually spent on organization and propaganda abroad. The immensity of this sum is a secret. Nazi Germany is not a government—not even a 'folkdom' of the sort Nazi orators talk about. Nazi Germany is a conspiracy. Its scope is universal and its aim world domination.

"Its primary agents are as many of the millions of the Germans in Germany, and abroad, as can be induced or compelled to serve the German fatherland," over here and elsewhere.

And I ask that the full article be inserted.

(The newspaper article referred to is as follows:)

COLONEL DONOVAN REPORTS STRONG 'FIFTH COLUMN' IN UNITED STATES 'COULD BE OUR UNDOING'—HITLER CONSPIRING FOR WORLD DOMINATION—IMMENSE SUMS SPENT FOR PROPAGANDA.

(By Col. William J. Donovan and Edgar Mowrer)

Since we must ascribe a huge share in Adolf Hitler's incomparable military successes to his use of Germans and 'fifth columnists' in victim countries, the questions arise: How was such a success possible?

How are Germans abroad brought to such self-sacrificing enthusiasm for the Nazi regime? How above all can foreigners living under relatively mild and civilized governments be induced voluntarily to betray their own countries for Hitler's Germany? It seems mysterious.

The answer is \$200,000,000 spent annually on organization and propaganda abroad. The immensity of this sum is the secret. Nazi Germany is not a government—not even a "folkdom" of the sort Nazi orators talk about. Nazi Germany is a conspiracy. Its scope is universal and its aim world domination.

Its primary agents are as many of the millions of the Germans in Germany, and abroad, as can be induced or compelled to serve the German fatherland.

#### ARMED INSURRECTIONS

Its activities begin with attempted proselyting of Germans abroad, go on to the murder and kidnaping of real or fancied enemies, and end in armed insurrection against the foreign country Hitler wishes to conquer or absorb.

Such insurrections of Germans actually occurred in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Holland. But for the firm attitude of the United States such an insurrection would, many students believe, have occurred in Brazil.

That the Germans abroad are usually naturalized into something else is no hindrance. Pre-war imperial Germany sanctioned the double nationality status—Germans could, that is, become French or American or Portuguese without losing their German nationality. The Weimar republic did not alter this strange conception and Nazi Germany has made it the center of its Trojan horse tactics of placing Germans within the enemy walls.

## GERMAN AIMS IN AMERICA

It is safe to say that a very fair proportion of the nonrefugee Germans who have become Americans since Hitler came to power did so with the secret intention of turning free and democratic America into their—that is, Hitler's, America.

Children of Germans naturalized half a century ago are still counted German by Berlin and every effort is made to convince them of the fact.

Naturally the Nazis accept traitors as allies wherever they can find them and welcome the assistance of non-Nordics. But peoples racially akin to Germans—Scandinavians, Dutch, Flemings, German-speaking Swiss, even Anglo-Saxons—are made the object of special proselyting as belonging to the "same blood." These form the material with which the Nazi world conspiracy chiefly attempts to work.

The center is the Nazi Party. The tool is the Auslands organization (or "organization abroad") of this party. Today this organization of Germans abroad has nearly 4,000,000 members, all of whom are conscious agents. Over 600 local groups or "supporting points" are organized in 45 or more "landesgruppen"—one in each country.

## DIRECTED BY ERNST BOHLE

The headquarters is in Stuttgart, but all the groups are directed by a single man in Berlin, Gauleiter Ernst Wilhelm Bohle, with some 800 assistants. Technically Bohle is a "state secretary" in the German foreign office. Where the local branches dare not appear under their true colors they take on fancy names—in Rumania, the Iron Guards; in Switzerland, True Confederates; in the United States, Amerikadentscher Volksbund.

But everywhere, whether the members are Germans, naturalized Germans, or non-Germans, the aim is the same—to achieve Hitler's end by trickery or terror; the organizing principle is the same, with SA and Hitler Youth and Hitler Sport, marching, emblems, ruthless discipline, ceremonies in honor of Nazi heroes or Hitler's birthday parties; and in case of war they would all be on Germany's side. In time of peace they make lists of Hitler's enemies, who are marked down for murder or kidnapping to Germany and torture when the great day comes.

## SELLING GERMANY'S CAUSE

Organized Germans abroad are publicly told to 'obey the laws of their guest country' but at the same time urged to 'convince every outsider of the necessity of Germany's victory.' The Nazi party Auslands-Organization is by no means the only entity that works for Hitler outside Germany.

Particularly important, notably in countries like the Third French Republic, is the work of the press attachés in the German embassies and consulates. Not only do they see that the 1,700 German language newspapers outside Germany (total circulation 3,000,000) are supplied with interesting material of all sorts at the price no other source can meet, but they also watch over German radio programs.

Special attention is given to winning over possible Nazi friends on the local press and combating or bringing into disrepute newspapers and periodicals that oppose Hitler.

## GESTAPO EVER ON WATCH

The German Gestapo of Heinrich Himmler, whose ruthless efficiency surpasses even the Russian Ogpu, employs only about 5,000 agents abroad. One of its special tasks is watching over German refugee emigrants, but it does not scorn to cast an eye even on Nazis in good standing, some of whom have been known to speak slightly of the Fuehrer or to express a passing wish for greater personal freedom.

Therefore one or more agents can be found in every German consulate or embassy abroad. A good angler can manage to locate others in the larger German commercial enterprises such as shipping or oil companies.

In addition to the agencies already mentioned, there exists a colonial political department headed by Gen. Franz Ritter Von Epp, Hitler's special friend, which carries on a lively pro-Nazi propaganda in the former German colonies and among Germans in colonies of other countries.

Although there is some doubt, presumably it is the Gestapo that picks out special agents for particular jobs in countries that happen at a particular moment to interest the Nazis most. Rumor speaks of a high-class German technician who managed to find a relatively insignificant job in an American broadcasting company.

Broadcasting plays a great role in German spy life. Not only the agents possess tiny senders with which they transmit information unfit for the public, but they receive instructions carefully concealed in public broadcasts from the fatherland. One such typical broadcast was that called *Kamaradschaftsdienst*, supposedly intended for the soldiers at the front.

#### USE OF GERMAN SERVANT GIRLS

There is no claim that this description of the German propaganda service is complete. Conceivably there exist other even more interesting services. But this much should make it clear why Adolf Hitler has been so successful in utilizing Germans abroad and creating "fifth columns" among his enemies.

Thanks to the pains taken and the money spent, Hitler has in nearly every country been able to do considerable in breaking down the national morale and enlisting traitors. One particularly good dodge is in most places the creation of two Nazi organizations, one of which acts in a strictly legal way.

Another (until it was found out) was the use of German servant girls. Dutch employers of a particularly "dumb" German cook were surprised to hear her conversing in the kitchen with a perfect stranger in fluent Oxford English. She was dismissed, and took with her the more important family papers.

#### TOURISTS COLLECT INFORMATION

German exchange students, carefully schooled in espionage and propaganda, collected no end of information in Switzerland. Strength-through-joy tourists carefully mapped Poland for the *Reichswehr*. It must always be remembered that no German receives police permission to leave the *Reich*, regardless of the motives, until he or she promises to report everything seen and heard abroad.

Each must declare his address to the nearest Nazi official and keep in touch with him so far as circumstances permit.

In the United States an organization of Nazis is being trained in arms. As matters now stand it is conceivable that the United States possesses the finest Nazi-schooled "fifth column" in the world, on which, in case of war with Germany, could be our undoing.

#### WOULD BAN GERMAN PRESS

Could, but need not be. The Nazis are strong only where unopposed. Where they are resisted, where the initiative is taken from them, they tend to collapse. The revelations in the American press of the fortunes amassed and held abroad by leading Nazis kept Goebbels busy denying it for 2 weeks.

It is hard to see why under present circumstances, in view of "fifth column" activity observed abroad, countries that do not intend to submit to the Third *Reich* permit any Germany-language publications or why they do not adopt legislation allowing naturalizations obtained under false pretenses to be annulled by executive act, or do not insist on knowing just what domestic industries and commercial houses have tie-ups of any sort with the Nazis.

Failure to do this, failure to study and combat the entire Nazi *Auslands* organization, may have tragic consequences. Unearthed in time, the Nazi conspiracy is relatively harmless.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I really do not see the relevancy of these articles to the question before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. What Mr. Patman wants to do is to establish the fact that these tourist concerns are used by Germany as fronts.

Mr. MASON. That fact has been established time and time again before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MASON. And it was established before the McCormack committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MASON. And why should we take up all of this time to establish the fact it has been accepted?

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PATMAN. If it is accepted that Lt. Col. Carl Byoir was being used as a front to disseminate propaganda I would not care to introduce any further testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Mr. PATMAN. And if that is conceded I have one more item here I would like to introduce.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. PATMAN. The following article appeared in the New York World-Telegram, November 2, 1939:

GERMANY LOST NO TIME IN LAUNCHING OFFENSIVE ON PROPAGANDA FRONT

(By George Britt)

The Goebbels propaganda assault began operations long before there was anything but quiet on the western front. Former Germans, to the third and fourth generations in America, were approached and wherever possible were organized according to their social class. Vast mailing lists were collected—of persons to receive propaganda or to be called on for money or services or to bombard Congress with letters.

As I stated, Lt. Col. Carl Byoir was the first highly paid Hitler agent in this country; and one of the main things, as I understand, that he was doing was to furnish names of people, secret mailing lists, and things like that, and I think this committee, if they have not done it already, should certainly get a list of the names furnished these people who were engaged in Nazi propaganda, without a doubt, and possibly they are still being used.

Every possible ally, however temporary, was enlisted. Every means was utilized—lecturers, news dispatches, publicity hand-outs, papers, magazines, radio broadcasts—for putting Nazi Germany's message across.

I will ask that you put this whole thing in.

(The editorial referred to is as follows:)

GERMANY LOST NO TIME IN LAUNCHING OFFENSIVE ON PROPAGANDA FRONT

(By George Britt)

The Goebbels' propaganda assault began operations long before there was anything but quiet on the western front. Former Germans, to the third and fourth generations in America, were approached and wherever possible were organized according to their social class. Vast mailing lists were collected—of persons to receive propaganda or to be called on for money or services or to bombard Congress with letters.

Every possible ally, however temporary, was enlisted. Every means was utilized—lecturers, news dispatches, publicity hand-outs, papers, magazines, radio broadcasts—for putting Nazi Germany's message across.

MR. VIERECK

And as if for old-times' sake, there also was George Sylvester Viereck, now registered with the State Department as a German agent.

Mr. Viereck, who called himself "the Kaiser's spokesman in America" and published his Fatherland weekly during the last war, was returned to the headlines in 1934 by the McCormack investigating committee. It was shown that he had got \$1,750 a month for publicity for Nazi Germany and an additional \$500 a month for advice concerning propaganda to the consul general.

Mr. PATMAN. I have a prepared statement here as to nazi-ism, and it is not very long, and I would like to ask permission to insert it instead of reading it, if it is all right. I assure you that it is along the lines of things which is not entirely cumulative, and some of it is in a very different way than what I have gone into.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the purpose of it?

Mr. PATMAN. The purpose of it is to show what other people think about spreading Nazi propaganda in this country, and how it spreads, and the results of how it spreads.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we receive that as an exhibit.

Mr. PATMAN. I would rather have it in as part of my remarks. I assure you it is proper and material.

The CHAIRMAN. Just place it in the record, and we will go over it. Who is it by?

Mr. PATMAN. I forget the man's name, but it is a chapter in a book on nazi-ism and I am advised that this chapter is by Albert Brandt. I imagine you have it in your office, because I think every Member of Congress got one. It was published in 1934. It is a well-recognized book, received all over the country.

The CHAIRMAN. If you wish to introduce it we will receive it as an exhibit.

Mr. PATMAN. Then it is not copied in the testimony, as I understand it. If I am mistaken about it it will be already a part of the record, but I would rather have it in my testimony. It is not long, and merely a double-spaced typewritten sheet.

The CHAIRMAN. It explains the operation of Nazi propaganda?

Mr. PATMAN. That is it entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. Put it in.

Mr. PATMAN. All right.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

A well-knit active organization with iron discipline replaced the rather slipshod body which had preceded Hitler's rise to dictatorship. The work of this group did not pass unnoticed in the liberal press, however. There were protests against this dissemination of ideas inimical to American institutions and tradition.

April 30, 1933, the German leaders ostensibly dissolved their American branch and recalled Manger.

May 1, 1933, the Nazis established in America the "Friends of New Germany."

Soon after May 1, another organization, "The Friends of Germany," was organized for the purpose of spreading Nazi ideas to Americans of non-German origin. The omission of the word "new" in this second title is a typical example of what the Nazis no doubt felt to be a master stroke of intrigue. They doubtless thought it would be easier to enlist Americans as friends merely of Germany than as friends of the "new" Germany.

Dr. Nieland's decree, previously referred to, was reproduced in the January 1933, number of the Nazi organ, America's Deutsche Post: "In order to consolidate all local German groups in America," the decree reads, "and to pave the way for the establishment of units to comprise an American section of the National Socialist Party, I hereby appoint Comrade Heinz Spanknoebel, of Detroit, national confidential agent for the United States of North America. \* \* \* The confidential agent shall be responsible only to the chief of the foreign division (Nieland). It shall be his task to build up the national movement \* \* \*." The Voelkischer Beobachter on August 5, 1933, hailed the organization of Nazi cells in America and referred to Heinz Spanknoebel as their leader. The paper stated that one of the objects of the American group was to raise a fund of \$5,000,000 to spread Nazi ideas.

October 29, 1933, a big German Day celebration was staged for the New York Armory, but it was not held because Mayor O'Brien prohibited the celebration on the ground that it would be dangerous to the peace of the city.

December 10, 1933, the meeting was held under the auspices of the Steuben Society. It turned out to be a Nazi mass meeting.

Members of the "Friends of New Germany" have organized an extensive espionage system. Every German refugee is carefully watched. If he is a Nazi follower, he will be assisted in every way possible; if he is not a follower of Hitler, he is watched very carefully and reports made to immigration authorities.

The North German and Hamburg-American Lines' offices in New York are hotbeds of Nazi propaganda in America. The North German Lloyd director, H. Mensing, is the official representative of the Nazi Labor Front in America,

working under the direction of Dr. Robert Ley, his direct superior in Germany. Employees of these lines, in accordance with the German laws, have been forced to join the Nazi shop organizations. Mensing has forced thousands of German employees of American firms to join the labor front on the threat that if they should ever return to Germany they would be refused jobs and persecuted. The steamship lines have brought tons of propaganda to this country. As recently as on February 7, 1934, the New York Times informed its readers that United States officials had discovered six burlap sacks containing 300 pounds of Nazi propaganda on the German freighter *Este*. All this material was addressed to the chief propagandists in New York and other cities. A share was consigned to The Friends of the New Germany. Naturally this propaganda dealt with the Jewish question, though the anti-pacifistic and cultural phases of Nazi ideology were duly stressed. Spanknoebel is reported to have fled to Germany on the S. S. *Deutschland* without registering as a passenger. According to the New York World-Telegram, Colonel Emerson did the same thing on the S. S. *Europa* late in January 1934. Propagandists are smuggled into this country after coming across ostensibly as members of the crew. Nazi conspirators have complete privacy for their conferences aboard these ships in port. Employees of the lines have taken part in Nazi meetings in New York.

American children have not been overlooked by the Nazi propagandists. In New York a group called the Hitler Youth has been formed, on the surface a kind of boy-scout movement, but actually a recruiting movement for the Storm Troops. The literature distributed to the children included such statements as "If the world at large bares its teeth at Germany we will smash it." Clearly the main objective of this group is to breed soldiers for a war in which nazidom will conquer the world.

Colonel Emerson maintained a "translation and advisory bureau" in the Whitehall Building, 17 Battery Place, New York, which is also the address of the German consul general. This happens to be the same place where the publication Facts in Review was issued and a May 20, 1940, issue sent to each Member of Congress by special delivery.

T. St. John Gaffney helped Emerson.

Frederick Franklin Schrader also helped Emerson.

Ferdinand Hansen, Joseph J. O'Donohue, Rev. Francis Gross, Arthur Fleming Waring, and others, helped him.

But these are the more obvious propagandists. Far more dangerous are those who pose as unbiased. They include professional lecturers, college professors, "good will" lecturers and exchange students. Their name is literally legion, but there is space here to mention but a few.

Douglas Brinkley, former National Broadcasting Company announcer and news commentator, was one of the numerous American publicists who were invited to Germany ostensibly to study conditions there. None of this group, which included such men as George Sylvester Viereck, paid his own expenses. These visits have already begun to show results in a wave of propaganda. Brinkley, for instance, had no sooner returned to this country than he told a New York Nazi audience at the Central Opera House that Hitlerland is a vertiable paradise, that the concentration camps are models of humane comfort, and that stories of atrocities are all untrue. Brinkley was the only man who addressed this meeting in English. He informed the audience that he intended to travel throughout the United States to carry this message. Mr. Brinkley, as far back as July, 1933, knew what he wanted. On July 11, he declared from a German short-wave radio station: "I came to Germany to become acquainted with actual conditions—to establish the naked facts, and to enlighten the American people about the new Germany. Nowhere have I been able to find even the slightest sign of unrest or mistreatment. I am a witness that all disquieting reports about Germany are mere fabrication."

Brinkley is regarded today as the most important Nazi propagandist in America. The Nazis hope he will eventually secure time on the national radio networks here. In the meantime he is preparing to syndicate a series of articles. The *Deutsche Zeitung* on January 20 said of him: "We know Germany has a very good friend in Douglas Brinkley, and we hope, in the interest of our fatherland and of the whole world, that his important voice will be heard so that the world will know better the blessings of National Socialist Germany."

But it is Viereck who is the real "brain trust" of Nazi propaganda in America. It is Viereck who sends an indignant letter of protest to the editor whenever an American publication exposes the machinations of the nazidom here. It is Viereck who censors all the Nazi publicity material in this country. Viereck's trip to Germany was made with Carl D. Diekey of the firm of Carl Byoir and Associates of New York, the publicity outfit which formerly represented the

infamous Machado. Apparently the theory of the Nazis was that if this firm could sell Machado to the American public it could sell even Hitler and Goering. The, no doubt, disinterested opinions of Messrs. Viereck and Diekey on Germany will soon be fed to Americans through a series of syndicated articles. One may expect that these gentlemen will be more circumspect than the crude, outspoken George Schmitt.

German exchange students are seeking in this country to duplicate the success of the Nazis in Germany in winning the support in universities. If anti-Semitism appeals so readily to European students, the Nazis reason, why not to American students? Before the exchange students leave Germany they must sign a pledge to speak only good of the Hitler regime.

A demand that the activities of German exchange students at American universities be investigated to disclose whether they are exchanged in Nazi propaganda work was made in October 1933, by Dr. Franz Boas, professor of anthropology at Columbia University. In a letter to Representative Samuel Dickstein, chairman of the House Immigration Committee, Boas cited the official order of the German Government requiring all exchange students in foreign countries to spread Nazi propaganda.

The Nazi press in America is urging its readers to buy good receivers for short-wave radio broadcasts from Germany. "German stations on the air every night for North and South America," headlines the German Outlook, English edition of the Deutsche Zeitung. There are three broadcasts on short-wave stations every day, spreading propaganda from Germany to the United States.

The German consul general's office in New York had been the center of most of the propaganda in this country. Here much of the funds were distributed. Bills for propaganda activities were frequently paid by Herr Loeper, treasurer of the German general consulate, and the receipts sent to Berlin along with diplomatic correspondence. Ambassador Luther, formerly of the moderate and republican People's Party, with the accession of Hitler became an ardent Nazi supporter. Propaganda bills have also been paid by Dr. Degener of the German American Commercial League, which, with the German-American Board of Trade and the German Legion, has carried on active anti-Semitic and pro-Hitler propaganda.

The drain on the German Government's funds was such that in June 1933 Dr. Luther and Dr. Kiep, acting on orders from Berlin, summoned German big businessmen in this country to a meeting at the consulate and told them it was their duty to finance Nazi propaganda in America. Adolph Seheurer, director of the American office of the Hamburg-American Line; Willi von Meister, American representative of the Dornier Motor Works, Friedrichshaven; Gen. A. Metz and Von Rath of the I. G. Chemical Corporation, were given leading roles in organizing big business as a factor in Nazi propaganda.

Mr. PATMAN. I respectfully submit that I have shown positively, conclusively, and by sworn testimony the following:

One, that Lt. Col. Carl Byoir accepted enormous sums of money from the German consul in New York and from a "front" organization for Nazi propaganda in America, known as the German Tourist Information Office, to distribute Nazi literature in America—

Mr. MASON (interposing). May I just interrupt there to say, have you said you have shown that conclusively? Is that the way you put it?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; I have.

Mr. MASON. That was all established by the McCormack committee in its findings, and in its evidence that has been printed.

Mr. PATMAN. You admit it, that it does?

Mr. MASON. Yes; I admit that part; yes.

Mr. PATMAN. Of course. I am glad you do, Mr. Mason.

As I was saying, including literature concerning church and state, anti-Semitism, and in behalf of Hitler's form of government.

Too, it has been shown that this occurred while he was a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army Reserves.

Therefore, no other proof is needed. The fact that he ever, at any time, was guilty of such un-American activity should be sufficient to

cause this committee to recommend his immediate dismissal and to make a finding that he has been guilty of un-American activity.

Mr. MASON. I cannot follow your logic there, sir.

Mr. PATMAN. I appreciate the fact that honest men differ about things, Mr. Mason, and, of course, this matter is a matter about which we are all concerned. It is not a matter of any personal feeling on the part of anyone, but it is a matter which we consider to be a public duty. That is my opinion.

Mr. MASON. Then there is no personal feeling on my part, and there has never been. The first time I ever heard of Byoir was when I was asked to sit on a committee and go into this matter.

Mr. PATMAN. Further, in regard to a part of big business being connected with Nazi propaganda representatives, I ask the committee to investigate the connection of Lieutenant Colonel Byoir and George Sylvester Viereck and George Sylvester Viereck, Lieutenant Colonel Byoir and Dr. Westrick.

It is my belief that Viereck was here to try to encourage the big industrial and financial leaders in this Nation to adopt an appeasement policy toward Hitler and Germany, the same kind of policy that France adopted; this belief is justified by newspaper and magazine accounts of his activities and the fact that he was bold enough to even attend one of our national political conventions, at which a candidate for President was nominated. Certainly there is sufficient to justify an investigation.

Mr. MASON. I did not get that, Mr. Patman. The fact that who was bold enough to even attend a convention?

Mr. PATMAN. Viereck.

Mr. MASON. Of course, Viereck has not anything to do with the question before this committee.

Mr. PATMAN. I know; but I am asking you to bring that in to show his connection with Byoir.

The CHAIRMAN. We are investigating Mr. Byoir.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, I am connected, we will say, with big business. Casey is connected with big business in a different position. Because I am connected with big business and I have done things wrong or illegal, therefore, because Casey is connected with big business he must be just as criminal as I am.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PATMAN. There is a big difference there.

Mr. MASON. There is no logic in that.

Mr. PATMAN. You have not followed through, Mr. Mason. Your premise is not entirely correct.

Do you want me to read that over?

Mr. MASON. Yes; I would like to hear it.

Mr. PATMAN. It is my belief that Westrick was here to try to encourage the big industrial and financial leaders in this Nation to adopt an appeasement policy toward Hitler and Germany, the same kind of policy that France adopted; this belief is justified by newspaper and magazine accounts of his activities and the fact that he was bold enough to even attend one of our national political conventions, at which a candidate for President was nominated. Certainly that is sufficient to justify an investigation.

I realize that I have been seriously handicapped at this hearing; that a subcommittee of this committee had heretofore exonerated Lieutenant Colonel Byoir without giving me an opportunity to be



heard, and without any attempt to criticize the committee, it is natural to presume that all things being equal, you will have a presumption in favor of this subcommittee's action.

However, I appreciate the opportunity of presenting this evidence, which I consider is sufficient and to make recommendations as to further inquiry by this committee relative to a certain part of big business' connection with Nazi propaganda.

And I shall close with this closing remark, that if Lieutenant Colonel Byoir ever represented Hitler in this country he is guilty of un-American activity.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Patman, just one word. When you said there was a subcommittee here at which you were not heard they also did not hear Mr. Byoir either.

Mr. PATMAN. I do not consider that analogous. Do you want to justify your position?

Mr. CASEY. I want this for the record. Mr. Byoir was not heard, you were not heard, but your charges were heard. We have no feeling in the matter. We made a finding. And we do not want any inference from any statements which you make that there was a hearing at which only one side was heard.

Mr. PATMAN. I did not make that statement so that it would convey the impression that only one side was heard, and I do not want it to appear for one minute that I did intend to imply that. I certainly did not mean to make that impression.

But 2 weeks before, or 1 week before this announcement came out from the Dies committee that he was exonerated——

The CHAIRMAN. Did the announcement come out that they exonerated him?

Mr. PATMAN. Yes, clearly; 100 percent, without any doubt.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand the position of these gentlemen it is from 1935 up to the present time, and they were dealing with that period, and not undertaking to contradict the findings of the McCormack committee.

Mr. PATMAN. Why should you not deal with that, when it was not known that he was a lieutenant colonel at that time? In other words, subsequent information connected with that should be considered to my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not going into that question. The point I am making is that if a committee of this Congress, having jurisdiction of certain subject matter, hears evidence and renders a finding, and another committee, shortly thereafter, comes along, certainly that committee could not take the same testimony heard before and from a committee standpoint reverse its opinion, without new evidence.

Mr. PATMAN. There is new evidence in this. But certainly in view of the fact that knowledge about Lieutenant Colonel Byoir at that time would produce an entirely different light on this 2 weeks before this came out about the exonerated should amount to something, and I went to Mr. Dempsey on the floor, and I told him—I will quote it as near as I can; I do not like to quote people, because sometimes there is a difference of opinion, but I will do it in this case, because I feel it is justified and absolutely necessary.

I said, "Mr. Dempsey, I am going to Texas tonight because my primary is in 2 weeks. Will you need me during that time? If you

do, of course I will make arrangements to stay over. If you do not I am going to Texas for 2 weeks."

He said, "Why, certainly; nothing will be done during that time at all."

I went on to Texas. I was there a week. And in the meantime headlines came out in the papers leaving the impression that I had filed charges which were wholly unfounded against Lt. Col. Carl Byoir, and he was by the Dies committee exonerated completely of any blame whatever.

I came back and asked Mr. Dempsey about it, and I said I wanted to be heard. He said, "Pat, this is too big for politics." I said, "Of course; politics are not hooked up in this either. It is just a fair trial for a colleague," because I wanted an opportunity to refute the dispute. And I am not questioning the sincerity of any member of this committee, as I presume you are all honest, but I realize when you make a finding you want to support your finding—and I do not blame you for it, as I would be in the same position were I in your place, but at the same time I am under a handicap in this matter, as you see.

Mr. MASON. May I say this; that I have listened to all of the testimony today, and I have not received one scintilla of new evidence which we did not go over in carefully going over the Congressional Record as to the charges made on the floor, and in carefully going over the report of our investigator, and in carefully going over the report of the McCormack committee, as well as the investigation of the F. B. I., and I have not received one iota of any evidence to substantiate the charges made.

Mr. PATMAN. I think the gentleman will admit that there is a difference in talking to someone who has not prejudged a case and one who has. Naturally you would lean that way. I am sure I would.

I think there has been additional evidence, and I think it is very clear and positive and to the point.

Are there any other questions?

The CHAIRMAN. I do not hear any.

Mr. PATMAN. Thank you very much for the hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. In accordance with the custom of the committee, Mr. Byoir has a right to confer with counsel in the course of his testimony.

Mr. McMAHON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I will therefore ask both of you gentlemen to be seated at the witness desk.

Counsel has no right to ask questions of the witness, but he can confer with the witness, and the witness has a right to make any necessary explanation in connection with his statements.

#### TESTIMONY OF LT. COL. CARL BYOIR, UNITED STATES ARMY RESERVE

(The witness was accompanied by his attorney, Brien McMahan.)

(The witness was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Colonel BYOIR. Carl Byoir.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live?

Colonel BYOIR. New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in New York City?

Colonel BYOIR. Thirty years.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Colonel BYOIR. Des Moines, Iowa.

The CHAIRMAN. What profession or occupation are you engaged in?

Colonel BYOIR. I am a public relations counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been in that business?

Colonel BYOIR. About 10 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your occupation prior to that time?

Colonel BYOIR. I was a manufacturer.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Colonel BYOIR. In New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you manufacture?

Colonel BYOIR. Toilet preparations.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you been engaged in that occupation?

Colonel BYOIR. Oh, for about 9 years.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your business prior to that?

Colonel BYOIR. I was in the magazine and newspaper business.

The CHAIRMAN. In the magazine and newspaper business?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in that business?

Colonel BYOIR. Back to the time I was 12 years old.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Byoir; are you a member of, or have you ever been a member of the German-American Bund?

Colonel BYOIR. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of, or have you ever been a member of the German-American Alliance?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of, or have you ever been a member of the Teutonic Society?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been, or are you a member of any organization which advocates, believes in, or preaches nazi-ism or fascism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you, or have you ever been connected with the Communist Party?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of any organization under the control of the Communist Party?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the principles of the Communist Party?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the principles of fascism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the principles of communism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you believe in the principles of nazi-ism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have heard the charges and statements which have been made by the previous witness, have you not?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in attendance all of the time he testified?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It has been the custom of the committee to ask questions of the witnesses, and that has been a custom that we have seldom deviated from. In view of the fact that the previous witness was permitted to make a statement without questions by the committee, I think, in fairness to you, you may do so, but you should confine yourself to the charges made; that is, your answers should be a denial or affirmation of any statement made by the previous witness.

Colonel BYOIR. I should like to address myself, Mr. Chairman, first of all—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). Speak as distinctly as you can, and as loud as you can.

Colonel BYOIR. Yes. I would like to address myself first of all to the last statement made by Mr. Patman, to the effect that he had been handicapped and had had no opportunity to be heard. It seems to me the statement is a little defensive. Mr. Patman has said here that he is not actuated by any malice, that he has no personal feeling in this matter, but that just as a patriotic citizen he thinks that Lieutenant Colonel Byoir ought to be exposed.

I do not think that that statement sincerely gives this committee the exact ground upon which these charges grew out. In the first place, Mr. Patman said that he never made statements that he could not prove. Mr. Patman started off by saying that he was going to prove that Carl Byoir was a propagandist and had been in the employ of the German Government.

Now, gentlemen, I would like to call your attention to the fact that that is in itself an admission by Mr. Patman that he makes statements that he would not even try to prove. When Mr. Patman first made his charge on the floor of the House, he did not say that 5 or 6 years ago Carl Byoir was a propagandist employed by the German railroads, or the German consul or the German Government. He said, and I quote him from memory because it is burnt into my memory, "I have no doubt that Carl Byoir was bought to try to set up the greatest spy system in the world and was engaged in the effort to infiltrate spies in this country's big business."

There is quite a difference between a publicity agent and a spy, and Mr. Patman has made a good deal of complaint after the hasty action of this committee.

I want to tell you that in the present state of the public opinion in the United States and the background of the present scene, when you say a man is a spy or the head of the greatest spy system in the history of the world, that man does not live in comfort during 40 or 50 days that Mr. Patman regards as too hasty for an investigation by a committee of Congress.

It may be surprising to Mr. Patman that there are those who love me; those are those who are associated with me in business, who believe in me. How does Mr. Patman think that those people think and feel? How does he think they feel when he is too busy in a political campaign to present his evidence to this committee? How does he think that the 200 or 300 people associated with me today feel when they get letters from home saying, "Are you associated with the great mass spy? Is that the business in which you are engaged?" How does he think that the family of the accused feels? And I do not want to draw any tears, gentlemen, but I do not believe there were 2 days that went by that the telephone did not ring and questions

were asked that caused the tears of the girl sitting there answering that telephone. I want to show that there was not a day went by that we did not get letters saying, "We are going to blow you up." I won't say anybody was frightened, but it was not very nice, in days when we were threatened with being blown up.

Mr. Patman has thought it was too hasty. Mr. Patman has had now more than 90 days and he has not said a word now today that was not available to these people when he concluded his speech on the floor of the House on the 27th day of May.

Let us look at his patriotic motives and his bona fides. He said on May 27 that he had discovered the greatest spy system in the history of the world. What does a patriotic citizen do under these conditions, whether he is a private citizen or a Member of Congress? He goes to the Department of Justice or to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and says "There is some information for you; here is some evidence for you." He does not get up on the floor of the House in the character of a Congressman, if he is only motivated by patriotic feelings and nothing personal. He only last week complained on the floor of the House that you had not given him an opportunity to be heard during those 50 days. Why didn't Mr. Patman tell the Members of the House; why didn't he admit that he had had opportunity to be heard; that the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigators had called on him; that he had every opportunity to give them all of the evidence that he had and that the file of that evidence was available to this committee?

Then, I am sorry to say that I cannot believe the Representative when he says that he has no personal feeling in this matter. The fact is that there is a rather long history of personal conflicts between Wright Patman and Carl Byoir.

Up until May 27, when Mr. Patman made these charges, I can assure you that on my part there was nothing personal in that conflict. Mr. Patman was a Representative in the Congress of the United States, advocating certain legislation, and for several years has been engaged in serving the people for cash payments through making speeches to them——

(At this point the chairman sounded his gavel.)

Mr. MASON. That refers to the charges that have been made and to the assertions that have been made here, and we do want to get both sides.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. His testimony, as I said before, ought to be in opposition to what Mr. Patman testified.

Mr. MASON. But you gave this witness permission to give evidence as a foundation for the evidence that he had. This is a general statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Mr. CASEY. I got this feeling. I was very much impressed with Mr. Patman's statement that he was acting as an American citizen and a Member of Congress, and that he had no feeling. I think that if this gentleman can show a motive for this, he should be given the opportunity to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. Then go ahead.

Colonel BYOIR. I repeat then, that Mr. Patman either felt that Carl Byoir was standing in the way of his making \$10,000 or \$15,000 a year outside of his salary as a Congressman, or he was terrorized by Carl Byoir for fear that he might reveal something that he knew Mr.

Byoir knew which might reflect upon the conduct of Congressman Patman.

I can say now, gentlemen, that if Mr. Patman was terrorized, it was needless, because when the contest over his legislation—the record is there before the committee of this same House—that at no time did I ever hit Mr. Patman below the belt. We introduced more than 180 witnesses, and all confined themselves to the merits or demerits of the legislation which he sponsored.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of the merits or demerits of the legislation, the Chairman does not think Mr. Patman would make those charges through dishonorable or corrupt motives or through strong personal reasons or beliefs. I still believe that you should confine yourself to statements of fact.

Colonel BYOIR. Don't you think the malice of the accuser is pertinent here?

The CHAIRMAN. Neither you nor Mr. Patman can establish facts by opinions. What we are primarily concerned with, is Mr. Byoir engaged in dishonorable practice?

Mr. MASON. Let me interject this. You are a lawyer and I am not, but I understand that in all trials, in criminal trials particularly, a motive behind the case is always pertinent, and I think from what I gather that it is the motive that the witness is trying to develop in this matter, and I consider that pertinent.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. I want to confer with my associates.

Mr. MASON. I make the motion, if it is necessary, that we listen to the development of facts which would show a motive for the attacks upon Carl Byoir.

The CHAIRMAN. All in favor say "aye."

Mr. CASEY. Aye.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman does not agree with that. The Chair has the opinion that if you permit a witness to undertake to explore the field of motives, that you are going far afield in that connection.

Mr. MASON. I want him to present facts which, upon the basis of those facts, might show a motive.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a vast difference between a statement of fact and the deducing of a wrong from those facts.

Mr. MASON. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. I admit that while we did accord Mr. Patman wide latitude, we have other Members of Congress who appear before the committee. Nevertheless, I think that when he attacks a Member of Congress on his record, it is going far afield. It is his opinion, but he may proceed.

Mr. MASON. We should listen to this witness to state facts upon which interpretations can be made by the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Let us proceed, gentlemen.

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Chairman, it is admitted that I am in the publicity business. It is admitted that in 1934 and 1933 we had a contract with the German Federal Railway. It is a little bit different for somebody to try to get the American people to interpret the motives and happenings in that scene in the light of what goes on today.

It is a first principle in any legal matter, I think, that when you have the best record you do not take the second best record. The best record of what was done under that contract is the record of

the McCormack committee. The McCormack committee heard all the witnesses. They could decide whether a man's testimony was credible or not. They saw all of the material, and they arrived at the conclusion.

The thing that I dislike most about this unpleasant business is that when Mr. Patman made his charges on the floor of the House, he then knew that they were false, because within a few days before he had gone to the subcommittee of the McCormack committee, and the subcommittee had asked him, "Is there anything in this record discreditable to Mr. Byoir?" And the chairman of the subcommittee, who certainly could not be accused of nazi-ism leanings, said to him:

After we saw all the material and heard all the evidence, I made a report on the floor of the House in which I commended Mr. Byoir for his American attitude, his patriotism, and the way he had handled the whole matter.

Mr. Patman knew that. He knew it was a publicity contract with the German Federal Railroads, and he also knew then and knows now that there was no scintilla of evidence to warrant any of the espionage charges that he had made.

Mr. Patman went further. He went to the War Department and he made inquiries. He said "Didn't some plans disappear from here once or twice that have been reported reached Germany?" And they said "Yes, that is the report," and he said, "Colonel Byoir is in the Reserves." There are only 120,000 of us, the balance have disappeared. "Mr. Byoir must be the thief."

I think that is just as able a non sequitur as it would be possible to find. I might just as well say that there was a murder committed in Texas last year and Mr. Patman was in Texas at the time of the murder, therefore he must be the murderer, or at least there should be an investigation.

Gentlemen, I think my record as an American citizen is a very good record. I served this country during the war, and no call has ever been made upon me by the Government of the United States of America to which I have not fully responded.

Mr. MASON. In what capacity did you serve during the World War?

Colonel BYOIR. I was associate chairman of the United States Government Committee on Public Information all through the World War. I was the diplomatic representative sent by President Wilson personally to the new countries created out of the Treaty of Versailles, after the war, and I have been for more than 9 years a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army Reserve.

I am a little sensitive on that last, Mr. Mason, because Mr. Patman sat here and said Mr. Byoir did not work up to that. He was just kind of appointed to it.

A man does take a good deal of pride in being a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army, and he wants somebody to think that he earned it. As a matter of fact, in the first registration of selective service we were 3,000,000 men short of the number of men who should have registered, and the provost marshal called on the public committee for help in the second selective-service draft, and we were able to evolve plans which assisted the Government to get the full number. We picked up the 3,000,000 men and got an almost complete registration in the second draft.

Therefore, the Army might have had reason to believe that Carl Byoir, having been through that experience, had some special qualifications to be a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army Reserve, and it is a position for which you are not paid, it is a position to which you devote a good deal of time in working out these plans or assisting in working them out for no other than patriotic reasons.

Since the committee permits me, I want to return to the question of why Mr. Patman made these charges against me.

There has been going on in this country, gentlemen, for the last 4 years a conspiracy against the American people that has taken literally millions of dollars a day out of the wage envelopes of 40,000,000 workers, and 20,000,000 farmers.

About 1926—I will go further back a little since you are giving me this latitude—and say to you that about 1919, if my memory serves me correctly, a young man by the name of Philip Musica persuaded his father to go into the cheese importing business. Mr. Musica's cheese importing business prospered amazingly, and very shortly thereafter the United States Government stepped in and sent Mr. Philip Musica to the penitentiary for defrauding the United States customhouse by underweighing the cheese so that it would bear less tariff duty.

In that—the next was when he persuaded his father to go into the natural-hair business, his father being an ex-barber. Natural hair was selling for about \$80 a pound, because there was a great demand for it in those days. That business prospered, and Mr. Musica had built up a bank credit of over half a million dollars, but one of the banks became suspicious and examined the cases on the dock, and found them to be full of worthless trash. So Mr. Musica was again criminally indicted and convicted.

Some years later, about 1923, Philip Musica, swindler and convict, turned up in Westchester County, N. Y., under the name of Daniel F. Coster, a reputable businessman engaged in the hair- tonic business. Hair tonic was made very largely from alcohol, and this was in the prohibition days, and Mr. Coster's hair- tonic business prospered amazingly, so that by 1926 Mr. Coster had made enough money in Girard & Co., who were engaged in the hair- tonic business, so that he was able to interest Wall Street financiers to purchase that for a million dollars cash, the McKesson & Robbins, a 100-year-old reputable manufacturing concern. McKesson & Robbins made proprietary medicines and toothpaste and handled drugs, and these had to be sold through wholesale dealers to retailers. Mr. Coster, who was a genius, decided that if he could get control of wholesale houses that they could push the sale of his goods, and he accordingly purchased, for common stock in the company which he organized, 59 of the largest drug houses of the United States, and I am going to tie this up any minute, gentlemen.

Mr. MASON. That is what I was wondering, what this has to do with it.

Colonel BYOIR. I will tell you what it has to do with it, Mr. Mason. Mr. Coster bought these 61 drug houses, which was a chain whose business amounted to more than 50 percent of all of the drug business in the United States, and he found that he could not make any money, because of the competition of department stores, chain stores, who were operating upon a basis of 3- or 4-percent profit, so that these companies were making very little money, and that their business was being taken away from them by the chain stores.



Mr. Coster then decided that if he could get some legislation that he could cover up what he was doing. Mr. Coster was faking the inventories of this company to the extent of \$20,000,000. Mr. Coster, in a single year, stole \$1,300,000 from this company, but he knew that if he could get legislation first to fix prices, and second, to make his competitors offer these goods at the raised prices, and thirdly, to put his competitor out of business, that he could make money and cover up all of this fraud and speculation.

I am not going to adopt Mr. Patman's tactics. Therefore, anybody, if he did anything that Mr. Byoir ever heard of, Mr. Byoir is equally guilty. Mr. Patman took \$4,800 from Coster-Musica making speeches for the stuff that Coster wanted to popularize. The checks were made out to cash and—

Mr. MASON (interposing). Of course, that does not make Mr. Patman to be wrong?

Colonel BYOIR. No. I am only saying that if I applied to Mr. Patman the principle that he applied to me, I would say why were the checks to Mr. Patman not made out to him but made out to cash? Why was an intermediary used? Mr. Patman must be particeps criminus in all of these crimes. Oh, no. I have not made that charge. I have not said that Mr. Patman ought to be like his clients—either a suicide or in the penitentiary. That is not so. But what is so? That Mr. Patman, as a Member of the Congress, did accept employment from these people and go about the country making speeches in behalf of legislation which they had helped to put on the statute books.

Mr. MASON. You are trying to draw a conclusion that that case is a parallel case to your own. Is that the idea?

Colonel BYOIR. No. I am only trying to show you, and I can appreciate the committee's patience, I am only trying to show you why Mr. Patman did have malice in making these charges against me.

Mr. MASON. Then come to the point. Where, in that malice, might it be considered on a foundation of facts?

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Mason, I was employed by the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. to oppose a piece of legislation introduced by the Honorable Wright Patman, the Patman chain-store tax bill. Previous to that Mr. Patman had sponsored in the House the Robinson-Patman bill. Both of these pieces of legislation were supported by the United States Wholesale Grocers Association, McKesson & Robbins, the National Wholesale Drug Association, and they were parties in interest to those bills, and they were paying Mr. Patman what he would characterize as very large sums of money to go and talk to them about the legislation for which they were parties in interest.

The CHAIRMAN. You are charging him—

Colonel BYOIR. I am not criticizing it, Mr. Chairman. If Mr. Patman thought it was proper for a Member of Congress to introduce a bill to put somebody's competitors out of business and then take money to go and make a speech to them, that is all right. That is a matter of public record, and, if you like, I will introduce letters from the Wholesale Grocers Association explaining the terms on which Mr. Patman—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). You mean, while that bill was pending, he was making the speeches to them and receiving money?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir; and I will go further and say that Mr. Patman admitted it on the floor of the House, and I will go further and say that one organization, the Wholesale Hardware people—unfortunately they had been left out, their competitors had been left out, they were not going to put the gasoline people in it—but Mr. Patman made a speech to them and he promised them that he would go and take them out of the bill.

And after he got back here a Ways and Means Committee brought up his bill, and then Mr. Patman walked into that subcommittee and said, "I propose to amend my bill by taking out the gasoline stations."

Mr. Patman gave them every opportunity to use the facilities of his office. He gave them the free use of the Government frank and sent out letters which said, "When a man gets along as Carl Byoir did and makes it difficult to keep on taking those fees," and Mr. Patman, after the suicide of Mr. Musica—Mr. Coster—felt that it was no longer profitable, maybe, if he was a greedy and felt the need of money, he some malice against the man who brought it about.

Mr. Patman expressed a good deal of admiration here for Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and quoted some of the things which he had written in relation to propaganda. Mr. Patman did not say that Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, as head of the Bureau of Investigation, conducted a very thorough investigation in which we made all of our books, records, and papers available to the Department of Justice, and all of our employees, and that when that was over, they issued a statement which said that the investigation disclosed no evidence whatsoever that Carl Byoir had engaged in any un-American activities.

Mr. MASON. That is the report of the Bureau of Investigation?

Colonel BYOIR. That is right.

Mr. MASON. After the investigation was made?

Colonel BYOIR. That is right. And just the other day, when Mr. Patman was on the floor of the House on this same subject, some several Members queried him about the course of action he proposed to take. And he said that he had given his material to the Department of Justice, but he concealed from the Members of the House that the Department of Justice, after the receipt of his evidence, has had made a complete investigation. I think that all of those things showed a good deal of knowledge.

I want to point out, too, that "propaganda" is a very large word. If you believe any religion and you try to persuade others, whether by word of mouth, writings, or speeches, to recognize that it is a good religion, that is propaganda; and if you do not believe in it and you try to persuade people that it is not a good religion, that is propaganda. If you try to persuade people that Quebec is a lovely place to go to spend a vacation, that is propaganda; and if you represent another competitive place for a vacation and try to persuade them that Quebec is not a good place to go to, but that your place is the better of the two, that is propaganda.

Mr. Patman is trying to make out that we are engaged in subversive propaganda, and I repeat to the committee that here it has all of the material and again that this committee came to us, and when they came we furnished them with all the material, and that at the end they not only said that my conduct was not un-American but affirmatively said that it was American, and when Mr. Patman made his first charge on the floor of the House, he knew that that was so.

I think I have touched on the fact that there is something almost fiendish in trying to interpret, in the atmosphere and excitement of the day, actions taken long since. Mr. Mason has pointed out, and I know it is accurate, that 6 or 7 years ago all responsible departments of this Government were trying to encourage trade and travel with the German Government.

Mr. Patman thinks that I ought to have been the greatest prophet in the history of the world. In those days the British Government was trying to do everything they could to assist the German Government in thinking that their country was the greatest country in the world, and they did it with the idea that it might avert the war which has now come upon us. They were wrong, and everybody was wrong except Carl Byoir, who should have expected the World War in 1940.

Mr. Patman says that he does not know whether this relationship exists today. I only need say here—

Mr. MASON (interposing). What relation?

Colonel BYOIR. With the German Government. In other words, he goes on to talk about Mr. Vierick and others who are doing certain things, all with the implication that Carl Byoir never stopped representing the German Government, but all the bureaus have it that that contract was canceled in 1934, in November—or 1935; so that others might be a little confused by the careless use of tenses, as if something done long ago were being done now.

Mr. Patman has made the statement that I have great influence with the American press because I represent over 90 percent of the country's national advertisers. I think the true fact is that we probably represent about one-twentieth or one-fiftieth of 1 percent of the Nation's national advertisers, and probably one-half of 1 percent of the leading advertisers of the Nation. You move a period over or you add a zero, and of course that zero is nothing, the adding of a zero is nothing, 1,400,000,000 becomes 14,000,000,000.

But I do not think that is especially germane. I want to say that everything that Mr. Carl Byoir and his associates have ever done has been as much under my personal direction as a personal-service business is. There is no thought on my part to evade any responsibility for anything that has ever been made. Everything that was done in connection with the contract of 1933-34 was disclosed fully to both the McCormack committee and to your investigators.

On the day before your investigators came into our office in New York, I called a meeting of all of the staff of Carl Byoir & Associates, and incidentally on that staff there is not a single alien, everyone being an American citizen, and with the single exception of a girl who came here from Ireland at the age of 11, everyone is a native-born American citizen.

At that meeting I said to them that I appreciated that they must be under a great strain. I said to them that they had one advantage, that we would give these investigators the files, books, and all that, and all that anyone in that room had to do in response to any questions was not to think what he ought to say or not to try to think would be the proper answer, would be to make the best effect, but just to tell the truth. And that is the way I feel about the personnel and the business of Carl Byoir & Associates.

Mr. Patman accused me of being the head of the greatest spy system in the history of the world. I want to make a flat denial of that

allegation and say that in all my life for no government have I ever engaged in any espionage activities.

Mr. Patman made the accusation that while I was a lieutenant colonel working on the plans of the War Department, certain plans had disappeared, and he had reason to believe had reached Germany. Of course I want to make the flat statement that no secret of the War Department or anything connected with my work with the War Department has ever been communicated to anyone who was not entitled to have that information.

Mr. Patman made the statement that Byoir had great opportunity to infiltrate spies into all these great American businesses. I not only want to deny that statement but to state that the investigator of this committee communicated with my clients and every client and every past client of Carl Byoir & Associates, and ascertained that there had been no such infiltration of spies, but in all cases we had never recommended the employment of anyone to our clients, as that is not a part of our business.

Mr. CASEY. May I address your attention specifically to Mr. Patman's statement that you had distributed propaganda literature?

Colonel BYOIR. That is absolutely untrue.

Mr. CASEY. What was your connection with Hitler Youth?

Colonel BYOIR. No connection whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Byoir, what was your purpose in seeking information and employment from the Nazi government?

Colonel BYOIR. Why, Mr. Chairman, we were in the publicity business, and we had especially the reputation of being very able, I think, in the tourist-trade-promotion field, particularly in the tourist field, and there was at that time nothing in the situation as to the German Government that would make it unpatriotic or un-American to represent the German Federal Railroads.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you represented any other companies from any other countries prior to or at that same time?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir; we had represented the Cuban Tourists Association in similar work, and the city of Miami in similar work, and we had represented the Province of Quebec. I think they came later, but the two previous ones had been very successful, and we had quite a reputation in the promotion of tourist trade.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you represent any foreign governments beside the German Government?

Colonel BYOIR. The Government of Cuba and the Government of Quebec, and later on the Chinese Government.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew at that time that the German Government was engaged in an anti-Communist program?

Colonel BYOIR. At that time, Mr. Dies, that was not so patent. In other words, a great many very sincere people in this country and everywhere else thought that the new German Government was the bloc that would keep communism from spreading over the rest of the world. They now recognize that they were in error and they now tell you so, and our Government was issuing statements that we ought to do everything we could to promote trade with Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What was it that they wanted you to do specifically when they employed you?

Colonel BYOIR. Well, the German Federal Railroads were owned by the German Government. They had been owned by the German Government, I think, under the Kaiser, they had been owned by the

German Government under the Republic, and they were owned by the German Government when Hitler came into power.

German Railroads could not do a passenger business based on tourist traffic unless you could get the people to go to Germany, and of course the German steamship lines were interested in getting business across the Atlantic in order for the people to ride on the German railroads and, Mr. Chairman, it is not a matter of opinion. You cannot do publicity in the dark. The people who get the information know who sends it to them, and the record is all in the files of the committee. What was this awful propaganda? Your investigator, Mr. Stedman, has seen it. Mr. Birmingham has seen it. Why, it was a story that the Oberammergau Passion Play would be as good as it was in the past; stories about the scenery about Heidelberg, where the great university is located, and places for trading and places for beautiful scenery.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything for political propaganda?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir. The contract provided that we would not, and it was carried out in good faith.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever called on to send out anything of a political character?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you confine yourselves to matters with regard to the railroads?

Colonel BYOIR. To those matters which would interest Americans to go and visit Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. What matters were they?

Colonel BYOIR. I could refresh my memory very easily. The committee has 18 monthly bulletins which set forth all of this material.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you this. I do not want to ask you in detail, but generally speaking, you know what was in the bulletins or pamphlets?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they deal with?

Colonel BYOIR. They dealt with sports events and the theater and art and scenery and natural beauties in Germany. They dealt with the modernization of the German railroads and with the effectiveness of the German steamship lines for passenger service. They dealt with good hotels; they dealt with improvements which were being made in trade, scientific improvements with the type of goods that were distributed at the Leipzig Fair, editorials from the American papers praising the progress that was being made in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything in any of the publicity or propaganda which you distributed under contract or under any employment with the German Government which related, directly or indirectly, to the Nazi government as to what it was doing, or anything of that sort?

Colonel BYOIR. There has been something about what they were doing to the people of Germany in the way of improvement, because those were the things that would affect—attract people to go there.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean of a political nature.

Colonel BYOIR. Of a political nature? Absolutely no. There was no effort to build up a great picture of Nazi government or anything—any picture of Nazi government.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come into contact with the agents of Germany in the United States?

Colonel BYOIR. The only people I came in contact with, Mr. Chairman, were representatives of the German steamship lines, of the German Federal Railroads, and the German consul general in New York; and it may be unpopular at the moment, but the fact is that they behaved themselves like other men that you know or do business with. They were interested in what was happening to their business and why the people should not go and ride on the railroads in Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any discussion with regard to nazi-ism?

Colonel BYOIR. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any conference, at any of those which you had, with reference to political Germany?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your relationship with them solely on business?

Colonel BYOIR. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your relationship with Mr. Vierick?

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Vierick brought the business to Carl Byoir & Associates, and was paid a commission for getting the business, and was later paid a salary for working on the material. In other words, it was felt that he was an expert, that he was familiar with all of these matters, and could devise material and editing knowledge in going over the material.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time, do you know of any political-propaganda activities that Mr. Vierick was engaged in?

Colonel BYOIR. Then, no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you consult with them with regard to them?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How long was he in your employ?

Colonel BYOIR. I think—my recollection now is that it was a little less than a year.

Mr. MASON. And that was during this time?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Had you ever terminated or indicated any intention of terminating this contract prior to the investigation of the McCormack committee?

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Chairman, the contract was practically a new contract when the McCormack investigation into these matters began.

The CHAIRMAN. Not when it began, but I mean, so far as you are concerned?

Colonel BYOIR. At that time, Mr. Chairman, that—there was nothing that anyone, any patriotic American, would have considered improper in the work that we were doing. Later on, it became evident gradually what the German Government was and what their intentions were, and what their plans were. Of course, nobody would have any pride in having an association with that Government at any time, but at that time there was nothing that anyone would consider improper in such an association.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you terminate your relations with the Nazi government at the time of the McCormack investigation?

Colonel BYOIR. No; it was after that.

The CHAIRMAN. How long afterward, would you say?

Colonel BYOIR. I think probably 4 or 5 months, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You continued under the contract for a period of about 5 months after the hearing with respect to your relationship to the German Government?

Colonel BYOIR. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you, since the termination of that contract, had any relationship, directly or indirectly, express or implied, with the German Government, or with any agency of the German Government, or with any representatives of the German Government, of any nature or description?

Colonel BYOIR. Absolutely not, Mr. Chairman, direct or indirect, or of any description.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you represented, or have you been connected with, the German-American Bund or any organization which believes in nazi-ism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In any capacity?

Colonel BYOIR. In no capacity.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your reason for terminating it? Was it because of the situation which arose?

Colonel BYOIR. I think it was the realization that the continuing unfolding of the plans of the German Government would be something that we would not want to be associated with, and, quite frankly, I think I postponed the cancellation a little further than I think I ought to have canceled it, but I think it was reasonably prompt, and I think that during all of the time that we did the work there was nothing done that any patriotic American citizen would have raised any objection to.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever learn, or have any reason to think, that any representative of the German railroads, or the German Tourist Co., or other agencies of the German Government, used them for political propaganda purposes or for espionage or sabotage?

Colonel BYOIR. There was not the slightest evidence of anything of that sort, and, frankly, I should be surprised if they were.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any information come to you of any nature that at any time it would cause you to suspect the true purposes and nature of these organizations used by Germany in the United States?

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Chairman, I believed then and I believe now that the purpose for which we were employed was honestly stated by them in the contract itself; that as far as this group was concerned, and as far as we were concerned, there was nothing intended but the improvement of trade and travel between the United States and Germany. I said to you, and I repeat—it may not be a favorable thing to say under the present atmosphere—that these men acted just like other men that I had met before, that people in the German Railroad office were interested in getting people to travel on their railroads, and that is as far as they were interested in, so far as any conversation they held with me was concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Was another government, or any other government, engaged in the same or similar work as that for which you were engaged for the German Government?

Colonel BYOIR. I cannot tell you exactly at that moment, but it has been increasingly the policy of resorts, municipal, State, and National, to employ both advertising agents and publicity agents, to promote those resorts. There is nothing unusual about that. There was not anything unusual about it then. I think you will find that long before

this period many governments had employed both advertising agents and publicists to publicize and advertise the tourist advantages of their countries—Switzerland, Egypt, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, and Canada—and in this country it has grown up in the last few years so that many States are doing it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive any part of your compensation, either directly or indirectly, in the form of cash?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your explanation or reason for receiving cash in payment from the German Government?

Colonel BYOIR. The explanation at that time was, and perhaps I should have regarded it with some doubt, but I tell you that I did not—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What was the information they gave you?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes; that is the information, that the bureau did not have funds for that purpose; that the consul general did, and he was making them available. As a matter of fact, not being in a suspicious atmosphere, but what was in a normal business transaction for us, we did not regard the German consul general, who, in the case of all governments, is expected to handle commercial matters, as being engaged in anything else than in the promotion of commercial business.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that the payment in cash is a normal business transaction, especially in dealings with foreign governments?

Colonel BYOIR. I only say to you that I did not think it was abnormal at that time, when the bureau did not have cash available.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the information they gave you? Was a receipt given you for the cash paid you?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were all the subsequent payments in cash?

Colonel BYOIR. I think the subsequent payments were paid by check. I think the first month or two they may have been by cash.

The CHAIRMAN. You have followed, have you not, to some extent at least, the career of Adolf Hitler?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You knew, at least to some extent, what his Nazi Party stood for, did you?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are familiar with the entire anti-Semitic nature?

Colonel BYOIR. At that time they denied it and took the position that these outbreaks were sporadic and popular and they made repeated declarations, and I think in some cases to other governments, and they made an effort to put a stop to it. Of course, we know now that the tongue was in the cheek, and I say to you now that I would not have hesitated at any point, and it would have been smart business for them if any anti-Semitic program was in hopes of building the American tourist trade, because it was a barrier which they could not overcome.

Mr. CASEY. You mean the German trade, the German tourist trade, was something that they should have taken into consideration?

Colonel BYOIR. I think in the beginning it did, but as soon as the anti-Semitic feeling became apparent—Mr. McMahon says it did not break out until 1935. I do not know whether it was that late,



but I know during that period the Government was disavowing anti-Semitic actions.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever read *Mein Kampf*?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir; I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not familiar with the statements, especially with reference to propaganda?

Colonel BYOIR. Very recently we are all very acutely aware of it.

The CHAIRMAN. At that time were you?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it or is it not a fact that Mr. Hitler officially ordered your discharge because he found out that you had Jewish blood in your veins?

Colonel BYOIR. Of course, it is not a fact.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not true?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir. Mr. Hitler nor anyone else ever ordered my discharge.

The CHAIRMAN. You have points there to which you wish to reply?

Colonel BYOIR. One other point was made. It is incidental, but it is along the line of many of these charges, that while I had this contract propaganda was being shipped in by bales, and some of it was seized in the port of New York, and it was nothing but trash. That may be true, but it had no remote connection; that is, nothing that we had was ever seized anywhere.

Mr. CASEY. Were any of these charges as to receiving this propaganda literature made directly to you?

Colonel BYOIR. One of our men was there. He collected the material. He wrote most of it himself, and he sent it to us. He did not send it in printed form. He simply signed stories that a feature writer would write. He went to Heidelberg, and he wrote a very long story about Heidelberg University, and he went to Oberammergau and wrote a long story about the Oberammergau Passion Play, but none of that came over in printed form. It was simply sent over to be used or not used as we thought fit.

Mr. Patman, very early in his remarks today, referring to the Department of Justice, said that the only thing that they were looking for was whether there had been any resignation. Of course, Mr. Patman knows that that was untrue, that the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation were investigating the whole matter, and that they must have received from him anything he had to give them or any evidence that he had to offer, and that they were not solely concerned with the matter of whether a foreign agent had registered, because, if Mr. Patman's charge was true, I was a spy and my organization was a nest of spies, which would be illegal, whether you were registered or not.

The CHAIRMAN. How did your business with the German Government compare with your other business in the United States?

Colonel BYOIR. Mr. Patman has along that line referred to these tremendous sums paid in advertising and publicity; \$6,000 a month is not regarded as a tremendous sum. In publicity accounts I think it is not a large account, and there is absolutely nothing unusual in relation to that amount of money.

Mr. MASON. The question the chairman wanted to get at is: What portion would you say that is of your total business?

Colonel BYOIR. If you take the nature of it, it was—it would probably would have been a fifth or sixth or a seventh of our business.

The CHAIRMAN. During that period?

Colonel BYOIR. During that period; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, your compensation from Germany would not exceed 7 percent of the net income or receipts of your total revenue from all sources?

Colonel BYOIR. No. I said a sixth or seventh of the total business.

The CHAIRMAN. A sixth or seventh of the total business?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir. The average account, Mr. Chairman, whether you take it on a fee basis and bill the individual expenses to the client, or whether it is a lump sum out of which you pay expenses, will run \$5,000 or \$6,000 or \$7,000 a month.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you are a lieutenant colonel in the Reserve?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any investigation by the War Department of you that you know of?

Colonel BYOIR. I know of none. I assume that they would get the report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever talked with the Department or any official of the War Department with respect to this matter?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your statement with reference to nazi-ism? Have you any sympathy for nazi-ism?

Colonel BYOIR. No, sir; nor for communism, and I want to state, in conclusion, that anything in any allegation that Mr. Patman has made that would reflect upon my belief on the American system or my patriotism or my loyalty to this Government is absolutely untrue, and there is not a scintilla of evidence to support it, because there cannot be.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you in this country during the war between the United States and Germany?

Colonel BYOIR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything else to say?

Mr. PATMAN. I want to answer what Mr. Byoir said about me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any questions to ask?

Mr. PATMAN. If I were permitted, there occurs to me perhaps a hundred questions which I might ask. Of course, if I were privileged to ask questions I know of a lot of them that I would like to ask him.

Colonel BYOIR. He said I was a spy, that it was possible that I had stolen the plans out of the War Department, and I would like to ask him if the committee has a scintilla of evidence as to those charges.

#### TESTIMONY OF HON. WRIGHT PATMAN—Resumed

Mr. PATMAN. The statement I made appears of record, that he did accept money from the German consul in New York and from the Hitler government in Germany, and that his own partner testified that it was used to send out propaganda. He has further testified that the first book that he got out was Speaking of Hitler.

In regard to my personal conduct, I do resent the charge that I would introduce a bill in Congress and go out and make speeches about it. That necessitates a brief résumé of my service.

The inference that I had malice in my heart toward Carl Byoir because he opposed a bill of mine is too far-fetched for serious consideration. Our side could have possibly had his services if we had had the money to have paid him. I did not regard his opposition any more than I would regard the opposition of a lawyer in the trial of a lawsuit. He was only one in a large number of people who opposed the bill. In fact, only one more than 120,000—the number of Reserve officers.

Colonel Byoir's statement that a member of the McCormack committee told me before I brought the charges that he, Colonel Byoir, had been exonerated by the McCormack committee is not true. The fact is, I talked to both Mr. McCormack, the chairman, and Mr. Dickstein, the vice chairman, and each one told me that the record spoke for itself; that the testimony had been very carefully taken and could be relied upon; and that their conclusions were seriously considered and carefully drawn and represented their views. It will be noticed that Colonel Byoir made no effort to introduce any proof on this point other than his own bare statement which was not true.

Colonel Byoir has left the impression, in fact stated, that I introduced bills in Congress, then went out over the country making speeches for them and received enormous sums of money therefor. The truth is, from the time I was elected to Congress in 1928 until 1936 all during the time I was crusading for the payment of the adjusted-service certificates for veterans, I received no fees whatsoever for making addresses. On the other hand, I spent considerable money of my own and went very much in debt.

In 1936, after the passage of the Robinson-Patman Act, and during 1937, I was represented by a speaker's bureau and made speeches under customary terms and conditions.

In February 1938 I introduced the bill to curb the greed of about 20 large interstate chain-store companies out of 7,000 chain-store companies in the United States, known as the anti-chain-store bill, and from that date to this, I have not accepted one penny profit directly or indirectly from anyone for making addresses on this subject or any other subject.

There was only one short period of time in my 12 years' service that I was represented by a speaker's bureau and that was during the time that I was not engaged in any crusade in 1936 and 1937.

If I had been making money out of making addresses, it would have been in my interest to have had effective opponents to keep the bills from passing so that I could have continued to make money. Instead of Colonel Byoir showing a motive, his illogical argument would show the reverse to be true.

Ninety percent of the prominent Members of the House, Senate, and high public officials today are represented by the same speaker's bureau that represented me. Such prominent men as William Jennings Bryan, William Howard Taft, and Calvin Coolidge were represented by this same speaker's bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. And many cabinet officers?

Mr. PATMAN. And many cabinet officers; and that is true, and so there was nothing wrong with me making speeches in 1936 and 1937 about a law that was already passed.

The CHAIRMAN. Which had already been passed.

Mr. PATMAN. Yes; and approved by the President, and every speech I made is now available and is ready for any man to read. At

the conclusion of each speech I yielded to questions and I answered those questions and every one of them are available. Later on they were put into a book under the name of the Robinson-Patman Act. It was just guesswork, I am sure, but the Supreme Court and the Federal Trade Commission have never overruled one of those answers today that I put in that book.

So I made those speeches over a period of 2 years when I was not in a crusade.

In his desperation to try to connect me with Coster-Musica is a sample of the unfairness of his testimony. I never, at any time, advocated price-fixing legislation. You will notice that he offered no proof that I did—only his bare statement, which is untrue.

Further, his statement that I accepted \$4,800 from Coster to make speeches is absolutely untrue. I never, at any time, accepted one penny from Coster or the firm he represented for any purpose, or under any circumstance or condition whatsoever, either directly or indirectly. You will notice he submitted no proof—just his bare statement, which is untrue.

Another sample of the weakness of his defense and the unfairness of his testimony is his statement that I did not have gasoline stations in the anti-chain-store bill until I made a speech to the hardware men. He left the inference that I must have received a large fee for making this speech and that induced me to change my mind. The truth is, I made no speech to the hardware men and the gasoline stations have always been in the bill since it was first introduced. This statement by Colonel Byoir was absolutely untrue. He offered no proof—only his bare statement, which was untrue.

In 1938 I got some very unfavorable publicity and I wondered how it came about. The newspapers said, "There is a southern Congressman involved in this scandal," and next they would say "He lives in Texas," and next they came along and said "It must be Wright Patman, because he made some speeches one time and this concern locally sponsored some of those speeches, so it must be him."

So it went on and I came up to Washington and I knew I had not been connected in any way with what was wrong in making those speeches and I went to see Mr. Brien McMahon, Assistant Attorney General in charge of criminal prosecutions, now representing Colonel Byoir, also had charge of the F. B. I. I guess he has friends there now. I do not imply any improper motives. But I went to see him and I said "Why is it that they give this information as possibly coming from the Department of Justice?" I said to him "I know that your Department is the one that has been handling it, and I know there is nothing which can involve me in any way in the world," and he told me about it. One man, representing a newspaper, would come in and say to him, "Do you know that Patman has a \$4,000 automobile that McKesson gave him?" "No; I had not heard it," he would say. Then another would come in and ask him the same question. And when he would say "Yes, but" and attempt to explain it was hearsay, the newsman would say "that is all I want to know," and would print it. In the same way much damaging news was obtained and printed. I really thought he was trying to do the right thing about it, but the newspapers had unfairly put me in an unfavorable position, and they published it in that way.

I wrote to Frank Murphy, the Attorney General of the United States, and said "I know I have never done anything wrong in the

matter of receiving automobiles or making speeches, but the charges have been made by the Chicago Tribune that I was carried on the McKesson pay roll and that I received \$18,000, and that I also got a \$4,000 automobile, and I wish, Mr. Murphy, you would write me what the facts are, what the records show, regardless of what the facts are."

I now wish to read just what Mr. Murphy wrote me:

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,  
*House of Representatives,*  
*Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Upon my return to the city after an extended trip, I received your letter of May 24, 1939, advising of the charges made against you by political enemies concerning your alleged affiliations with the McKesson & Robbins Co.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation of this Department is conducting an investigation into the affairs of the McKesson & Robbins Co. at the present time. Although this investigation is not yet complete, I can assure you that absolutely no information has been developed indicating that you were ever carried on the McKesson & Robbins pay roll; that you received the sum of \$18,000 or any other sum, or a \$4,000 automobile or any other kind of automobile.

I trust that this information will be of some assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

FRANK MURPHY,  
*Attorney General.*

And then I asked the Honorable Robert Jackson—Mr. Murphy said the investigation was not completed—and when I found out it had been completed, I wrote Mr. Jackson, Attorney General of the United States who succeeded Mr. Murphy, and said to him, "I want you to give me the information. Is there anything in connection with the McKesson & Robbins that I did that was wrong?" and told him the accusations.

So he replied that:

JULY 23, 1940.

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN,  
*Room 1133, New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: In reply to your inquiry, I take pleasure in informing you that the investigation made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as to the affairs of McKesson & Robbins disclosed no evidence whatever to substantiate accusations that you had been in the employ or on the pay roll of that corporation, nor was any evidence found which would indicate that you had any connection whatever with the activities of that corporation, which were the subject of the investigation.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT H. JACKSON, *Attorney General.*

Mr. MASON. That in itself gives you a clean bill of health so far as the Bureau of Investigation is concerned and their investigation, doesn't it?

Mr. PATMAN. I think so.

Mr. MASON. There is no question about it?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not think so.

Mr. MASON. Then the report of the Bureau on this man Byoir ought to be just as acceptable?

Mr. PATMAN. They had gone into this matter concerning me with a fine-tooth comb.

Mr. MASON. And they had gone into the other with a fine-tooth comb?

Mr. PATMAN. You just looked over the papers and then without giving me a hearing at all, exonerated him.

Another thing I did not like, Mr. Byoir said—there were two things. It was not very long after the unfavorable publicity until Mr. McMahon became the lawyer of Mr. Byoir, and not only that, but some

other important people went out of the Department of Justice over to this law firm. That is very good, and they might be able to persuade those still in the Department to do what they considered was the right thing to do.

Mr. MASON. And they might be willing to have them do the wrong thing.

Mr. PATMAN. First of all, you can search these records from beginning to end, and you can never find that I made a speech on the floor of the House or anywhere else with respect to advocating price fixing.

Number two, the Patman-Robinson law is generally observed. Both sides are observing it now. And so far as the general appeal is concerned, Mr. Byoir happened to be one of a million that is opposed to the law, and of course he is assuming that he is the one that has the burden of our opposition, but I do not agree with that that he is the only one.

Furthermore, if the contract was so good with Germany and there was nothing wrong about it, why was it terminated at all? Why didn't he keep on? \$6,000 a month or \$108,000 for 18 months, but I am willing to rest on the record. If this committee believes that it is wrong for a lieutenant colonel in the United States Army to accept money from the German consul in New York, at that time all kinds of bad things were happening in Germany against certain people over there, which I greatly deplore and regret, and which everyone does; but they were going on. He accepted the money from the German consul in New York and from the German Government itself during a period of months, and propaganda and other information against the interest of this Government was sent out—if you believe that is all right, of course that is your opinion.

But the fact is not denied. It is not disputed that while he was lieutenant colonel in the United States Army he did accept money from the German Government, and upon that a finding was later on made that he had been guilty of German activities.

Mr. CASEY. You do not believe that the termination in 1935 of the contract has anything to do with the German Government?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know. I do not think the German Government would permit him to since that time, but I think I have reason to believe—

Mr. CASEY. Prior to 1935?

Mr. PATMAN. Except that you have a letter in your file that he represented the German Government in 1938.

Mr. CASEY. You do not believe that?

Mr. PATMAN. I do not know. There was not an investigator sent to Miami?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. PATMAN. I am not making any point on it. In other words, if a man were guilty of treason 50 years ago, I would not want him in our Army today, and if the man was guilty as a lieutenant colonel of doing something in time of peace which would be treason in time of war, I would not be willing to trust him at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. PATMAN. Nothing else, Mr. Chairman.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:15 p. m., the committee adjourned, to meet at the call of the chairman.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPOGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 1, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE,  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Newark, N. J.*

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

Present: Messrs. Starnes (acting chairman), Thomas, and Voorhis.

Also present: Dr. J. B. Matthews, Director of Research, Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator and Robert B. Barker, investigator.

Mr. STARNES. The chairman of the subcommittee, composed of Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Thomas, and the chairman, wishes to announce at this time for the benefit of the press and others that the subcommittee appointed by the chairman of the committee to conduct the hearing in this area has been in executive session since 10 o'clock this morning.

We shall continue in executive session until 1 o'clock this afternoon. At that time we plan to hold public hearings.

There is no further announcement to make at this time.

(Thereupon the committee went into executive session.)

## AFTER EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

The committee is holding this public hearing upon the instructions of the chairman of the full committee to investigate alleged un-American and subversive activities in this area.

I think all of us appreciate these are unusual times if not perilous times. It is time for sound and sane thinking. It is no time for hysteria; no time for the arousing of emotions and passions.

We hope to conduct these hearings in a calm, dispassionate manner. The committee is seeking facts and facts only concerning un-American and subversive activities.

It may be necessary in the course of these hearings for the committee to go into executive session again because the committee is going to make every possible effort to safeguard the character and the reputation of all American citizens and all other people whose names may be involved in the conduct of this investigation.

It may be necessary for the time being to withhold the publication of certain exhibits, petitions and names for the purpose of protecting the character and the welfare of the parties interested. If this is necessary the chairman will not hesitate to close the open hearings and go into executive session at any stage of the proceedings.

That is for the benefit of the public and the gentlemen of the press so you will understand our proceedings.

Mr. Barker, who will be your first witness?

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Appleby.

#### TESTIMONY OF WALTER M. APPLEBY, SECRETARY, SUN SHIP-YARD EMPLOYEES ASSOCIATION

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

Mr. STARNES. Be seated and give us your full name.

Mr. APPLEBY. Walter M. Appleby.

Mr. STARNES. And give us your address.

Mr. APPLEBY. Media, Pa.

Mr. STARNES. Will you state your profession or avocation?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; marine chemist.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in that vocation?

Mr. APPLEBY. About 3 years.

Mr. STARNES. What is your educational background?

Mr. APPLEBY. High school, 2 years of college, and home courses—home study.

Mr. STARNES. How long have been engaged in that business or profession?

Mr. APPLEBY. In this particular profession?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; and prior to that.

Mr. APPLEBY. I have been connected with the shipbuilding industry for 6 years. Prior to that I was a transport pilot, since 1921.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Dr. Matthews, will you take over the witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Appleby, where are you employed at the present time?

Mr. APPLEBY. Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Chester, Pa.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been employed at the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.?

Mr. APPLEBY. Six years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity are you employed there?

Mr. APPLEBY. Marine chemist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any special relationship to the employees of that plant?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; I am secretary of the Sun Shipbuilding Employees Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the union which has bargaining rights for the employees of the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is an independent union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the union which has bargaining rights with the company?

Mr. APPLEBY. It is an independent union which has had the bargaining rights for all of the employees for the last 4 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members are there in that union?

Mr. APPLEBY. Five thousand three hundred paid up out of approximately six thousand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your position as an official of this union, have you had occasion to learn of the activities of Communists or of Nazis, or of Communist-minded or Nazi-minded employees in the plant?

Mr. APPLEBY. I have.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe briefly how you have come into possession of such information?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes. I don't know just where to start. Suppose I go back about 2 years when it came to my knowledge that there were communistic activities not only in the shipyard itself but in the immediate vicinity of the shipyard.

The locality of the shipyard is such that there are numerous dwellings within one or two squares of it.

I found out through various members and information that came to me——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Through various members of what?

Mr. APPLEBY. Of the Sun Shipbuilding Employees Association, the independent union, that there were numerous boarding houses within a few squares of the shipyard and that those boarding houses were run by Communists; that they took in shipyard workers particularly, both for room and board and that one house in particular was the home of a Mrs. Soifer—I believe the first name is Anna.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you spell that name?

Mr. APPLEBY. S-o-i-f-e-r. Although it had no particular bearing on our organization I decided that it was my business to look into it and a few of the boys who were willing to give their time, spend their money to go out nights and investigate matters.

When we got into the affair we found out that Mrs. Soifer not only ran a boarding house but she was the head of the Communist Party of Delaware County; however, she is not the front. A man by the name of John Weaver was the front for Mrs. Soifer. He lived in her home; kept his Communist propaganda in the home, and that propaganda was given or sold to shipyard workers and to pupils of John Weaver, who was a W. P. A. teacher.

If they had the money they bought it; if they didn't have the money it was given to them.

Further investigation disclosed that Mrs. Soifer had two sons working in the shipyard. As we got into it it became more interesting and more involved.

I might say at the time I did not know whether this committee was functioning or not but it seemed as though there was no one we could turn to to take this over and investigate it, so we continued in our own way.

In the course of events I found that one of the boys, who at one time had been a friend of mine many years ago, was in the shipyard, and although he happened to be a member of an opposing union, a C. I. O. union, he got into these Communist activities himself through the union.

He found out in that organization was Mrs. Soifer's son and many other names of which we have here and which we will place in the record as evidence.

I convinced him that for the good of the country and everyone in general it would be a good idea if he entered the Communist Party of Delaware County, dig in, become a worker and we would gather this data and present it to the proper authorities when we saw fit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said a moment ago he got into Communist activities through his union work. You mean that he came in touch with Communist activities and learned about them?

Mr. APPLEBY. Through the Industrial Union of Marine Shipbuilding Workers of America, Local No. 2, C. I. O. affiliated in Chester, Pa.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You advised him to get into the circle of communism?

Mr. APPLEBY. It was my thought that if he became friendly with Mrs. Soifer, whom we found out was the head but not the front, that we could learn more of their activities and find out just how many Communists there were working in the shipyard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. APPLEBY. We were fairly successful in that endeavor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Mr. APPLEBY. I would say that was—well, I really got into this in about 1938, the early part of 1938. Prior to that I had heard certain rumors and different things told, but my interest was really not in it until 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, proceed.

Mr. APPLEBY. So with the thought in mind that the best way to attack this situation was to have one good and trusted man in their organization for that purpose. The man I speak of, who was an old friend and I found out he was working in the shipyard and had worked there before I worked there but had been at sea during which time he made contact with the N. M. U. and the various sailors aboard ship. He knew their language and he decided that he would do that for me without remuneration.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his name?

Mr. APPLEBY. Joseph Nilon. He is present here now and will be a witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that he had been active in the N. M. U.—the National Maritime Union?

Mr. APPLEBY. He was aboard ships that the N. M. U. at that time were trying to organize. He, however, was not a member of the N. M. U.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you mean or do you mean the predecessor union to the National Maritime Union?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; I mean the organization that they called the—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; Marine Workers Industrial Committee, or something like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; that was, incidentally, the successor of the I. S. U., which was sabotaged by Curran on the Pacific Coast—the Communists on the Pacific coast. After they sabotaged the I. S. U. it became this N. M. U. eventually. That is the organization I am speaking of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what did Mr. Nilon get in the way of information after you advised him to get closer to the activities of the Communist Party for the purpose of securing information?

Mr. APPLEBY. He found by attending the private meetings in Mrs. Soifer's home that the majority of the men who attended those meetings were workers in the shipyard. Those meetings were generally held at night during the week. There were more or less open meetings, however, held every Sunday morning about 10 o'clock in the office of the Liberal Press run by Milne. He is the editor and publisher of that paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Milne's first name?

Mr. APPLEBY. I have it right here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it Stanley?

Mr. APPLEBY. Stanley Milne, that is right. Through those contacts naturally he found that there were a lot of boys that attended those meetings that were members, or rather workers in the shipyard.

He also became on very close terms with John Weaver, who was the W. P. A. teacher and the front for the party.

John Weaver allegedly wrote their propaganda and handed it out on the streets in the vicinity of the shipyard along with other followers of their organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever personally seen Weaver distribute Communist literature on the streets?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; many times. And I have presented to Mr. Barker, your investigator, about three pieces of that material, signed by the Communist Party of Delaware County with the post-office box in Chester, which was distributed by John Weaver and others of the party.

Mr. STARNES. Let the witness identify those if you have them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a mimeographed sheet entitled: "Attention! Sun Ship Workers." At the bottom of that sheet appears: "Communist Party, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, Box 712, Chester, Pennsylvania." Can you identify this as one of the pieces of literature which you turned over to Mr. Barker?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; this was handed to me by one of their workers on the street, the street right in front of the shipyard. It is the only entrance to the shipyard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you in turn gave this to Mr. Barker?

Mr. APPLEBY. I placed that in my file and when Mr. Barker was interested I gave it to him a few months ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another mimeographed sheet with the caption: "Attention! Sun Ship Workers," and signed by the Communist Party of Delaware County, Box 712, Chester, Pa. Can you identify that as one of the papers distributed by the Communist Party?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; as a matter of fact this date I have up there, 4-14-39, is my handwriting. That is the day it was given out, on the morning of 4-14-39.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was given out in the vicinity of the Sun Shipyard, was it?

Mr. APPLEBY. Within a half square of the gate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom?

Mr. APPLEBY. By John Weaver. He was also present but the ones who handed them out were usually different parties - whomever he could get at the time, but he himself was always there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask the first one of these mimeographed sheets be marked "Exhibit 1" to Mr. Appleby's testimony.

Mr. STARNES. It will be so marked and made a part of the record. (The document referred to was marked "Appleby Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I ask that the second mimeographed paper identified by Mr. Appleby be marked as Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. STARNES. It may be so marked.

(The document referred to was marked "Appleby Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a third mimeographed sheet with the caption: "This isn't our war, remember 1917." At the bottom of the page appears the words: "Read the Daily Worker," and "Communist Party of Delaware County, Chester, Post Office Box 741." Can you identify that as one of these pieces of Communist literature distributed in the vicinity of the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; that was handed out within the last 6 months or 8 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that your handwriting at the top of the page?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Distributed at the Sun Shipyard in May 1940."

Mr. Chairman, I ask that be marked "Exhibit 3" and received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Appleby Exhibit No. 3.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. You testified that Mr. Weaver is the person who participated in the distribution of this literature?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; he distributes all this literature, he makes soap-box speeches in the vicinity of the yard and runs the Sunday meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he still employed on W. P. A.?

Mr. APPLEBY. I understand that he was dropped a few months ago under pressure, although he had been on for something like 4 or 5 years prior to that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he was one of the persons, according to your information, who frequented the home of Mrs. Soifer?

Mr. APPLEBY. He was a boarder in Mrs. Soifer's home.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He boarded at Mrs. Soifer's home?

Mr. APPLEBY. He does now and did then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he attend the meetings which you described as Communist meetings held in the evenings in Mrs. Soifer's home?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything else about the communistic activities of Mr. Weaver that you have not stated?

Mr. APPLEBY. Weaver himself boasts that he pulled the first strike in the history of the country as far as the W. P. A. was concerned, which was back in the early days of the W. P. A. At that time he was a timekeeper. This was Weaver's own story. I am quoting not what he said to me but what he said to Nilon.

Later he was arrested at the Philco strike, which was some years ago—I guess 4 years ago. It was quite a big strike and although he was not an employee of the Philco plant, he was arrested for his violent activities with the strikers.

The next time he showed up in the papers was the Ford strike in Chester. He was still working for the W. P. A. and not an employee of the Ford Co. He was arrested again and his picture appears in the paper.

I should go back a little bit. During the strike of December 11, 1936, at the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., that day is known as "bloody Friday," because two men went to the hospital. During that violence John Weaver served at the soup kitchen for the strikers although he was not an employee of the Sun Shipbuilding Co. nor was he a member of the C. I. O., and with the soup they served they served the kind of propaganda you have in your hand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you mentioned Mrs. Soifer and Mr. Weaver as members of the Communist Party who were working in the vicinity of the Sun Shipyard. Did you learn the identity of any other Communist Party leaders who were doing similar work in the vicinity of the shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Not leaders in the vicinity of the shipyard; no. Some of the Soifer family are leaders in the party and with the exception of Mrs. Soifer's nephew—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Dr. Herman Gold?

Mr. APPLEBY. I don't know the man personally but I know of him. Dr. Herman Gold is an open Communist—I mean an admitted Communist. The last advice I had on him he was in charge of the Russian or Communist Insurance Co. which operates in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mrs. Sonya Gillman?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; I don't know the lady personally but the Gillmans are related to the Soifers. They are blood relatives.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Mrs. Gillman was a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. APPLEBY. I could not say that she was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party; I don't know, but her activities were communistic.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean to say she participated in the activities along with John Weaver and Mrs. Soifer?

Mr. APPLEBY. Gillman was in the Soifer home on several occasions when the usual closed meetings were being held.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a brother of Mrs. Sonya Gillman by the name of Israel Gillman?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he active in these Communist Party affairs in Chester?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he had any connection with the W. P. A. Theater Project?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; he was a part of the W. P. A. Theater Project and took a leading part.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have mentioned the children of Mrs. Soifer. What were their names?

Mr. APPLEBY. I don't remember them all. There is an Abe and a few others. As a matter of fact I haven't gone over that data.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a Harry Soifer?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he active in the Communist Party affairs?

Mr. APPLEBY. Every one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Chester?

Mr. APPLEBY. Every one of the Soifer boys were active in Communist affairs in Chester.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Including Abe also?

Mr. APPLEBY. Including the son that happens to be in Mexico at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The address of the Soifers was 416 East Fourth Street, Chester, Pa.; is that right?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is where the meetings were held that Mr. Nilon attended?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Steve Lewicki?

Mr. APPLEBY. Steve Lewicki; yes, sir. He works in the shipyard. He is a welder. He has been there 4 or 5 years. He is still there at the present time. He is one of the trustees of the C. I. O. Local No. 2 in Chester.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you learn that he also attended the meetings of the Communists in the home of Mrs. Soifer?

Mr. APPLEBY. He was a regular attendant at the Sunday meetings and the Milne office and he has been a close friend of the Soifer boys for years and has been in and out of their house like one of the children.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it is your information that he is still employed at the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. He is, sir. I do know that definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen the Communist Party's nominating petitions circulated in the State of Pennsylvania and particularly in Delaware County for the placing of Communist candidates on the ballot in Pennsylvania?

Mr. APPLEBY. I had made available to me the petitions relating to those in the Chester district for a district job.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make a check of the names that appeared on the Communist Party's nominating petitions against employees in the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find that persons employed in the Sun Shipyard appeared on the Communists Party's nominating petitions?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many such persons did you find employed at the Sun Shipyard whose names appeared on the Communist Party's nominating petitions?

Mr. APPLEBY. I have a list here of 37. It is rather rough but I will be glad to put it in the record if you care to have it—37 from the list of those on the petitions who were employed at that date in the yards, some of whom now have left the service.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, what is your pleasure?

Mr. THOMAS. I think we should have the date of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date that you made the check?

Mr. APPLEBY. I made the check within a few days after I received the copy of the petition. I don't have the petition here and I can't very well give you the date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it this year?

Mr. APPLEBY. Oh, yes; it was within the last 3 months. I would say it was just about 3 months ago and no longer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, what is your pleasure with reference to this particular list of names?

Mr. STARNES. I suggest those names be marked as an exhibit and made a part of the record.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand this contains 37 names of persons employed in the Sun Shipyard whose names appeared on the Communist Party petitions?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; and that particular petition was John Weaver's own petition. He was running for a job as county engineer or some such job, which appeared on the petition. The majority of the names were gotten by himself and the balance were gotten by some lady—I have forgotten her name.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was his name indicated as a Communist Party candidate?

Mr. APPLEBY. He was a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for county engineer or some such job.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did his name also appear at the bottom of the petition as the circulator of the petition?

Mr. APPLEBY. His name appeared at the section where the name is signed to the effect he obtained the signatures and the lady who continued on with the petition, her name appeared after that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These names are found on 2 sheets of typewriter paper, 37 in number, and I offer them in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. They may be received.

(The document referred to was marked "Appleby Exhibit No. 4.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Appleby, I show you again one of these mimeographed sheets which has been introduced as an exhibit, which starts out with this question:

Why did Aggie Campbell spread Nazi propaganda in the shipyard and why did he stop all of a sudden?

Do you know Aggie Campbell, mentioned in this sheet?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; I know him very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Aggie Campbell at one time engage in the dissemination of Nazi propaganda in the shipyard, according to your information?

Mr. APPLEBY. He did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is his first name Agnew?

Mr. APPLEBY. His full name is Louis Agnew Campbell.

Mr. MATTHEWS. L-o-u-i-s?

Mr. APPLEBY. I believe it is spelled that way.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A-g-n-e-w?

Mr. APPLEBY. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know that he has disseminated Nazi propaganda at the shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. I saw him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether he was associated at that time with any organization?

Mr. APPLEBY. He was a member of the Anti-Communist Society that held their meetings in the vicinity of Walnut Street in Philadelphia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that known as the Anti-Communist—

Mr. APPLEBY. Anti-Communist Society of America I believe was its full name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the propaganda of that organization?

Mr. APPLEBY. To a certain extent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The nature of it?

Mr. APPLEBY. To a certain degree; yes. I attended about three meetings believing it was an anti-Communist society and the first speakers that we heard sounded as though they were out for the purpose which we thought they were.

However, they worked in other speakers and they became very much pro-Nazi in their discussions and as you left the hall they had on tables piled up, stacks of anti-Semitic propaganda—the usual stuff with the pictures of the Jews and movie actresses all done more or

less to make them look bizarre; and it was such data as that that Campbell brought into the yard and disseminated.

After that that material was sent directly to him by express from I believe, Washington, and was received by him in the shipyard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you satisfy yourself by your attendance at these meetings of the Anti-Communist Society in Philadelphia that the organization was a pro-Nazi organization?

Mr. APPLEBY. Definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All the earmarks of the propaganda seemed to indicate it was that?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have no doubt that Louis Agnew Campbell was at the time you speak of, engaged in the dissemination of Nazi propaganda on behalf of this organization?

Mr. APPLEBY. He became a very active member for them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know about Mr. Campbell's affiliations or associations at the present time?

Mr. APPLEBY. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you answer that question which I just asked you, Mr. Appleby, I show you a mimeographed sheet of paper entitled: "Attention Workers, Philadelphia Police Exposes Anti-Communist League as Blind for the Nazi Bund."

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this is signed by the Communist Party of Delaware County?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen that sheet?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; and this is my writing. It was distributed as given here at 7:45 a. m., March 30, 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. March 30, 1939?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; at times I marked those just as a matter of record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, at that time the Communist Party definitely charged that the Anti-Communist League was a blind for the Nazi Bund?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The German-American Bund?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the allegation here is that the Philadelphia police had exposed the Anti-Communist League as such an organization. That is the purport of this document, is it not?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right. I don't know the extent of their exposition but they did intervene in several cases, I believe, where there was some disturbance—a little violence or something that occurred.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that be marked "Exhibit 5," and made a part of the record.

Mr. STARNES. It may be marked "Exhibit 5" and received in evidence.

(The document referred to was marked "Appleby Exhibit No. 5.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Appleby, returning to the question I asked you: Do you know anything about Mr. Campbell's present affiliations or activities?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; about December 1939 Campbell and those who were supporting him in his, should we say Nazi activities and the



distributing of literature throughout the yard and out on the street—pro-Nazi propaganda, joined hands with the Communist Party in the Delaware County district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that the members of the Anti-Communist League joined with the Communists in some kind of a joint program?

Mr. APPLEBY. I mean that John Weaver, Steve Lewicki, the Soifer boys and the others joined hands with Campbell and his group in about December of 1939 and as a result of that union of the two factions and combinations, they reopened local No. 2, which had died a natural death, and that group is now running local No. 2 of the I. U. M. S. W. A., a C. I. O. affiliate.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one question. What do you mean when you say Weaver and these other people joined Campbell's group? What do you mean exactly by that?

Mr. APPLEBY. I mean that they sit in at the same meetings, are of one thought. The only propaganda that is on the streets now in this locality is the Liberal Press and that sheet carries the activities of the group which were out for one purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean by "Campbell's group"? What was "Campbell's group" exactly that they joined?

Mr. APPLEBY. Campbell naturally had a following in the yard and I have here a list of that following.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean that they joined the group in the yard of which Campbell was the leader, is that it?

Mr. APPLEBY. Would you repeat that, please?

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean they joined a group of people in the shipyard of which Campbell was the leader, is that what you mean?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is true. I mean that those who had previously been the enemies became friends.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As I understand the record, Mr. Voorhis, Campbell had a following working with him when he was disseminating Nazi propaganda, a following employed in the shipyard.

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And on the other hand, Weaver and Soifer had a Communist following, employed in the shipyard and that on or about December 1939 these two groups, the Nazi group under the leadership of Campbell and the Communist group under the leadership of Weaver, joined forces?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And are at present working in concert rather than in opposition to each other. Is that the correct testimony, Mr. Appleby?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I was trying to get at, is Campbell still the leader of the group as a whole?

Mr. APPLEBY. You bring up the point so I think it is relevant. There was an election last Saturday in that group. Campbell was elected secretary of that organization, Steve Lewicki, who had been the nearest or the closest friend to the Communist John Weaver, is a trustee. He was elected trustee of that organization. That happened last Saturday afternoon.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words the Communists and the Nazis are represented among the officers of the organization?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, have you, Mr. Appleby, in your investigation of communism in your district, in your observation of the Communists and Nazis, noted that at least on the question of their attitude toward the foreign relations of this country are in substantial agreement at the present time?

Mr. APPLEBY. They are in agreement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have observed from their literature and their speeches that that is the fact?

Mr. APPLEBY. The Liberal Press published by Stanley Milne is not an organ for any particular organization. It is simply a liberal paper, so-called—very liberal.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "So-called"?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; and Milne had always condemned the Campbell faction and had always given, you might say, the Communist faction the break until this change took place in December, roughly December 1939. The I. U. M. S. W. A. have their own organ, the official organ called the Shipyard Worker.

It carried its own articles. The two papers are now distributed one inserted in the other and are handed out by this group that has merged which we have been talking about—the two papers, the Shipyard Worker, the official organ for the I. U. M. S. W. A. and the Liberal Press published by Stanley Milne of Chester.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean whoever distributes them distributes them together?

Mr. APPLEBY. They are put together and distributed together. In addition to that, notices such as sheets like this, notice or notices of meetings are also inserted. In other words, you receive three pieces of literature—the Shipyard Worker and the Liberal Press and often notices on paper this size [indicating], inserted in with the papers and they are given out as a unit by the combined groups.

The distributors change, naturally, from week to week, depending on whoever is available to hand them out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have referred to a list which I hold in my hand, as a list of the followers of Mr. Campbell—persons who were employed in the Sun Shipyard. This is entitled: "List No. 2." It appears to contain about 21 names.

Mr. Chairman, would you like to receive this list in evidence?

Mr. STARNES. What is the significance of that list? I want to know that first.

Mr. APPLEBY. No particular significance except that this group as a whole presented the pro-Nazi group. This group now as a whole, with perhaps a few exceptions, has joined hands with the Communist Party.

Mr. THOMAS. Are the names of those people on that list?

Mr. STARNES. But the group listed there was originally a pro-Nazi group?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Are they employees of the Sun Shipbuilding Co., many of them?

Mr. APPLEBY. May I glance at that a moment. I believe they are. I would just like to check it first. Yes, sir; as a matter of fact, their occupations are given on the side—abbreviated. There is the word "weld" which means they are all welders, which is the key department in the Sun Shipbuilding Co.

Mr. STARNES. There is no objection to that being received in evidence and it will be made a part of the record.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the record, Mr. Appleby, can you outline briefly the type of manufacturing that takes place in the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; at the present time 60 percent of our construction is for the United States Maritime Commission.

I overlooked one point. I stated earlier today that we had done some Navy work but very little of it. That was on a ship within the last month that we had built and the Navy Department bought from the Maritime Commission. We finished certain additional construction for the Navy Department before they took it from the yard. However, I overlooked one larger job. I believe that naval work has special significance at this time.

We built and delivered the first twin-screw high-speed tanker, a practically all-welded ship called the *Cimmeron*, to the Navy Department. That was delivered about a year ago and that is on the Pacific coast now. It is the pride of the fleet. It is the first high-speed tanker built in this country.

And when I speak of "high speed," I mean a tanker with 6,000,000 gallons of fuel that can do maybe 21 or 22 knots. So we have been engaged in naval work for sometime although the majority of our work at this time is for the Maritime Commission.

The balance is made up of tankers for private owners. We also do repair work. We do Navy repair work in dredges and Army engineer's vessels—on their dredges and also private work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have cases of sabotage come to your attention, sabotage in the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; the first case of sabotage that came to my personal attention was about, I would say, 4 months ago. It was the case of a large reel of 2-inch diameter 8-conductor conduit—that is armored cable. It has a woven basket weave of metal on the outside. It was on board the deck of one of the ships under construction.

The cable was being unreeled for the purpose of wiring the ship. They use this cable and draw it through, hundreds and hundreds of feet of the cable is drawn through the ship. After it is in place it is so covered up and protected that it is difficult to get to it.

In other words, if there is a short circuit or anything else happened to it, it would be very difficult to locate the trouble. This was a new reel that they were unreeling. After they had about 12 or 15 feet unraveled one of the workmen caught his finger on a sharp object and they examined it closely and it turned out to be a nail driven straight through the cable with the head flush with the basket weave which made it difficult to see, but it just happened that it was just about a sixteenth of an inch too long and it caught his finger.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would that cause a short circuit?

Mr. APPLEBY. Within that conduit are eight conductors and in driving a nail through it it would be impossible to go through without hitting three or four which would short circuit those wires.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would that create a hazard of fire?

Mr. APPLEBY. It would definitely create a hazard, either a fire or burn up the vital pieces of machinery that would be connected to that cable, inasmuch as most of the ships today, their auxiliaries, are electrically driven and not steam.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or at least necessitate a great deal of work in finding the short circuit?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be the least that could be expected as a result of driving a nail through that cable?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any doubt about that being a piece of sabotage? I mean to say, could that have been an accident?

Mr. APPLEBY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Just a question there. Did the company itself consider it a piece of sabotage?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not this occurrence was reported to the F. B. I.?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; it happened in this way: One of our men—and when I say “one of our men” I mean one of our members, who reported to me—he did not know what else to do. I immediately reported to an official of the company and they turned it over to the F. B. I. What they have done, I don’t know.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask how long ago that was?

Mr. APPLEBY. About 4 months ago, sir.

Now, the next act of sabotage—

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to ask you one more question. Is that cable a very expensive material?

Mr. APPLEBY. It runs about \$8 a foot.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is, in other words, relatively expensive material?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; it is very fine cable.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And would the necessity of taking it out to find a short circuit damage the cable?

Mr. APPLEBY. Oh, yes; yes, indeed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, will you please give any other instances, if any such have come to your attention, of sabotage in the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. About 2 months ago one of the Atlantic Refining Co. tankers, one of the large new, all-welded jobs—in fact the largest in the United States—was in our yard for repairs. There were no particular repairs on the engine. She was in for the customary paint job which they get about every 6 months. After being in a few days when they started the engine to leave the yard they could not get oil pressure and the engine heated up. And it had to be stopped.

Investigation disclosed after 2 days of pulling the oil lines apart that there were numerous pieces, I would say, 8, 10, or 12 pieces of sweater all cut about the same size but rough, in the lubricating oil system. The lubricating oil system on a ship that size carries a tank, reserve tank of several hundred drums of lubricating oil. This was an enclosed system and the only way you could possibly enter any foreign matter into the system would be by removing a steel plate about this large, with eight bolts holding it down. That material was deposited in that tank between the time the ship came into our yard until it was ready to leave.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say “pieces of sweater” is that a technical term?

Mr. APPLEBY. I mean a piece of clothing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean an ordinary sweater, a piece of clothing?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And they were cut in squares and deposited, this foreign material, in these drums?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right, in the tank and into the oil which went through all the oil lines to the engine and naturally stopped all circulation of the lubricating oil to the moving parts of the engine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You testify that it is impossible for the material to have come in through any of the pipelines?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; because it is a closed system. It is not like the case of a Diesel engine where you have a large crankcase. This is a turbine job where there is no opening whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this case which you concluded to be a case of sabotage, also presented to the proper authorities and if so to whom?

Mr. APPLEBY. The authorities were well familiar with the case because as soon as the pressure was not present, naturally our engineering department was called in. We built the ship and naturally we are familiar with the system and where to look for trouble.

The company is quite familiar with the case.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not it was turned over to the Federal authorities for investigation?

Mr. APPLEBY. I presume so but I could not say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do say positively that this act of sabotage occurred after this tanker had come into the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; she could not possibly have run into the yard in that condition. She had just come from her regular trip, which is usually Texas, with a load of crude oil for the refinery.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, has any other case of sabotage come to your attention?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; 2 weeks ago or within a period of 2 weeks I would say, of five working days, we had 63 hoses cut. The hoses that I speak of are about a half inch outside diameter and they run thousands and thousands of feet of this hose all over the plant, all through the new ships, repair work, drydocks and so forth.

These hoses carry oxygen, protane, and acetylene gas, a combination of which, of course, is very explosive and very inflammable. Those hoses were cut at quite an angle—I would say maybe a 20° angle, with what appeared to be a safety razor blade or some kind of a very sharp instrument. It cut into the last segment or fiber, not completely severed in two but just at the breaking point. The manner in which it was cut with a sharp instrument at a sharp angle relative to the piece of hose itself, made it almost impossible to see it unless you picked the hose up and bent it at which time the piece would fly up. As I say 63 of those were found in 1 week. That was just 2 weeks ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Sixty-three gashes?

Mr. APPLEBY. Sixty-three gashes. Naturally when they found a few they put inspectors on and they went over every foot of hose, bending it to find the cut places and cut those sections out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these gashes found throughout the plant?

Mr. APPLEBY. Throughout the plant, from one end of the shipway to the other. We have a man here present today who was one of the inspectors who was sent out to look for and found some of these pieces of hose that were slashed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your information that this could not have come about accidentally?

Mr. APPLEBY. Absolutely impossible. There is no instrument around the shipways; there is no necessity of an instrument sharp enough to make such a cut and I am sure you could not duplicate it without a razor blade because it is tough hose, very tough vulcanized hose with a fabric running through it. It was a particularly bad case of sabotage to this extent, although nothing happened because it was found, fortunately, before it did happen, but such a hose cut so close to the inside core that carries the gas could fill up a ship, a compartment or any of the tanks in these ships, or the holes and a spark would blow the ship to pieces.

We have had cases of explosion with acetylene mixed with oxygen or propane. It is highly explosive. It is an exceptionally bad piece of sabotage, and it would be disastrous to a ship where a tank was full of that gas and exploded. We are familiar with such explosions. We have had such a thing happen but not to that extent nor because of sabotage.

It is particularly dangerous to life—the fire hazard—when oxygen, for instance, without the acetylene comes out of a hose and gets into your clothing. If a spark strikes your clothing your clothing immediately goes up in flame, although oxygen itself is not inflammable, but in combination with some material that is inflammable it goes off like a mixture of propane or anything else. It is a very bad form of sabotage.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that was discovered in the past few days?

Mr. APPLEBY. About 2 weeks ago, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other instances of sabotage?

Mr. APPLEBY. There have been three fires in the last month on ships under construction. There was one fire in the tanks. We don't know whether it was sabotage or not but we cannot account for the fire because the nearest thing to anything that will burn are 3-inch planks and these fires have started and we don't know just how.

Mr. THOMAS. What precautions is the management of your company taking to counteract the sabotage and to eliminate the Nazi and Communist influence?

Mr. APPLEBY. As to eliminating the Nazi and Communist influence, I could not say, except to this degree, that within the last 2 months every one of the 7,000 employees in the yard—and that includes the office workers—the 7,000 have been fingerprinted and copies of the fingerprints have been sent to the F. B. I. for their file in Washington. In addition to that their guard force has been increased by perhaps 25 percent, and I am informed also, although I don't know—

Mr. THOMAS. Yet sabotage goes on just the same?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; I am informed by I can't state definitely that there are F. B. I. and Naval Intelligence men in the yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not, Mr. Appleby, any of these employees whose names appeared on the Communist Party nominating petitions have left the employ of the Sun Shipyard just prior to the fingerprinting of all the employees?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; there were perhaps a half a dozen who left prior to the fingerprinting. However, I would not assume too much there because this has become a day when men are shifting more than they used to shift. They are giving up jobs to go to other places because there are jobs open. It could be a coincidence.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but you know some have left?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you know from information which circulates among employees that some of these persons whose names appear on the Communist Party nominating petitions, have already obtained employment in other plants?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other plants that manufacture products vital to national defense?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not the present line of the Communist Party—

Mr. THOMAS. Before you ask that question I think you ought to ask another question in regard to where these employes have gone.

Mr. STARNES. That would be purely hearsay unless he knows of his own knowledge.

Mr. APPLEBY. I do know of my own knowledge, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You do know?

Mr. APPLEBY. I shall only quote the ones that I do know.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. APPLEBY. I am not here with the names of those but I can tell you this definitely, to my knowledge, two of them are at the Westinghouse plant which is about 5 miles up the river from us, where they are manufacturing turbines for the United States Navy. There are probably a half dozen in the last few months who left prior to the fingerprinting, but we would not say the fingerprinting had anything to do with it.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it after the fingerprinting was announced?

Mr. APPLEBY. I don't think it was announced. It was probably in the talking stage but not announced.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let us get that clear.

Mr. APPLEBY. Some went to Pusey & Jones in Wilmington where they are building United States maritime boats. There were two that I know of that went to the New York Ship & Dry Dock at Camden, N. J., where they are building nothing but Navy boats, battleships, cruisers, and so forth. And the others are just here and there. I could not say where. I know there are a few in the New York district.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know that any went to the Philadelphia Navy Yard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir; one or two went to the Philadelphia Navy Yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Appleby, you said there were 37 employees of the Sun Shipyard whose names appeared on these Communist Party nominating petitions. Do you know how many of the 37 are still employed at the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Without a check I could not say definitely but I doubt if there are more than 25 left or 20.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Between 20 and 25?

Mr. APPLEBY. On the original list that I have turned in here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But there are still a score or so?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes; there are at least 20 or 25.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Employed?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you haven't made an absolute check as of today?

Mr. APPLEBY. That is right; I had no particular reason to do so.

Mr. STARNES. Can you obtain that check for us?

Mr. APPLEBY. I could, sir.

Mr. STARNES. If you will do that and insert it in the record with your testimony we will be glad to have it.

(The following letter was submitted by Mr. Appleby relative to the above:)

FEBRUARY 22, 1941.

DIES COMMITTEE,

*House Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: Relative to the information you desire concerning the writer's testimony at Newark, Oct. 1, 1940.

Records available indicate that there are eighteen (18) employees now at Sun Ship Co., Chester, who were signers of the Communist petition in behalf of John Weaver, Communist, Delaware County, Pa.

Trusting this is the information you desire, I am

Yours very truly,

[Signed] WALTER M. APPLEBY,  
*Plymouth Hall, Media, Pa.*

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Appleby, I want to ask you this final question as far as I am concerned: Are you sufficiently familiar with the present line of the Communist Party to know whether or not it is agitating in an extraordinary degree against all measures of national defense?

Mr. APPLEBY. I am afraid I will have to give that some thought. I couldn't say definitely on that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not the German-American Bund and Nazi-minded organizations are agitating against measures for national defense?

Mr. APPLEBY. Not to my personal knowledge. I mean in a practical way. I know of no such activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Appleby, did you know a Mr. Adolf Locker, who worked at the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Adolf Locker was pro-Nazi in his utterances and sympathies?

Mr. APPLEBY. In conversations with him he was not pro-Nazi, only to this extent: He was sympathetic for Germany because, due to the fact that he had fought in the German Army in the first World War and at the present time he has four brothers fighting in Germany in this war whom he had not heard from for about 6 months and about whom he was quite concerned, naturally. He was sympathetic toward the cause—he made no un-American activities, however, to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he was an alien or is an alien?

Mr. APPLEBY. Otto told me that he was a citizen of this country that he was naturalized. I could not prove that but he told me that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he work in the Sun Shipyard?

Mr. APPLEBY. He did not work directly for the yard; he worked for the Slater System that has the concession in the yard and runs the restaurant for the entire yard within the yard itself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he have general supervision of the foods, in other words, in the yard?

Mr. APPLEBY. He had general supervision of all the foods eaten throughout the yard and at the time of the trial trips where the company supplies their own crew and food and so forth, Otto went along on those trips and was in complete charge of the food.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am afraid I made a mistake in the name; is it Otto Locker?



Mr. APPLEBY. Otto and not Adolf—no, no; I am wrong. Otto is another German in the kitchen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is Adolf and when you said "Otto" you mean Adolf, is that right.

Mr. APPLEBY. Adolf, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you were speaking what he did when the ships went on trial runs. Did you conclude that?

Mr. APPLEBY. I think suspicions were first aroused on the trial runs where they found that Adolf was down in the engine room where he had no business to be. His business was up, on the particular type of ship that he would usually go on, which was more or less freighters or tankers—the galley is right there on the sheltered deck and there is no reason why he would be in the engine room unless he was just looking around. He had no business there. He was seen in the engine room quite frequently and there suspicions were aroused. Further than that I can say that he was discharged last week and although it isn't exactly reliable information, and I got it from a fairly good source, they found that he was an official of some German bund in the vicinity of Chester.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not that was the German-American Bund in the vicinity of Chester?

Mr. APPLEBY. I don't know that. Information could probably come from the company.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. Can you furnish us sections of this cable that you said was cut with some sharp instrument?

Mr. APPLEBY. If they haven't done something with it by this time I could. They did keep it for a long time for examination, I guess for various agencies.

Mr. STARNES. If it is available.

Mr. APPLEBY. If it is available, I could either get the section or perhaps a photograph of it.

Mr. STARNES. All right, if you will do that for us.

Mr. APPLEBY. I can also get you sections of the hose which I spoke of which apparently was cut with a sharp instrument.

Mr. STARNES. We will be glad to have those and when they are received we will then use the inspector who was inspecting the job and can identify it. Any questions by members of the committee?

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask one or two questions.

Mr. Appleby, you said, I believe, at the beginning of your testimony that your union was the recognized bargaining agent for the workers in that plant; is that correct?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. How long has it been so?

Mr. APPLEBY. We established the right to bargain for all the hourly workers in the Sun Shipyard on March 17, 1937, through a National Labor Relations Board elections between ourselves and the I. U. M. S. W. A.

We have maintained that position since.

Mr. VOORHIS. One other question that is in an entirely different direction. Do you happen to know whether this so-called Anti-Communist Society that you have mentioned as being in Philadelphia, do you know whether that organization was a local organization in that region or whether it has other branches in other parts of the

country? I mean the organization that Mr. Campbell was connected with?

Mr. APPLEBY. The organization itself appeared to be local people but those who were in back of it seemed to travel around an awful lot and brought others in from other sections. There was always a new speaker from some other section.

It was difficult to know who was running the organization.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Appleby, as I understand it these ships are being made for the Maritime Commission?

Mr. APPLEBY. Some of our ships.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, the ships that are being made for the Maritime Commission aren't they being made in such a way that they could be converted into Navy auxiliary vessels?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir. The fore peak deck and usually somewhere aft about the stern, they are reinforced for gun mounts but the gun mounts are not in place.

Mr. THOMAS. One more question: What steps have the management taken to determine what employees are citizens or rather, which employees are citizens and which employees are aliens?

Mr. APPLEBY. Well, the employees that have come in there and registered or you might say registered—yes, registered with the employment agent in years gone by as citizens—just how they work that I don't know unless they speak in a foreign tongue or something. I don't know whether they check them or not but all new employees coming in and for at least the last year must produce a birth certificate. Without a birth certificate they cannot be employed.

Mr. THOMAS. Of the 6,000 employees, what is your estimate of the number of aliens?

Mr. APPLEBY. I would say there are only perhaps 15 in the yard who are not citizens or taking out papers or there is one reason or another for them not taking out citizenship papers.

We have a couple from foreign countries who are okayed by the State Department and there are a few of foreign birth where it is impossible for them to get their birth certificates due to the fact there is no country where they come from and their records are not available.

If they are old employees the company is going to go along with them until some means is found to establish their citizenship.

Mr. THOMAS. So practically every employee is either a citizen or an alien who has taken out his first papers or is about to take them out?

Mr. APPLEBY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean in addition to all those groups there are about 15 who are aliens?

Mr. APPLEBY. Fifteen who are aliens and have not taken out papers for one reason or another, which is satisfactory to the company.

Mr. THOMAS. So any sabotage that is taking place is being done probably by persons who have already become citizens of this country?

Mr. APPLEBY. Undoubtedly.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. You may stand aside, Mr. Appleby.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Call your next witness.

Mr. BARKER. Joseph Stewart.

**TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH W. STEWART, WELDING INSPECTOR, SUN  
SHIPBUILDING & DRYDOCK CO.**

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

Mr. STARNES. What is your name, please?

Mr. STEWART. Joseph W. Stewart.

Mr. STARNES. What is your address?

Mr. STEWART. 423 South Fifty-fifth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation?

Mr. STEWART. I am a welding instructor.

Mr. STARNES. Welding inspector?

Mr. STEWART. Welding instructor and inspector.

Mr. STARNES. By whom are you employed?

Mr. STEWART. Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co., Chester, Pa.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Stewart, as part of your inspection duties did you examine this cable which had been cut that you heard Mr. Appleby testify about?

Mr. STEWART. I did. I can testify that I will corroborate every statement Mr. Appleby made. In fact two sections of the hose I found myself, going into the double bottoms, and the cable itself I seen that the nail was driven in there. I inspected that myself.

Mr. STARNES. By "the double bottom" you mean the inner layer?

Mr. STEWART. That is right; the double bottom of the ship.

Mr. BARKER. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. You may stand aside.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Who is your next witness?

Mr. BARKER. Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze.

**TESTIMONY OF GERHARD WILHELM KUNZE, NATIONAL LEADER  
OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND**

(Mr. Kunze was attended by his attorney, Wilbur V. Keegan.)

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

Mr. STARNES. This gentleman who is sitting on your right is your counsel?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us your name for the record [addressing counsel]?

Mr. KEEGAN. I will be glad to do that, Congressman. My name is Wilbur V. Keegan, general counsel for the German-American Bund, address, 178 East Eighty-fifth Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. [Addressing the witness.] Have a seat and give us your full name, please.

Mr. KUNZE. Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze.

Mr. STARNES. What is your address?

Mr. KUNZE. New York City, 178 East Eighty-fifth Street, room 5.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born, Mr. Kunze?

Mr. KUNZE. In Camden, N. J.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. KUNZE. January 10, 1906.

Mr. STARNES. You are a citizen, therefore, of the United States?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What is your occupation or profession?

Mr. KUNZE. I am the national leader of the German-American Bund.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other profession or any other means of support—any other occupation other than being the national leader of the bund?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is your sole means of support?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been the national leader of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. Since December 5, 1939, as acting national leader, and since September 1 of this year as national leader without the term "acting" before it.

Mr. STARNES. You were, in other words, the acting leader from December 5, 1939, to September 1940?

Mr. KUNZE. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And since September 1940 you were elected and have been the national leader?

Mr. KUNZE. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. I overlooked asking you a moment ago in the preliminary questions to give us your educational training and background. We usually ask for that and will you give us that information now?

Mr. KUNZE. Public school, high school, and various night schools in electrical and mechanical training.

Mr. STARNES. That was in New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. In Philadelphia, Pa.

Mr. STARNES. You have lived then in Pennsylvania or New Jersey practically all your life?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. Upon its creation in 1936.

Mr. STARNES. At Buffalo, N. Y.?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you among those who organized the bund there in 1936?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of the Friends of New Germany prior to that time?

Mr. KUNZE. I was; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Prior to the time you became a member of the Friends of New Germany were you a member of the forerunner to it, the Teutonic Society?

Mr. KUNZE. I was not a member of any forerunner of the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. STARNES. That was the first organization you joined?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join that organization?

Mr. KUNZE. In September 1933.

Mr. STARNES. What was your occupation at that time?

Mr. KUNZE. Chauffeur-mechanic.

Mr. STARNES. What had been your occupation until you became the acting national leader of the bund in December 1939?

Mr. KUNZE. Public national relations director.

Mr. STARNES. Give us your business background.

Mr. KUNZE. Chauffeur-mechanic and electrician.

Mr. STARNES. By what companies were you employed?

Mr. KUNZE. Caroni Dredging Contractors at Trinidad, British West Indies, in 1922 and 1923; at the Trinidad Leaseholds, an oil field, in 1923 and 1924. At the Philadelphia Electric Co. in 1924 and 1925. At the Quaker Auto Supply Co. 1925 and 1926, Philadelphia. The Southern Pacific Railroad in El Paso, Tex., in 1927. Pickwick Stages in El Paso, Tex., in 1927. The Southland Stages in San Diego, Calif., in 1928, or 1927 and the beginning of 1928. The Textile Electric Machinery Co. of Philadelphia from 1928, in February, I believe, until the end of 1930.

Mr. STARNES. From 1930 where were you employed?

Mr. KUNZE. Thomas M. Royal Manufacturers at Bryn Mawr, Pa., in 1931, and as chauffeur-mechanic for several families from 1932 until 1936, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. And from 1936?

Mr. KUNZE. Thereafter in the employ of the German-American Bund, first in Philadelphia, until August 1937, and employed voluntarily in New York from November 1937 to April 1939 and on salary in New York from April 1939 to this time.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us the names of some of your employers between 1932 and 1936? You gave the names of all your employers up to that time.

Mr. KUNZE. Employers?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; some of your employers.

Mr. KUNZE. E. L. Rothchild—at that time 2121 North Park Avenue in Philadelphia; a Mr. and Mrs. Paris at Elkins Park, Pa., and the 2 years from 1934 to 1936 for Mrs. E. L.—no; Mrs. Robert E. Daffron, Jr., Newton Square.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, why did you join the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. Because I am a German-American and wanted to find an organization or help build one which would pay more militant attention to protecting the good name, the rights and privileges of the German-Americans than I had been able to find before.

Mr. STARNES. All right, any other reason?

Mr. KUNZE. That was the only reason.

Mr. STARNES. The only reason?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You were sincere in your belief or opinion that American citizens of German descent were not receiving proper treatment or accorded fair representation in all the liberties and the rights that other American citizens were enjoying?

Mr. KUNZE. That is my belief.

Mr. STARNES. That is your belief?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Upon what was that belief based, Mr. Kunze?

Mr. KUNZE. The war hysteria of the last war and the inability, apparently, of the German element to properly fight back against unfairness which developed because of that hysteria.

I went through the public schools during the last war and had very many experiences which I shall never forget just because of the simple fact that I refused to consider everything that was German in my make-up or in others, to be bad and condemnable. I received enough beatings to remind me of that for the rest of my life.

Mr. STARNES. You appreciate the fact, of course, that many of the outstanding citizens of this country—citizens in business, finance, industry, the various professions and in the agricultural field; the agricultural field and all the other lines of endeavor in American life, in all of these fields American citizens of German descent have risen to preeminence, isn't that true?

Mr. KUNZE. That was generally true up to the last war. After the fact that they had not at the same time learned to protect themselves by organizing to assure their political and economic representation, made itself felt and since that war the German-Americans, so far as our experiences show, are more or less of a goat whenever a goat is required.

Mr. THOMAS. I did not hear that last statement.

Mr. KUNZE. The Germans, I say, are more or less of a goat whenever a goat is required.

Mr. STARNES. You can understand, of course, that that statement has grave implications and presents an indictment of a nature against the American people and the American public. Can you be more specific in that statement as to what those instances are? I will state the question this way: Give us examples of people or specific groups of people that you feel have infringed upon the political rights and economic rights of American citizens of German descent.

Mr. KUNZE. Our experience has been that such organizations as the Non-Sectarian League and Anti-Nazi League have very assiduously throughout these last years preached that all those who, for instance, are at all interested in maintaining any German cultural traditions or are interested in building up more efficient economic and political organizations of the German element are to be considered as essentially alien and inclined to treason, and consequently not to be trusted in important factories and undertakings.

Mr. STARNES. I asked for specific instances. Your statement is very generic. Won't you give us specific instances? You have only named one organization—what was that, the Anti-Nazi League?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, that is the only one that you have mentioned and it evidently is a very small organization because in the whole broad expanse of this country there is not a single member of that league that I know of.

Mr. KUNZE. And the daily press.

Mr. STARNES. You mean the daily press generally?

Mr. KUNZE. Quite generally.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. KUNZE. And some such organization as the Joint Boycott Council which affects not only foreign countries and their interests but the business interests of perfectly loyal German-American—German and American export and import firms.

Mr. STARNES. Now, is there a specific reason for your attitude? Do you think that is sufficient reason, because this Anti-Nazi Non-Sectarian League has been engaged in activities which you find objectionable to American citizens of German descent? Do you think that is sufficient reason for the organization of the German-American Bund in order to protect the political and economic rights of American citizens of German descent?

Mr. KUNZE. It attempted to get legislation passed that was directed particularly against the members, for instance, of the German-

American Bund, as such, although that organization has never been shown to be in any way treasonable or unpatriotic. In other words—

Mr. STARNES. You either misunderstood my question or you are evading my question. I asked you if you felt that it was necessary to set up an organization like the German-American Bund simply to offset the activities of this Anti-Nazi Non-Sectarian League that you mentioned a moment ago, and that is the only organization you mentioned.

Mr. KUNZE. I mentioned the daily press.

Mr. STARNES. All right, the daily press. Now, what steps do you think are necessary to protect the people of German descent in this country against the Anti-Nazi Non-Sectarian League?

Mr. KUNZE. To unify them sufficiently so that they can economically and politically exercise at least that much influence in the Nation that they will receive exactly the same treatment that any other part of the citizenship gets.

Mr. STARNES. That is specific. What would your organization propose to remedy the situation as to the press, which you stated had been unfair? You made your statement applicable to the press in general. What is your method of approach or angle of approach toward remedying that situation?

Mr. KUNZE. I know that if the German element throughout the Nation becomes more circumspect in how it votes and how it supports its own kind and those who are friendly to it, then in time the powers that control the public policy of the press and the radio will also become more just to this particular element which is being attacked so much today.

Mr. STARNES. But aren't you advocating there a method which you are condemning others for the use of?

Mr. KUNZE. We are only counteracting that which is already being used against us from many sides.

Mr. STARNES. How do you propose to treat with the press specifically? Do you propose that the press shall be controlled or that the press shall become an agent or a tool of your organization to disseminate its viewpoint alone in order to bring about the restitution you say is necessary for the people of German descent in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. I propose nothing of the kind. Any element of this Nation's citizenry which takes proper care of its political and economic representation will be respected by the daily press.

Mr. STARNES. Would you use the same methods that have been placed in vogue elsewhere in other countries in order to control the press of this country?

Mr. KUNZE. There is no need for that.

Mr. STARNES. I know that, but is that one of the methods that you would advocate?

Mr. KUNZE. I would not advocate such a method.

Mr. STARNES. You would not advocate such a method?

Mr. KUNZE. No.

Mr. STARNES. During the past year—I believe it was in August—Mr. Kuhn told us that this country had some 68—or there were in this country some 68 posts of the bund with approximately 20,000 dues-paying members. That is a matter of public record.

How does that number compare today in the number of posts and in the number of dues-paying members?

How many posts do you have?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sorry, I really do not know.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have an approximation of the number? You had 68 last year in August—August 1939. Can't you give us some approximation? You are the leader of the organization and have been for almost a year?

Mr. KUNZE. It is impossible to give any definite figure on that score.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking for an approximation—an approximation that would be approximately correct.

Mr. KUNZE. There will be approximately 40, I presume.

Mr. STARNES. Forty local units?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Would you give us now an approximation, and I understand of course it would have to be an approximation, of the membership at the present time—dues paying members.

Mr. KUNZE. I couldn't give any approximation which would be worth anything under the circumstances, because—

Mr. STARNES. Well, you have shown there are approximately 40 posts at the present time as compared to 68 last year. Would it follow that there has been a possible proportionate reduction in the number of dues-paying members?

Mr. KUNZE. The reorganization in many respects, which has been going on and is going on all this later time, has caused the income from dues and contributions to fluctuate to such a degree I could not give you any fair idea whatever.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Kunze, what is the purpose of the reorganization which has been going on since you have been there?

Mr. KUNZE. Well, I suppose, Mr. Chairman, that whenever any change in leadership is made in any organization there will be changes in many details, depending upon the nature of the new leader.

There is no need for any basic changes and none are contemplated.

Mr. THOMAS. Yet you say reorganization is going on. Well, now, that is not just a minor change. You must have some reason for it or purpose.

Mr. KUNZE. No; except help improve whatever needs improving so that the organization may operate more efficiently.

Mr. THOMAS. How do you mean "more efficiently"?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. THOMAS. I would just like to know the reason for bringing about this reorganization and what the reorganization amounts to.

Mr. KUNZE. There was a reorganization, for instance, in 1936, based upon experiences in former organizations. There have been reorganizations in part here and there since then—whenever more improved methods of operating were found or whenever certain elements had found their way into the organization which we believed did not belong in it and had to be removed.

I believe again through the experiences of these past years that there was quite a bit which could be improved upon in every respect and that is what we are undertaking now and what I call "reorganization."

Mr. THOMAS. In this reorganization which you are bringing about you are trying to remove certain elements which you do not believe, or rather, which you believe should not be in the organization?

Mr. KUNZE. That is quite true.



Mr. THOMAS. What do you mean—it is not clear to me why these elements should not be in the organization. What kind of elements do you mean and what are they doing?

Mr. KUNZE. Well, there is, for example, a man named Healey in Chicago, who was never a member of this organization but who claimed to have similar beliefs and wanted its support and its recommendations among German-Americans and things of that kind. Making sure that he and other such have nothing whatever to do with us and are not furthered by us and don't by any chance get into our ranks to find ways and means to make sure we find these people and keep them from using the name of the organization in order to give the public or the authorities a twisted conception of what we are actually fighting for.

That is also a part of the reorganization.

Mr. THOMAS. That is not very clear to me; but have you brought about any reorganization here in New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. Not to any noticeable extent. For instance, making sure that the units and the other officers of the organization throughout the country—

Mr. THOMAS. But I am referring now to New Jersey. I have left the rest of the country.

Mr. KUNZE. All right, sir. Referring to New Jersey—seeing to it that the officers responsible keep the authorities informed concerning what they are doing, make sure that these authorities have every chance to see what is going on and to investigate it to make sure that such speakers who have a way of speaking, which is not compatible with the laws of the State or the laws of the land or the principles of the organization are kept away from our speaker's stand.

Mr. THOMAS. You haven't made any changes in New Jersey since you have been in office? Has there been or hasn't there been a reorganization in New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. The things I just mentioned also apply to the State of New Jersey.

Mr. THOMAS. Then when Mr. Klapprott goes on the stand he can tell what the changes are in New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. He would know them more than I would.

Mr. STARNES. Have the purposes of the bund, as set forth in their constitution of 1936, been changed since you took over the organization?

Mr. KUNZE. The purposes of the organization as an organization of American citizens have not been changed. The purposes and aims outlining what this organization stands for have been revised on more than one occasion to attract more attention to various subjects which have been mentioned too little before.

Mr. STARNES. Last year Mr. Kuhn gladly furnished us with a copy of the constitution, which set forth the aims and purposes of the organization and he briefly summarized the purposes as follows:

First, to form a political unit or a political party to see that a minority, as he termed it, a persecuted minority, and that is in substance what you said a moment ago, were given political representation in our affairs of government—in the affairs of our Government.

Is that still one of the professed aims of the bund?

Mr. KUNZE. If it was understood by this committee that it could be the object of the German-American Bund to alter the system under which our United States were built up in order to in the future to have

direct political representation for so-called national minorities, then that is not the case and never has been in the German-American Bund.

We have never had the objective of having representatives in Congress.

Mr. STARNES. I don't want to be discourteous to you but your answers are too involved and they are not responsive, sufficiently responsive.

Mr. Kuhn testified that they had a threefold purpose in organizing the bund in 1936. One was to establish a political party in America which would give representation in the political life of America to a minority which was now being denied those full rights. Secondly, it was established for the purpose of combating the inroads of communism and, third, that it was anti-Semitic. He made those statements before this same committee in August of last year, August or September, under oath.

Now, I am asking you if the general purposes of the bund as stated by Mr. Kuhn, the founder and the leader of the bund until December of the past year, has there been any fundamental change in the purposes and objectives of the organization.

That is what I am asking you.

Mr. KUNZE. If that is the sense conveyed by what Mr. Kuhn said, then so far as I am concerned it never has been the basic principle of the German-American Bund but is his personal idea about it. I believe—

Mr. STARNES. He formed the bund, did he not?

Mr. KUNZE. He became the first national leader.

Mr. STARNES. And he was its national leader until December of the past year?

Mr. KUNZE. So far as I know Mr. Kuhn I don't believe he intended to convey the impression which you just have given me, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Well, his language was very clear and very specific and it was not capable of being misunderstood.

Mr. KUNZE. I know that since I have been responsible the purposes and aims have been rephrased so there should be removed any room for doubt.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I am asking you. You said a moment ago that the reason you joined the bund yourself was for the purpose of seeing that a minority group of American citizens should be given, or would be given, the political rights and economic rights to which they were entitled but which you were now being denied. That certainly is in line with what Mr. Kuhn said a year ago. Now, in what other respects or what respect, if any, is there a change in the purpose of the bund? You say that is the sole reason you joined the bund; Mr. Kuhn says that is one of the three reasons that he set up the organization. Now, in what other respect does the present organization differ from Mr. Kuhn's statement and conception of the bund?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Does your organization, in other words, I will be specific—I will help you—does your organization still combat communism in this country and elsewhere, those who sympathize with your viewpoint, as they did in the years gone by?

Mr. KUNZE. It combats communism and any other political internationalism in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. It does combat communism?

Mr. KUNZE. As an international political power in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Does it combat nazi-ism in the same way?

Mr. KUNZE. Any foreign-controlled, political, or economic power in these United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean you are opposed to any spread of the influence of Hitler in the United States; is that right?

Mr. KUNZE. We are opposed to the spread of the influence --

Mr. THOMAS. I think you should answer the question.

Mr. KUNZE. To the influence of Hitler as a political or economic conception in these United States, or any other foreign political power or international political or economic power.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you do to try to stop the spread of the influence of Hitler in the United States, specifically?

Mr. KUNZE. We are interested in developing the respect of the German element in the United States back to the stage at which it belongs, not with a political party of the German element but within the entire citizenry, by helping to reconstitute or maintain the political and economic set-up in the United States something similar to that upon which the country was founded.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you said awhile ago that you were opposed to the spread of international political influence in the United States, if I understood you correctly?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you said you were opposed to the spread of communism in the United States and you were opposed to the spread of nazi-ism in the United States and I asked you what your organization is doing to combat the spread of nazi-ism in the United States. What is it doing?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe I expressed myself clearly in the first place when I wanted it understood that we are just as much against the importation of foreign political or economic systems from Germany as we are from any other country, but if we can learn from the experiences of other countries in the economic or any other field upon the basis of the American republican system, we are certainly not opposed to learning.

Mr. VOORHIS. Everybody will agree to that. Why is it that through the bund there is all kinds of literature brought in here from Germany?

Mr. STARNES. We have, of course, in the files of the committee numerous publications which were furnished us either by our investigators or given to us by Mr. Kuhn himself or his agents, some of which, of course, undeniably and undoubtedly had their inspiration and their source from Germany.

For instance, *Mein Kampf*. There is undeniable testimony under oath that that was used widely in your camps and read by your members.

Then we have, of course, any number of exhibits that came through the Ausland in Stuttgart, which, of course, is financed by the German Government, according to the testimony.

We are now asking you wherein the aims and purposes differ from heretofore and the method of operation differs from heretofore, because Mr. Kuhn and others who were members of the bund heretofore gladly testified, apparently, because some came in voluntarily and gave us this information.

Mr. KUNZE. Insofar as your third, shall I say conception, concerning the meaning of Mr. Kuhn's utterances last year is concerned, I must

also protest and say that the German-American Bund is not an anti-any race.

Mr. STARNES. In other words the German-American Bund is not anti-Semitic?

Mr. KUNZE. It is not except insofar as it has to be in self-defense on some occasions.

Mr. STARNES. And you are entirely friendly and your relations with people of Jewish descent in this country are entirely cordial and you work together in harmony to promote the welfare of the country; is that right?

Mr. KUNZE. That may or may not be the case, depending on the individual. If I may say that what has been considered the anti-Semitism of the bund will have been its reaction to activities by people who happen to be Jews.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis wishes to ask a question.

Mr. VOORHIS. If the Anti-Nazi League was formed in 1937 how could the bund have been formed to counteract it?

Mr. KUNZE. I can assure you, Mr. Voorhis, that the Friends of New Germany were formed as a reaction to the boycott activities which came before.

Mr. VOORHIS. Can you give us a single, solitary instance in the United States of discrimination against a person because he was a German? I do not know of anyone who does not have the greatest respect for people of German descent. I would like to have you give me one single instance where somebody was discriminated against in the United States because he was a German.

Mr. KUNZE. There was an occasion when a list of unit leaders of the German-American Bund was submitted to this committee. As I understand it that list was submitted on the condition that it would not be published. That list appeared in the daily press a day or two later and at least two of those leaders immediately lost their jobs.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is begging the question on that particular point. I did not ask you about members of the German-American Bund. I asked you where there was discrimination because a person was of German descent. It is a very different matter when a racial group organizes in militant fashion, as the bund has done.

I would really like to ask you whether you think you can accomplish anything for the welfare of the average German, the average American citizen of German descent, by setting him apart from his fellow Americans in an organization of that kind? I believe that if you consider that discrimination it is due to the very basic blunder that has been made in the formation of the organization in the first place.

Mr. KUNZE. He is being set apart from the rest of the citizenry not by us but by those who make it a point to do so if he has the slightest decency left him so far as honoring his own name is concerned.

Mr. VOORHIS. Will you please give me an instance where that has happened?

Mr. KUNZE. It is difficult for me to do so without bringing proof because the people who have suffered themselves have not the courage to get on the witness stand and swear to it.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't have to prove a thing, Mr. Kunze; I will take your word for it.

Mr. KUNZE. But I know a number of instances where it happened.

Mr. VOORHIS. And I want you to tell me one case where a man was discriminated against because he was a German in the United States.

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, there must be thousands of such cases if that is the basis of an organization of this kind.

Mr. KUNZE. There are.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, name one of them.

Mr. KUNZE. There is legislation before the Congress of the United States; there are regulations applying to the P. W. A.

Mr. STARNES. And those things are all the result of the bund movement and its allied activities?

Mr. KUNZE. They represented a discrimination against a group of citizens which has not been proven to be in any way disloyal.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want you to give me an example of discrimination against a person because he is a German.

Mr. KUNZE. There are employment agencies in various cities with signs on their windows which say: "Germans need not apply," because of the artificial public opinion which has been created.

Mr. STARNES. Let me say this to you: There is no legislation which discriminates against any American citizen who subscribes to or follows the American principles of government.

In the administration of relief we have spent billions of dollars in the last 7 or 8 years helping to take care of the distressed condition and the needs and the misery of fellow human beings who are not even American citizens and who don't even subscribe to our form of government.

Now, give us some specific examples if you can.

Mr. KUNZE. I can't give you any names.

Mr. STARNES. You can't give us a specific name?

Mr. KUNZE. I wouldn't give any names.

Mr. STARNES. We will recess for 5 minutes.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume the session.

How many posts of the bund do you have in the State of New Jersey at the present time, Mr. Kunze?

Mr. KUNZE. We have no posts, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. What do you call them now? Units? You know what I am talking about, branches, posts, local units. I just want to find the correct terminology. How many local units do you have in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sorry, but I couldn't say.

Mr. STARNES. How many in the State of New York?

Mr. THOMAS. He is not answering the question. He says he is sorry he couldn't say in New Jersey. He must know what he has in New Jersey.

Mr. STARNES. How many in the State of New York?

Mr. KUNZE. It would be somewhere from a half dozen on up.

Mr. STARNES. How many in the New England area?

Mr. KUNZE. There are several there.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say as many as six?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't believe there are that many.

Mr. STARNES. How many in the Midwest area around Chicago? I believe that was the original division. What is in the Midwest district or Midwest area, if I am not using the correct terminology you will understand what I mean. There would be a dozen in the Middle West?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Now, along the Pacific Coast or the far West area?

Mr. KUNZE. There are several there.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say as many as seven?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't believe there are quite that many.

Mr. STARNES. How many in the South?

Mr. KUNZE. Two or three, depending on how these geographical areas are. I don't know just exactly offhand just where they are located or what their names are.

Mr. STARNES. With only 40 local units you are unable to tell the committee the exact locations or to divide them into their geographical districts and give us approximately how many in each?

Mr. KUNZE. There are more cities and towns in which members are resident than there are functioning units and that is the only difficulty in determining exactly where units are located or where there are simply several members who correspond directly with headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. Has there been any effort since you became the acting head and the head of the organization, to cooperate with groups of citizens who have the same ideals and aspirations?

Mr. KUNZE. There have been no specific conversations or correspondence with such organizations in that time.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, since 1939 then you have ceased as an organization, and when I say "you," I mean your organization, you have ceased any efforts to unite with other groups who have the same ideals and aspirations that you have or follow approximately the same party line or the same political line?

Mr. KUNZE. In effect, yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In effect that is true?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you did have a meeting here in the State of New Jersey quite recently, didn't you, with another group?

I will renew my question. Has your organization had any joint meetings with other groups during the past 12 months, seeking to reach an agreement with the view of working toward a common end, or have you had meetings with other groups whose aims and aspirations may follow the same political line as yours to a certain extent?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. None whatsoever?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You haven't had any meetings with the Silver Shirt group?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Not anybody?

Mr. KUNZE. If that had taken place anywhere throughout the country in some small unit as a local affair I would not know about it, but the German-American Bund as such has done nothing of the kind.

Mr. STARNES. You do not deny, however, that local units of the Bund may have met and consorted with other groups such as the Silver Shirt group, or the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, or the Knights of the White Camellia?

Mr. KUNZE. Mr. Chairman, I gave out a specific order shortly after taking charge that there is to be no connection of any kind with any other organization in the country.

Mr. STARNES. That is one of the changes of policy in the Bund in the past 12 months?

Mr. KUNZE. Insofar as that may not have been clear before.

Mr. STARNES. Well, the testimony is undeniably clear before that there had been numbers of meetings between individuals who headed various organizations in this country in an effort to present a united front along those lines.

Mr. KUNZE. In that event then it is a change of policy.

Mr. STARNES. You say it is a definite change?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir; may I complete the sentence?

Mr. STARNES. Was there any specific reason for inviting the Klan to attend a joint meeting with the Bund here in the State of New Jersey? Was there any specific reason for that? Let me ask you this question: Is Camp Nordland the property of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. It is not, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is it the property of an affiliate of the German-American Bund or a local unit of the German-American Bund?

Mr. THOMAS. Does the German-American Bund meet there?

Mr. STARNES. It has met there regularly for a number of years, hasn't it?

Mr. KUNZE. Not regularly.

Mr. STARNES. It has met there over a period of years?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any other organization that meets there other than the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. I couldn't—I don't know that definitely because I am not directly connected.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any other organization ever meeting there at any time for any purpose other than the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. Mr. Chairman, I understand that the Ku Klux Klan of New Jersey had an affair there this summer—that is, they they were permitted by the owners of that property to use that property for an affair of their own. It was not a joint affair with anyone else.

Mr. STARNES. Were the members of the German-American Bund present on that occasion?

Mr. KUNZE. If they were there they were there as individuals and guests.

Mr. STARNES. Were you there on that occasion?

Mr. KUNZE. I was not, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were not?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know of any other officials of the German-American Bund who were present on that occasion?

Mr. KUNZE. I could not swear to that because I don't definitely know.

Mr. THOMAS. Was Klapprott there?

Mr. KUNZE. He may have been there. I could not say.

Mr. THOMAS. You also know that the Smythe organization—I just can't recall the name of the organization at the present time, was present at that same affair?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know. I don't know whether they were there on that day.

Mr. THOMAS. You read about the meeting?

Mr. KUNZE. So far as I know it was only the Klan that was there.

Mr. THOMAS. You read about it in the newspapers? You read the Klan was there and the Smythe organization and Mr. Klapprott was there and various other bund officials were there. You read all about that?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Are you one of the trustees of the German-American Bund Auxiliary, a domestic corporation in the State of New Jersey?

Mr. KUNZE. I am one of the directors; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the group that owns Camp Nordland?

Mr. KUNZE. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Who are the other trustees?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know their names. I am afraid Mr. Klapprott or whoever knows that will have to testify.

Mr. STARNES. How many trustees in the group that owns Camp Nordland?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe seven.

Mr. STARNES. Seven; and you are the only person that you know of that is a member of the board?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. You don't know the other six members?

Mr. KUNZE. I know Mr. Klapprott is president.

Mr. STARNES. And do you know who the other five members are?

Mr. KUNZE. I do not, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who the secretary or treasurer of the organization is?

Mr. KUNZE. I am afraid I could not swear to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Don't you meet with the other trustees?

Mr. KUNZE. They meet but I haven't been there regularly.

Mr. STARNES. Were you ever there?

Mr. KUNZE. At these meetings?

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever attended any meetings there of any kind or character?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't believe I have this year.

Mr. STARNES. You have in previous years?

Mr. KUNZE. I was not a director before.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but you have met with any group or attended any meetings at Camp Nordland at any time during the past 5 or 6 years?

Mr. KUNZE. I am instructed by counsel because I am a prospective defendant perhaps in a suit in New Jersey concerning speeches made at Camp Nordland, that I should not testify against myself. In that eventuality—

Mr. STARNES. What is the ground, that it might incriminate you? Mr. Counsel, is that the objection?

Mr. KEEGAN. That is right. I will help you to get an answer to that question if it is possible, Mr. Chairman, but not in that form.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Mathias Kohler?

Mr. KUNZE. I know Mr. Kohler; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is he one of the trustees of this organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe he is; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. We haven't gotten an answer to the other question.

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment and we will get it. Do you know Mr. John C. Fitting?



Mr. KUNZE. I know him; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a member or is he a trustee of the German-American Bund Auxiliary which owns or operates the Nordland Camp?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe he is.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't he the secretary?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe he is.

Mr. STARNES. And Mr. Klapprott is the president, isn't he?

Mr. KUNZE. I know that.

Mr. STARNES. Now, do you know Mr. Richard—I can't pronounce his last name: S-c-h-i-e-l-e?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Schiele?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe I know the gentleman.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't he one of the members of the board of trustees of this organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know?

Mr. KUNZE. No.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Paul Schaauschmidt?

Mr. KUNZE. I know him slightly; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Is he a member of the board of trustees of this organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know that?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. George—I can't make this out—Neupert—Mr. George Neupert?

Mr. KUNZE. I know Mr. George Neupert.

Mr. STARNES. Is he one of the trustees of this organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know that, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Carl Schipphorst?

Mr. KUNZE. I know Mr. Carl Schipphorst.

Mr. STARNES. Is he one of the trustees?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know concerning him.

Mr. STARNES. When have you attended a meeting of the board of trustees of this organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't believe I ever did.

Mr. STARNES. You don't happen to belong to the Know Nothing Party? I am afraid you are being evasive in your answers, whether purposely or not, I don't know.

Mr. KUNZE. Mr. Chairman, there would be no point in my evading the answers concerning that board of directors because that can become known to you as soon as you want it. I only stated the fact, that I know definitely that Mr. Klapprott is the president; that I was made a director but that I have not been in a position to take part in any of its meetings so far. That is why I don't know definitely concerning those other names you have mentioned.

Mr. STARNES. The thing that puzzles the Chair about this thing, Mr. Kunze, is that you belong to an organization that has the control and direction and the ownership of Camp Nordland and yet you don't know who the members are—who the seven members of the board of trustees are when you are the directing genius and the head of it—of a national organization known as the German-American Bund. You

are also very indefinite as to the number of local units or the membership that you have. You are very indefinite in your recollection or memory as to the location of these various local units and yet you state that this organization is one which is national in scope and has a very definite and decided program—affirmative program looking to the benefit of its membership and too, so you profess, the public weal of this Nation.

The Chair is at a loss to understand that position.

Mr. KUNZE. There are national officers and each one has his particular work to do.

Mr. STARNES. How many national officers do you have for your German-American Bund at the present time?

Mr. KUNZE. There is a national secretary and a national treasurer.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who the national secretary is?

Mr. KUNZE. I know those officers; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Will you kindly give us the names for the record?

Mr. KUNZE. The national secretary is Wilhelm Luedtke.

Mr. STARNES. Who is your national treasurer?

Mr. KUNZE. Gustav Elmer.

Mr. STARNES. Now, do you have any other national officers?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any vice presidents, national vice presidents? If so, how many and who are they?

Mr. KUNZE. The midwestern department leader is deputy national leader.

Mr. STARNES. Who is he, the midwestern department leader?

Mr. KUNZE. George Froboese.

Mr. STARNES. He was the leader under Mr. Kuhn?

Mr. KUNZE. He was midwestern department leader.

Mr. STARNES. Now, who are your New England or eastern department leaders?

Mr. KUNZE. The eastern department leader is Mr. Klapprott.

Mr. STARNES. Who is your Pacific coast or Far Western leader?

Mr. KUNZE. The western department leader is Mr. Hermann Schwinn.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other departments?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Just the three?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You don't have any departments in the South or Southwest?

Mr. KUNZE. The departments run through from North to South.

Mr. STARNES. I believe that is all the questions I have. Mr. Voorhis, do you have any questions?

Mr. VOORHIS. I wanted to ask a couple of questions, if I may. Mr. Kunze, what is the approximate amount of dues that come in per month to the organization now, do you know?

Mr. KUNZE. I can't make definite statements without the —

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't want to know exactly—just approximately.

Mr. KUNZE. Somewhere from \$1,000 to \$2,000.

Mr. VOORHIS. Per month?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And is the organization supported entirely by the dues that it collects or does it have other sources of revenue?

Mr. KUNZE. There are donations made occasionally by individuals.

Mr. VOORHIS. By any organizations?

Mr. KUNZE. Not that I know, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has one of the purposes of the organization been the interpretation of the present regime in Germany to the people of America?

Mr. KUNZE. That is not the case.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is not true?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And as you stated before, as I understood you, you would be opposed to the spread of the influence of the present regime in Germany, is that right?

Mr. KUNZE. We are opposed to the importation of the German political system or any other foreign system in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that a new tack on the part of the organization? Is that a part of your reorganization?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sure that it is not.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the reason then for the organization wearing the uniform of the Nazi storm troopers and giving the Nazi salute and so on and so forth in the past?

Mr. KUNZE. That has never been done, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You want the record to show that that never was done; that you never wore a uniform similar to if not exactly alike the ones worn in Germany? And you want to go on record saying that it was never the practice of the members of the German-American Bund to give the Nazi salute or wear the swastika or display it in the meetings?

Mr. KUNZE. We do use the swastika but I believe that is used in a number of countries throughout the world and has been, for all kinds of purposes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you never used the Nazi salute in meetings?

Mr. KUNZE. So far as we are concerned it is not a Nazi salute. I have never seen a definition of that word.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, how do you give that salute then? Has it ever been given [demonstrating]?

Mr. KUNZE. We have used a salute with the raised right hand; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. O. K.

Mr. KUNZE. That is the one.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is it used now?

Mr. KUNZE. It is used wherever the law allows it; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wherever the law allows it?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you feel in doing that and the other things that I have mentioned, is not in any way carrying over into the United States the influences of modern Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. Not as such; no, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't think so?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. VOORHIS. In the yearbook that we had before our committee in its hearing a few months ago, the picture of Mr. Hitler was the first picture in the book and then there was a picture of the President of the United States. Does that indicate any preference on the part of your organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sure if I had had anything to say about that it never would have happened.

Mr. VOORHIS. You thought that was a mistake?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir; certainly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me ask you this, Mr. Kunze: Certain changes have been made; some of these things that used to be done by the bund are not done now. Why did you drop those things? Why do you say you think including that picture was a mistake? Why is it that uniforms of any sort are no longer worn and so on? What was your reason for making those changes?

Mr. KUNZE. Wherever we have had any customs which can be misunderstood in their import—where they become a weapon to be used in attacking us without any benefits thereby coming out for our work, we have, of course tried to improve the situation. That is clear.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, is it possible that some of those things that you yourself now say were mistakes, may explain in part for the bitterness against the organization by other people in America?

Mr. KUNZE. In many cases; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And what would happen to American society as a whole, America being composed as she is of people of many different races and kinds, if every one of those races were to organize itself into a tight little racial group to say that "we propose to advance the cause of this particular group to the exclusion of others"? What kind of a country would you have?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe in effect that is the case throughout the country now except so far as the German-Americans are concerned.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean every one else is in one organization and the German-Americans in another?

Mr. KUNZE. I mean other elements are politically and economically much better organized for their own defense than the German-Americans are and that is why they are not being made goats.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I don't know of any racial group that is organized in that manner. Is there an organization of Anglo-Saxons in America that you know of?

Mr. KUNZE. There are quite a number of them, I believe, and there is the Polish National Alliance.

Mr. VOORHIS. That are exclusive and do not permit anybody else to belong?

Mr. KUNZE. I could not swear to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have there ever been instances, speaking about discrimination, have there ever been instances of discrimination or intimidation against German-Americans by your organization because those German-Americans did not play ball with you?

Mr. KUNZE. No indeed.

Mr. VOORHIS. I might say I disagree with you but that is your testimony. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand it you were born in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. I was, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you call yourself an American?

Mr. KUNZE. I do, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then why do you refer to yourself all the time as a German-American?

Mr. KUNZE. Because the German-American is a political one—we are all Americans, but the blood in our veins is different.

Mr. THOMAS. Oh, the blood in your veins is different from the blood in the veins of any of the other people of the country?

Mr. KUNZE. I mean to say that the entire white population of the United States is descended from Europeans. We have the English—

Mr. THOMAS. What I want to know is what you are—are you an American or a German-American?

Mr. KUNZE. I am racially a German and politically an American.

Mr. THOMAS. Were your parents born in Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You are racially a German, but you are politically an American?

Mr. KUNZE. That is true.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, that is true of people whose parents who were born in Ireland?

Mr. KUNZE. They would be racially Irish and politically American.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, how do you become an American both racially and politically?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe it would take a few thousand years to bring that about.

Mr. THOMAS. So that the only way you can become an American racially and politically is to, as you say, have a thousand years go by?

Mr. KUNZE. That is a round figure, but I believe you understand what I mean.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, in regard to these trustees or rather these names that you were asked about by the chairman. You said you believed that all of them but one were trustees of Camp Nordland?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe there were two or three concerning whom I don't know definitely.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, you did say that Carl Shipphorst—

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

Mr. THOMAS. You don't know Carl Shipphorst?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know whether he is a trustee or not.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you attended any meetings when Carl Shipphorst was present?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't recall having attended any meetings of that board of directors. I would like to call attention to the fact that I have only been a director since their annual meeting of this year.

Mr. THOMAS. What month was that?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't recall exactly.

Mr. MASON. Did you attend that meeting?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you attended any meeting at Camp Nordland since you became the leader of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe that brings us back to that case that is pending.

Mr. THOMAS. You know you have attended meetings out there since December 1939. You will admit that, won't you?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sorry that I cannot answer questions concerning that because of that case over there—not because there would be any other reason for not answering.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; but you are just evading the question. You are evading the question. You know that you were out at Camp Nordland since December 1939?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. THOMAS. I don't see any reason for not answering that simple question.

Mr. KUNZE. I understand that I may be speaking against myself and incriminating myself in an indictment which may come out of Newton.

Mr. THOMAS. I insist that he be compelled to answer the question whether he was in Camp Nordland since December 1939.

Mr. Chairman, I don't think the witness should go into a long consultation with his attorney. He should answer the question.

Mr. KUNZE. Mr. Thomas, don't you believe in all fairness that that trial over there should be over, if there is to be one, before the Dies committee demands an answer to that question?

Mr. THOMAS. The Dies committee hasn't anything to do with any trial.

Mr. KUNZE. It may have.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Witness, the question as I understand it is not directed toward any specific meeting or any specific event. It is just simply a question as to whether or not you have been at Camp Nordland at any time since December 1939. That does not involve any meeting, does not involve any commission of any crime. You certainly know whether you have been out on that piece of property or on a piece of property of which you are a trustee and one of the joint owners and over which you have control or have had control during that period of time.

The Chair directs you to answer that question because it is pertinent to this inquiry.

Mr. KUNZE. I have been out there; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, will you please tell the committee when you were out there?

Mr. KUNZE. I was there on the 4th of July when I was arrested.

Mr. THOMAS. And have you been out there since the 4th of July?

Mr. KUNZE. I have been out there since the 4th of July.

Mr. THOMAS. When?

Mr. KUNZE. Oh, on a number of occasions. I could not say at the moment exactly when.

Mr. THOMAS. It is also true that you have really made your home out there?

Mr. KUNZE. I have not done that, sir; no, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is your home?

Mr. KUNZE. In New York.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair agreed he did not need to testify to that.

Mr. THOMAS. You referred a little while ago to "other elements." What did you mean by that?

Mr. KUNZE. All the various racial elements that make up the citizenry of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. You spoke a moment ago about "different blood in your veins" and the veins of bund members. Just what did you mean by that?

Mr. KUNZE. Simply what is generally called nationality. We have Italian-Americans, English-Americans, Russian-Americans, and German-Americans.

Mr. STARNES. You did not use it with the significance that the blood in the veins of the German-American Bund members was superior to that which flows through the veins of other American citizens?

Mr. KUNZE. I meant nothing of the kind.

Mr. STARNES. Do you teach the members of the bund the doctrine that people of German descent are a superior race of people?

Mr. KUNZE. We do not.

Mr. STARNES. You reaffirm your belief and the necessity of an organization such as yours in order that American citizens of German descent may have political representation in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. May have equality with all other elements in every respect, that is all.

Mr. STARNES. All right, let me put it this way: You feel that they do not have that equality?

Mr. KUNZE. They do not at this time; no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Will you recite specifically and clearly in what way they are denied their political and economic rights? I don't want a speech but simply a clear statement as to how they are denied political and economic equality in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. They are suffering under boycotts.

Mr. STARNES. No. 1, they are suffering under boycotts.

Mr. KUNZE. They are being refused jobs in many places simply because they have a German name or look German.

Mr. STARNES. All right, that is No. 2.

Mr. KUNZE. They are even being politically hounded as possible or probable aliens or rather, traitors simply because they belong to a German element and don't deny it.

Mr. STARNES. What else?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Are they denied a place on the ballot?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Are American citizens to your knowledge, of German descent, denied a place on the American ballot?

Mr. KUNZE. They are not but their chances of being elected are very, very slim unless they condemn everything German.

Mr. STARNES. Are they denied employment in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. In many places.

Mr. STARNES. And do you still maintain that they are not given adequate political representation?

Mr. KUNZE. In most cases; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What chance would a group organized along the lines of your organization have of getting people elected to office in Germany today?

Mr. KUNZE. I couldn't say.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question. Supposing the United States and Germany should go to war. Would you be willing to fight for the United States against Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. My duties as a citizen would not allow me any choice in the matter except to do so.

Mr. THOMAS. I am asking the question—never mind your duties as a citizen either in this country or in Germany. Would you fight for America against Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. I answered that question.

Mr. THOMAS. No; you didn't. I would like to know yes or no.

Mr. KUNZE. I understand the question is if the United States were to be at war with Germany whether I would serve in the armed forces of the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Against Germany either here or in Germany.

Mr. KUNZE. I would like to ask other Americans of other extractions how they would like to go to war against their countries. I would like to ask an American of English descent how much he would like to go to war against Great Britain.

Mr. STARNES. I would say that no man would get any pleasure out of fighting anybody.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason I asked that question was when Earl Browder was before us, the Communist leader, approximately the same question was asked of him, and Earl Browder dodged it and finally said that he would just about do the same as he did in 1917, which was to be a conscientious objector.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you this and then I am through. You say you and your organization are opposed to the importation of any political system from foreign sources to American soil?

Mr. KUNZE. Correct, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You are opposed to the doctrine of communism and its importation to America?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Does your organization still fight communism in this country as it originally did in 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1939?

Mr. KUNZE. We do; sir.

Mr. STARNES. Has there been any, and answer me truthfully, has there been any collaboration on the part of yourself and your organization with the Communist Party leadership and organization on a political line in this country since 1939? That is September 1939?

Mr. KUNZE. There has not; sir.

Mr. STARNES. Has there been any consultation or agreement on a plan of action by the two organizations?

Mr. KUNZE. There has not; sir.

Mr. STARNES. Has there been any consultation or agreement on a plan of action by the two organizations?

Mr. KUNZE. There has not; sir.

Mr. STARNES. Has there been the same degree of activity on the part of yourself and your organization in fighting the Communist Party and the Communist Party line in America since September 1939 as it was prior thereto?

Mr. KUNZE. That would require a qualified answer.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't it a fact that you do find yourselves in agreement, speaking of the German-American Bund and the Communist Party, along certain political lines in America today as they affect our national relations?

Mr. KUNZE. I do not. I would like to answer your first question.

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment. Are you opposed to the importation of the doctrine of national socialism as exemplified in Germany under the leadership of Herr Hitler, to the United States of America?



Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You would oppose its spread or growth in this country as being inimical to the welfare of this country?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You would?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You would oppose the importation of fascism and its growth in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. Of that or any other form of political system.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze, have you ever distributed stickers bearing the slogan: "The Yanks Are Not Coming"?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, have you or have you not?

Mr. KUNZE. Not personally; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever had in your possession stickers bearing the slogan: "The Yanks Are Not Coming"?

Mr. KUNZE. I have; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were you doing with them?

I would like to explain the purpose of my question. It is a well known fact and has been established beyond any doubt that these stickers are a Communist Party slogan, originated by the Communist Party, propagated by the Communist Party and that the German-American Bund has taken it up from the Communist Party.

Mr. Kunze has stated that he has had them in his possession and I would like to know what he did with them.

Mr. STARNES. Did you distribute them?

Mr. KUNZE. No; they were given to me. I have seen them. I have seen them in various parts of the country. They deal with the question of whether the United States—

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do with them, that is the question, Mr. Kunze.

Mr. KUNZE. Those that I received I had until I threw them away.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You threw all that you had away or do you still have some?

Mr. KUNZE. I am speaking of myself personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I am speaking of you personally.

Mr. KUNZE. I may have one or two.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Otherwise you have thrown them away; you never passed them out.

Mr. KUNZE. I have never personally—never personally never had more than a half a dozen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who gave them to you?

Mr. KUNZE. I could not say at the moment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were they given to you?

Mr. KUNZE. In New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom?

Mr. KUNZE. I could not say at the moment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it some member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. As I recall it; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, wouldn't you know who gave you such stickers?

Mr. KUNZE. I would have to determine who it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were they given to you?

Mr. KUNZE. At the beginning—somewhere around the beginning of this year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. January 1940?

Mr. KUNZE. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was about the time—had you seen them before that?

Mr. KUNZE. I may have seen them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As you traveled around the United States prior to 1940 had you seen these stickers?

Mr. KUNZE. Not prior to that time, no, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that that was approximately the time that the Communist Party brought these stickers out?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know that.

Mr. KEEGAN. I object to that.

Mr. STARNES. That is a pertinent inquiry as to whether or not there is collaboration as described by Dr. Matthews. The objection is overruled.

Mr. KUNZE. There has been absolutely no collaboration. I saw those things and I have seen them elsewhere. I have no objection to them but I didn't know where they came from or did not ask any one for the right to use them or anything of that kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I understand that you have never received more than a half a dozen—six, is that correct?

Mr. KUNZE. I personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You personally have received six; you have two of them still in your possession and you destroyed four or threw four away, is that correct?

Mr. KUNZE. That may be true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is your testimony, is it not?

Mr. KUNZE. I could not swear to the definite figures. I have seen a few samples of them and had them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have testified that you have two or three still in your possession, is that correct?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe I have, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you never had more than a half dozen and that you did throw some away?

Mr. KUNZE. I say I may have lost them or thrown them away.

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; you said you did throw them away, isn't that correct—isn't that your testimony.

Mr. KUNZE. I don't definitely remember throwing any away.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do with them then, the ones you don't have now?

Mr. KUNZE. I never paid any particular attention to them except they looked interesting when I read the text on them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you remember that you had a half dozen and now you have only two or three?

Mr. KUNZE. What is the point in that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to know how you can remember almost a year these numbers to which you previously testified but yet you can't remember who gave you these stickers.

Mr. KUNZE. I will correct that then to say that I recall having seen them, having had one in my hand and that I may still have it and it may have been more than one, but not more than a half dozen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been to Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. I have, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were you in Germany last?

Mr. KUNZE. In 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What month were you in Germany in 1938?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. What month did you go to Germany in 1938?

Mr. KUNZE. I left here in May or June and returned in the middle of August.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were you in Germany prior to that visit?

Mr. KUNZE. In 1937, leaving here I believe in the beginning of August and returning in the beginning of November.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And when were you in Germany prior to that visit in 1937?

Mr. KUNZE. In 1930, leaving here in May and returning in July.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever make any other trips to Germany than those three?

Mr. KUNZE. In 1929, leaving here in August and returning in November. I am pretty sure of those dates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever make any other trips to Germany than those four?

Mr. KUNZE. I am told that I was taken along on a visit to Germany in 1911 but I don't remember anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you were in Germany in 1938 and also in 1937, were you an official of the German-American Bund in this country?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were national organizational director, is that correct?

Mr. KUNZE. National public relations director.

Mr. MATTHEWS. National public relations director?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Both in 1937 and 1938 when you were in Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. Not in 1937. That was an interim period after leaving Philadelphia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you occupy any official position or have any connection with the German-American Bund in an official way in 1937 during your visit to Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. I had given up my Philadelphia unit and was simply a member until I returned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1938 when you were in Germany from May to August, approximately, 4 or 5 months did you meet—

Mr. KUNZE. Four or five months? It wasn't that long.

Mr. MATTHEWS. June, July, August—you went in May. That was 4 months.

Mr. KUNZE. I was only there about 4 weeks that time. I believe it was June when I left here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said from May to August. That is what I was going by. At any rate when you were in Germany in 1938 what Nazi officials did you personally meet?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the higher ranks?

Mr. KUNZE. I did not meet any.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Rudolf Hess?

Mr. KUNZE. I did not, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not meet Mr. Hitler?

Mr. KUNZE. I did not, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Goering?

Mr. KUNZE. I didn't meet any——

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not meet any of the higher ranking officials?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What cities did you visit in Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. In 1938?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you spend most of your time, if I may rephrase the question, during those 8 weeks?

Mr. KUNZE. Near the southern border, at the home of my parents-in-law.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to Erfurt?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to the Brown House in Munich?

Mr. KUNZE. I did not, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you visit any of the Nazi propaganda headquarters in Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. I did not, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you visit Stuttgart?

Mr. KUNZE. Not in 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you there in 1937?

Mr. KUNZE. In Stuttgart; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to Erfurt in 1937?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you visit the Ausland in Stuttgart in 1937?

Mr. KUNZE. I visited the museum in that building while I was in that city but in no official capacity whatever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the German-American Bund sent persons to Germany for study of any kind?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have groups or delegations been organized under the auspices of the German-American Bund for trips to Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir. In 1936 there was a trip to the Olympic Games but I could not say anything about it because I wasn't in New York and had nothing to do with the arranging of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze you testified that the swastika is used by the German-American Bund, is that correct?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in connection with that testimony you elaborated your statement and said that the swastika was used by many countries throughout the world. Do you mean to imply that the use of the swastika by the German-American Bund was not in anyway whatsoever connected with the fact that the swastika is the emblem of the National Socialist Party of Germany?

Mr. KUNZE. We use that symbol as a sign of Christian nationalism and more definitely as a sign of that part of the white people to which we are most closely related in contradistinction to atheistic inter-

nationalism, but not as representing any particular political system whatever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I repeat the question, Mr. Chairman. I would like to know if Mr. Kunze means to say by his testimony that the use of the swastika by the German-American Bund in the United States has absolutely no connection with the fact that the swastika is the official emblem of the Nazi Party in Germany. Now, I think you can answer yes or no to that question.

Mr. KUNZE. Will you read the question?

Mr. STARNES. Read the question, Mr. Reporter.

[Question read.]

Mr. KUNZE. No.

Mr. STARNES. What is your answer?

Mr. KUNZE. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The answer is, there is a connection?

Mr. KUNZE. There is no connection whatever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is entirely accidental, in other words, as far as these two facts are related, the fact that the German-American Bund uses the swastika and that Hitler uses the swastika in Germany—that is purely an accidental thing?

Mr. KUNZE. May I enlarge on that answer?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to know if we are to understand that it is purely an accidental matter that the German-American Bund in the United States is using the swastika and that the Nazi Party in Germany uses it as its official emblem?

Mr. KUNZE. Dr. Matthews, I believe I answered that more correctly than with the word "accidental" in my previous reply. We recognize that symbol over there and elsewhere in the world as a symbol of Christian nationalism in contradistinction to atheistic internationalism, and we use it because it happens to be that form most generally used by races of the world closely related to us, but it has no connection whatsoever with the political philosophy of national socialism.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I understand you to say, and correct me if I am wrong, that you recognize that the National Socialist Party of Germany uses the swastika because it is a symbol of Christian nationalism. Is that what you stated in your testimony?

Mr. KUNZE. I am sure over there it means more. It means the entire political system also and it does not mean that so far as we are concerned here.

Mr. STARNES. How do you draw a distinction between what it means there and what it means here if it is a part of a Christian internationalism?

Mr. KUNZE. If we adopt the symbol we also know why we adopt it and know what it is to mean to us.

Mr. STARNES. You adopt it with reservations. You adopt a symbol here in America but you do so with reservations so far as political lines of action are concerned, is that right?

Mr. KUNZE. Mr. Starnes, there are other political movements in other countries also, in no way interested in importing Germany's political system who are also using, or at least up to recently, are using that same symbol, simply as a Christian nationalist symbol.

Mr. VOORHIS. What are those other groups?

Mr. KUNZE. Some in Canada, I believe, and even one of those similar movements in Great Britain until it changed. It once used that symbol also.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that Sir Moseley's organization?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe Moseley had it in the beginning. I have seen an Arab movement that uses that symbol. I have seen Russian nationalists that use it.

Mr. VOORHIS. But all the movements, at any rate, receive from time to time from Germany certain literature and help in the way of materials to be used to spread the gospel, don't they?

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know anything about that. It is not an anti-Semitic symbol so far as we are concerned. It stands in the United States as we see it because the vast majority of the population is considered gentile-Christians, as a means to help unify them in the preservation of American nationalism and the American political system, which happens to be a Republic.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean you want to unify them around the swastika?

Mr. KUNZE. Not as a political symbol. The political symbol is the flag of the United States. There is no idea whatever of changing that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze, if you discovered that an organization used the hammer and sickle as its emblem——

Mr. KUNZE. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would conclude would you not, that there was some connection between them with the Communist movement or at least some very distinct sympathy for the Communist movement—wouldn't that be a conclusion that you would draw?

Mr. KUNZE. It would be a reasonable conclusion to draw because the hammer and sickle does not represent a simple geometrical figure which has been used throughout history for all kinds of purposes; whereas the swastika has through thousands of years always represented something, as we understand history, having to do with races of people related to us.

Mr. VOORHIS. Didn't the swastika originate among the Indian tribes in South America?

Mr. KUNZE. I know they use it there and in North America.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that where it came from?

Mr. KUNZE. Perhaps.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they Christian internationalists? Haven't you read, Mr. Kunze, that the Indians in Arizona recently repudiated their century-old use of the swastika because of their fear there would be confusion in their use of the symbol and the movement of Hitler?

Mr. KUNZE. I wonder just what they were afraid of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wondered if you had noticed that.

Mr. KUNZE. They want to sell their carpets and rugs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze, did you ever make an organization trip to Texas on behalf of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. I did, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What towns or cities in particular did you visit in the State of Texas for the purpose of organizing the German-American Bund.

Mr. KUNZE. I do not care to expose any individuals in Texas or anywhere else to any persecution, because their names may become known as a consequence of this hearing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have asked you for the names of the towns and cities.

Mr. KUNZE. The authorities know if there are any bund members in Texas—any units operating, where they are and who those people are.

Mr. STARNES. He is not asking you, Mr. Kunze, for the names of any individuals nor about any visit to any individual. He is asking you merely what towns or cities you visited in Texas when you were down there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you visit Taylor for the purpose of organizing the German-American Bund?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you visit Taylor?

Mr. KUNZE. I visited Taylor but not for the purpose of organizing anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you discuss the organization of the bund in Texas with anyone in Taylor?

Mr. KUNZE. Only academically. I visited the publisher of a small newspaper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by "discussing it with him academically"?

Mr. KUNZE. There was no intention of creating any part of the organization there or getting members there. I was interested in his paper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You just set up the hypothesis that in case there were an organization there you would do so and so, is that what you mean by "academically discussing it"?

Mr. KUNZE. We may have spoken of the bund as such. I visited that town to meet the publisher of that newspaper because I liked some of the things in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that Hans Ackermann of Taylor, Tex.?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The editor of the Texas Herald?

Mr. KUNZE. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you visit New Braunfels?

Mr. KUNZE. I have been through New Braunfels; I never visited anyone there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you discuss the organization of the bund in Texas with a Mr. Leonhard?

Mr. KUNZE. I am acquainted with him; he is not connected with the organization. I have discussed with him that I am connected with the bund and that I am interested in finding people who sympathize with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you discuss the subject of organizing the bund in Texas or in any part of Texas with a Mr. Koetter?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes; in the same manner as with Mr. Leonhard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Kunze, you have read of the recently concluded pact between Berlin, Rome, and Tokyo. Does the German-American Bund support the principles embodied in that pact?

Mr. KUNZE. The German-American Bund has nothing to do with the politics of other countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your publication—your official publication?

Mr. KUNZE. The Free American and Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean to say that the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter has never discussed the politics of other countries?

Mr. KUNZE. As a newspaper I would suppose it would.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has it ever discussed them editorially?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. You read the papers, of course, don't you?

Mr. KUNZE. Quite frequently from an American point of view.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, now, how do you square that with your testimony that you don't discuss the politics of other countries?

Mr. KUNZE. The German-American Bund doesn't take any stand on the politics of other countries except insofar as they directly affect the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, do you think the recently concluded pact affects the United States?

Mr. KUNZE. I have no opinion on it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will change the question: Has the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter in any way taken a position on this recently concluded pact between these three powers?

Mr. KUNZE. The Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter may discuss the pros and cons as any other newspaper would.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has it done so?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe that is too recent. I don't believe that has been done.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How often does the publication appear?

Mr. KUNZE. Every week.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Edward James Smythe?

Mr. KUNZE. Slightly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what connection have you met him? Has he been actively connected with the work of the bund?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Never had any connection with the bund?

Mr. KUNZE. So far as I know he has never been a member or in any way connected with the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He has never worked to support bund projects or meetings or rallies?

Mr. KUNZE. He may in past years have been a speaker at some meeting—I couldn't say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was one of the speakers at Camp Nordland that you referred to as having held a rally under the auspices of the Ku Klux Klan, was he not?

Mr. KUNZE. That may be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze, can you identify that as the letterhead of the German-American Bund and the signature of J. Wheeler Hill?

Mr. KUNZE. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not reading the letterhead; you are reading the contents of the letter, are you not?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe that letterhead was used at that time but I could not swear to the signature.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you have seen Mr. James Wheeler Hill's signature, have you not?

Mr. KUNZE. I have seen it; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce this in evidence. It is on the letterhead of the German-American Bund, a



letter dated February 3, 1939, and addressed to Mr. Edward James Smythe, and signed by James Wheeler Hill.

The letter reads:

DEAR MR. SMYTHE: If you have not as yet sold the tickets to the Madison Square—

Mr. STARNES. Are you familiar with the signature of James Wheeler Hill?

Mr. KUNZE. Fairly; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have seen it a number of times?

Mr. KUNZE. I have.

Mr. STARNES. You have had correspondence with him and you have seen his signature on letters and documents that you knew were genuine?

Mr. KUNZE. I have, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, does that look like his handwriting—does that look like his signature—does that resemble it?

Mr. KUNZE. It resembles it but I could not swear to its accuracy.

Mr. STARNES. He says he knows his signature and he has seen it a number of times and he says it looks like his handwriting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The letter reads:

DEAR MR. SMYTHE: If you have not as yet sold the tickets for the Madison Square Garden rally I ask you to return them to me at once because we are completely sold out of reserve tickets—

And so forth, and it is signed "yours truly, J. Wheeler Hill."

Mr. STARNES. What is the purpose of that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness has testified that Mr. Edward James Smythe has never in any way worked with the German-American Bund. This letter establishes the fact that he has done so.

Mr. KUNZE. So far as I know, Dr. Matthews—

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Mr. Edward James Smythe was the principal speaker for the newspaper at Camp Nordland and announced as one of the leaders of the Ku Klux Klan for the State of New Jersey.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are several other letters of the same tenor, Mr. Chairman, which establishes the connection between Edward James Smythe and the German-American Bund.

I ask your pleasure with reference to them. Shall I ask the witness to identify them also?

Mr. STARNES. If he can identify them—if they are similar to the others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a pencil signature of Mr. J. Wheeler Hill. Do you recognize that, Mr. Kunze?

Mr. KUNZE. It may have been. I could not swear to someone else's signature.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you received a letter with that signature on it you would not have any doubt about its authenticity, would you?

Mr. KUNZE. It would not help me in a court of law.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not in a court of law now. Do you recognize that signature as that of James Wheeler Hill?

This letter is dated March 9, 1939, and addressed to Mr. Smythe and signed "James Wheeler Hill." This one is dated February 14, 1939, addressed to Mr. Smythe and signed by James Wheeler Hill. Do you pick out any one of these signatures as more nearly resembling Mr. James Wheeler Hill's signature than the other two.

Mr. KUNZE. I don't know his signature well enough to say which of the three would resemble it most. I did say that I can't identify any one of the three as definitely being his signature.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have seen the signature frequently, haven't you?

Mr. KUNZE. Once in a while. There is a certain similarity between all three. They may be his and they may not be his. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is despite counsel's statement "they are totally different."

Mr. STARNES. The first letter is received in evidence because he stated it did resemble his signature and in his best judgment it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the letter of February 3.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have no more questions.

Mr. STARNES. Any further questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. One question. Mr. Kunze, are you acquainted with Herr von Spiegel, the German consul in New Orleans?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are not?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever met with any of the German consuls in America?

Mr. KUNZE. I have met several of them at affairs at which they have been guests.

Mr. VOORHIS. And where you have also been present?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were those occasions—what sort of occasions?

Mr. KUNZE. I have seen the German consul general at affairs in New York City—some German day celebration or something of that kind or at the Christmas market. I have been introduced to him when the occasion happened to require it. I have seen the consul general on the west coast on one occasion at some affair of the bund out there, but in each case it was a matter of being introduced and that was all.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever visited in any of the embassies?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have never been to an embassy?

Mr. KUNZE. Yes; I have been there once. I have been downtown at the consulate general's office with Mr. Keegan on one occasion but we didn't speak to the consul.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you go there—why did you visit the embassy?

Mr. VOORHIS. My question was with reference to the German Embassy in Washington.

Mr. KUNZE. I have had no dealings at the German Embassy.

Mr. VOORHIS. You never have been there?

Mr. KUNZE. I have been at that building on one occasion several years ago, I believe.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you recall what year it was?

Mr. KUNZE. I believe it was in 1938 while I was visiting Washington, D. C., in the early part of the year.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was your business there?

Mr. KUNZE. None whatever. They were simply showing it to me, that was all—people I knew in Washington were showing me the German Embassy.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did not talk to anybody while you were in there?

Mr. KUNZE. To some subordinate in the office, just to say "how do you do."

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you visit other embassies?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir; we drove by others.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Kunze, what bank or banks in New York City does the German-American Bund do business with?

Mr. KUNZE. The German-American Bund uses the Manufacturers Trust Co.

Mr. THOMAS. Any other bank in New York?

Mr. KUNZE. Perhaps the local unit does. I don't know about that. The national organization does not.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you meet a man by the name of Gerrard Wescott when he was visiting here?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir; I don't know the gentleman.

Mr. THOMAS. You don't know him?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Never met him?

Mr. KUNZE. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. That is all. We see no reason for holding this witness any further so you are excused from the process of the committee.

The other witnesses who are present in the committee room at this time please return tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

It is the intention of the committee to resume its public hearings at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:35 p. m., the public hearing was adjourned until 9 a. m., Wednesday, October 2, 1940.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 2, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE  
TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Newark, N. J.*

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

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman), Voorhis, and Thomas. Also present: R. E. Stripling, chief investigator; Robert B. Barker, investigator.

Mr. STARNES. The hearing will come to order.

Mr. Klapprott, will you take the stand.

## TESTIMONY OF AUGUST KLAPPROTT, EASTERN DEPARTMENT LEADER, GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

(The witness was accompanied by his attorney, Wilbur V. Keegan.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are going to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Let the record show Mr. Klapprott is represented by his counsel, Mr. Keegan.

Give us your full name if you please?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. August Klapprott.

Mr. STARNES. What is your address?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. My address is Nordland, R. F. D. No. 1, Newton.

Mr. STARNES. What is your business or profession?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I now work for the German-American Bund.

Mr. STARNES. You work for the German-American Bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you worked for the German-American Bund as a business or for a living?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. From January 15 of this year.

Mr. STARNES. What was your occupation prior to that time?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I ran a business in Nordland.

Mr. STARNES. What kind of a business?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Restaurant business.

Mr. STARNES. How many years did you operate that business?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. From May 1937 to the first of January 1940.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Where?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; where?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In Germany.

Mr. STARNES. When?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. September 4, 1906.

Mr. STARNES. When did you come to the United States first?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. September 1927.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a naturalized citizen?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When did you become naturalized?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In the spring of 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Where?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In Hackensack Courthouse.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been back to Germany since 1927?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What profession did you follow—what work did you follow when you first came to America in 1927?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Bricklayer—mason.

Mr. STARNES. For how long?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Up to the time when I started the business in Nordland.

Mr. STARNES. Did you follow that trade from 1927 to 1937—10 years?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You have lived in New Jersey all the while?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. All the while; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been back to Germany at all since 1927?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join the German-American Bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. When it was founded in 1936.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; for 2 years.

Mr. STARNES. '34 and '35?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Did you belong to the Teutonic Society or any other German society prior to the time you joined the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you join the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. To fight the boycott of German goods and German people in America.

Mr. STARNES. To fight the boycott of German goods and people in America?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was there any other reason for your joining the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That was my reason for joining the bund.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I want to get. What was your reason—that was your reason—was that one of the purposes of the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It was already from the Friends of New Germany—the purpose of the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. STARNES. It was one of the purposes? Well, did the Bund assume that obligation or aim or purpose as a part of its program?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what was the other part of the program of the bund? In other words, what were its aims and purposes? It has something else to do other than fight against a boycott, against German citizens and German goods?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. To organize politically to combat such movements.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it was a political organization?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. That was its concept?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Was the purpose of the bund to establish a separate political party to provide political representation for the German citizens of German birth or was the purpose of the bund to support the Republican Party or Democratic Party, the Communist Party or some other political party in this country?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. As I understand the bund always—we never tried to be a separate party but we also never were Republicans or Democrats. We always voted and let the people know for whom we thought would be the right man to vote for. You see we were never a party—true to any party.

Mr. STARNES. The reason I asked that question is that I have the impression and the committee has the impression from testimony of Mr. Kuhn and other leaders of the bund, that it was for the purpose of establishing a political party to give representation to what they alleged to be a persecuted minority in this country who are not given proper political recognition or equal rights, politically, in this country.

What is your concept of it? Was that your conception of the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It was not my conception at all to form a political party—never was.

Mr. STARNES. What is your position in the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I am the eastern department leader.

Mr. STARNES. You are the eastern department leader of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How many States does that cover?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The eastern seaboard States.

Mr. STARNES. The eastern seaboard States from Maine to Florida?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. STARNES. How far inland does it extend?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Up to West Virginia.

Mr. STARNES. Let us see if we can get the geographical limits clearly fixed. You take in all of the New England States?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. STARNES. New York?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Pennsylvania?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, West Virginia, North Carolina.

Mr. STARNES. Virginia?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Maryland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Maryland and South Carolina.

Mr. STARNES. Georgia?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Georgia and Florida.

Mr. STARNES. How many local units—I am not asking you about the members, but how many local units do you have in your area?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About 20.

Mr. STARNES. How many of them are located in the New England area?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. There are none at all.

Mr. STARNES. None at all in the New England area. How many in New York State and the city, of course?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. City and State, you say?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About 10.

Mr. STARNES. How many in New Jersey?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Four.

Mr. STARNES. How many in Pennsylvania?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Only one just now.

Mr. STARNES. How many in Delaware?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. In Maryland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. West Virginia?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. In Virginia—the State of Virginia?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. In Washington, D. C.?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. North Carolina?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. South Carolina?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. Georgia?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. Florida?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you have given us—you say there are approximately 20 posts but you have only located here for us 15 in your area. Have we overlooked any States?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer).

Mr. STARNES. Do you mean to say you do not have any bund units, local units, in Massachusetts any more?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; you see they are only small groups which are not units. They are called branches.

Mr. STARNES. What would you say the approximate membership is in your area? You have 15 local units that you have established for us, 10 in New York City and State and 4 in New Jersey and 1 in Pennsylvania. That is 15.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I couldn't tell you exactly.

Mr. STARNES. Well, you can give us an approximation; I am not asking you the exact number. I am not saying 999 and 1,001 or anything like that, but approximately how many? Would you say there are as many as 500?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. There are more than that.

Mr. STARNES. Are there 1,000 in these 15 units?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About 500 in New Jersey, I know.



Mr. STARNES. About 500 in New Jersey. Now, that is getting somewhere. How many would you say in Pennsylvania?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know exactly, 150 or something.

Mr. STARNES. Then what would you say for the 10 units in New York State and city?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Maybe they comprise about 5,000.

Mr. STARNES. There are probably more in New York City and State than any other section of the country, of course, because of the population and because it is along the eastern seaboard.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What are the dues that the members are required to pay?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. One dollar a month.

Mr. STARNES. How is that distributed? How is that allocated? Is it so much for the national organization and so much for the local organization? That is what I mean. How do you distribute that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Sixty cents goes to the national headquarters.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have State headquarters?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. You have what you call district headquarters. How much is allocated of that dollar to the district headquarters?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. None at all.

Mr. STARNES. How much to the local unit? In other words, 60 cents goes to the national headquarters, to Mr. Kunze or the national treasurer or secretary. Who are those dues paid over to? To the secretary or to the treasurer?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. To the treasurer.

Mr. STARNES. And the other 40 cents is retained by the local unit?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; by the local unit.

Mr. STARNES. How is that money expended—for what general purposes?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. For the expense of the national office.

Mr. STARNES. What does that consist of? Traveling expenses, telephone and postage?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Rent.

Mr. STARNES. Rent for the office of the organization?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. The witness nodded his head.

What else is the money used for? To carry on the political program of the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Fees for counsel and those who have to work in the office, you know, weekly wages.

Mr. VOORHIS. How much do you spend for counsel fees?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We spent a fortune already.

Mr. STARNES. All right, do you make any contributions to any political parties or do you carry on or finance your political activities and carry it along the lines you suggested a moment ago?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't remember that we ever financed anything else but our own.

Mr. STARNES. But your own?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever sent any of that money out of this country?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Not that I know.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know how the money was raised that Mr. Kuhn testified that he carried to Germany with him?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I only know I gave a dollar to that.

Mr. STARNES. You gave a dollar to that, too?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. It is an organization that calls for frequent contributions of dollars and other amounts, is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, how else could we exist?

Mr. STARNES. Do you solicit funds from individuals who might be sympathetic to your program in addition to the dues that you assess your members?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Occasionally; yes.

Mr. STARNES. You receive considerable amounts of money in that respect?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, that is not a question I could answer properly. You should ask the treasurer.

Mr. STARNES. Now, all right, have you ever solicited any one outside of the bund for money?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, years ago.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been successful in obtaining money outside of the membership of the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Oh, I remember I had \$10 on the list once, or something like that.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the largest contribution you received?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is all outside of the bund.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend a joint meeting of the bund and the Ku Klux Klan and the Protestant War Veterans of America at Nordland on August 18th?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I was at the meeting but I don't consider it a joint meeting.

Mr. STARNES. Well, let us see who were there. There were bund members there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And this was on bund property?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It was the German-American Bund Auxiliary property.

Mr. STARNES. And the trustees of that auxiliary are all bund members?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you were present on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And you presided at the meeting?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. Well, you made some remarks on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. STARNES. You spoke in the morning, didn't you, and then didn't you speak again in the evening? You spoke twice on that date there in Camp Nordland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; in the afternoon I welcomed the guests there and the members and friends of the Klan and that is all I did.

Mr. STARNES. You welcomed your guests?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. There were bund members present there that day, of course?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I suppose there were.

Mr. STARNES. Quite a number?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. And there were klansmen present?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. By invitation?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, the day was advertised all right.

Mr. STARNES. It was what?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Advertised.

Mr. STARNES. It was advertised, yes, but they came there as an organization and the Klan officials spoke there that day on invitation, isn't that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; that day they entered the grounds——

Mr. STARNES. Well, the night. When I speak of "that day" or "date" I mean the day and night of August 18th. I am trying to determine what occurred there on that day. Klan officials were present and spoke there on that occasion, isn't that correct? On that date Klan officials came there and spoke on that date?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; but they had the grounds rented from the German-American Bund Auxiliary for that day. In the afternoon before they started.

Mr. STARNES. There was a speaker there for the Protestant War Veterans of America also, wasn't there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; you refer to Mr. Smythe.

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Did they have the ground rented for that occasion also?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Just the Klan rented the ground?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Just the Klan; yes.

Mr. STARNES. With whom did the Klan make that arrangement? With the board of trustees or with you?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. With me personally.

Mr. STARNES. With you personally?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you invite them or did you initiate it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. The program?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. That led to the events of that day?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Or did they initiate the program?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I first got a telephone call from Dr. Young.

Mr. STARNES. And he was the ——

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, he called himself Kleagle of the Klan.

Mr. STARNES. National kleagle or State kleagle or what?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. State kleagle.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead. Did Dr. Young speak that day?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, let him develop how the arrangements were made for the renting of the grounds.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; go ahead and tell us how that was done.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Dr. Young called me up and said: "I heard so much of your place and we were looking for a place to hold a meeting. While it is hard for us to get a place we thought we would call you because we want to try you out and see whether you are Americans or not."

He told me that, and he said: "Couldn't we arrange some day so you would give us the place for a day to have a meeting for the Klan at your place?"

I said over the phone, I said: "For that special purpose we would have to come together once and talk this thing over."

"Of course," they said, "we will get a couple of thousand people to go for the meeting."

After all I figured Camp Nordland was hit hard by all this propaganda against the place and the boys from the newspapers did their best to chase the people away and, of course, I welcomed the idea. Then we made arrangements—we made a contract signed by the Klan and signed by me as a representative of the German-American Bund Auxiliary, for this August 18 to have an Americanization rally there.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you a copy of that contract with you?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I haven't got one with me; no.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have a copy of it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know. I could look for it. I think I have it in my files.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you submit a copy to the committee?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, I would also like to know how much rent was paid to the bund auxiliary for the use of the camp that day?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. There was no rent paid at all.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead or have you finished with your statement as to what occurred and how the trade was made?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I think I did explain everything.

Mr. STARNES. Did I understand you to say a moment ago that Dr. Young, in the course of that conversation, said the purposes or aims of your organizations were the same, or that you were working toward the same goal?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. When?

Mr. STARNES. In arranging your meeting and the use of the grounds.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; Dr. Young said to me: "We want to try out whether you are Americans and for that reason we will come up to Camp Nordland."

I told him: "I am a good American and you can come any time."

Mr. STARNES. That is what I wanted to clear up. I did not understand what you said about that.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I also told Dr. Young and others from the Klan, that any other organization could rent the place too for a day.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you say they didn't pay any rent?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. They rented it but they paid no rent, is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right. They don't have to pay rent if the people come there and eat in the place. That keeps the place up.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know what was in that contract.

Mr. KEEGAN. I am going to deliver a copy for the committee, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all right; but maybe the witness would like to tell us now some of the things that are in the contract. You say, Mr. Klapprott, you had a contract?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, what was in this contract? There is nothing in there about rent, so what was it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I only said that they would have the site where the open air platform is; that they would hold their meetings there and that we couldn't interfere with that part, but that we could have our restaurant as usual running for the occasion and that we would take the 25 cent parking fee and that they were allowed to make a collection for their Klan's treasury. That was in the contract.

Mr. STARNES. All right, I want to ask you some further questions about the meeting. Was the press present on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The press?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were they permitted free range and freedom in action in going where they pleased and taking pictures as they pleased and questioning people as they pleased?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think so.

Mr. STARNES. How were they treated on that occasion and how were they cared for on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, as much as I noticed they were taken into place and let out of the place.

Mr. STARNES. They were taken in and let out?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were they kept under close surveillance or guard during the time they were in there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. They were.

Mr. STARNES. Were they told where they could go and where they couldn't go?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I didn't tell them anything but I guess that is about it.

Mr. STARNES. That is about correct?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You did not tell them what they could write and couldn't write?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, they do that any way—they write what they please.

Mr. STARNES. On that occasion did any of the speakers—did you hear the speakers on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Not all of them.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hear Dr. Young?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In the evening; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hear Mr. Smythe?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. Did any of the speakers on that occasion make reference to the fact that there was a minority in this country who controlled it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I didn't say so.

Mr. STARNES. I know, but didn't somebody else say that on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I couldn't remember exactly what everybody said.

Mr. STARNES. Wasn't something said like that by the speakers present, which includes, of course, Dr. Young and others. Wasn't that said a time or two? Probably you might have said something about it, not all of this, but you and other speakers in substance said that you could discuss in this country and talk any way you wanted to about all nationalities and groups of different nationalities and racial groups save one, but there was one minority group in this country that you could not talk about without fear of prosecution or persecution? Mr. Klapprott, was something said like that on that occasion?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, if it was said then why don't you ask the fellow who said it?

Mr. STARNES. Well, I am asking you. I am asking you if in the course of your remarks you didn't make some reference to a certain racial minority in this country—you did not call any names, but you spoke of a certain racial minority in this country?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Isn't it a fact you made some reference, without calling names, that there was a certain racial minority in this country?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I said: "If you are fellow Americans and staying out of this war and you are like Lindbergh, in fact neutral, then you will be called a fifth columnist" by a certain minority in America. That is what I said.

Mr. STARNES. Well, now, did you say anything about a certain minority in this country controlling the press?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. And it is still my belief to a certain extent.

Mr. STARNES. You believe there is a certain minority in this country that controls the press?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And a certain minority in this country that controls the moving-picture industry?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is your belief?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Oh, yes.

Mr. STARNES. And it is your belief that there is a certain minority in this country that controls the Government of the United States?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. To a certain extent.

Mr. STARNES. Now, that was the theme song generally of yourself and of the speakers on that occasion, was it not?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is and should be the theme song for every American today.

Mr. STARNES. That may be your opinion. You are not responsive to the question. I asked you if that wasn't the theme song on that occasion among those who called themselves Americans—wasn't that your theme song?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I suppose it was.

Mr. STARNES. There is a dance hall out there and a large restaurant at Camp Nordland; is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; but on the other side of the hill. It is in the front right where you come in.

Mr. STARNES. It is at Camp Nordland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, on that date isn't it a fact there was a large picture of Herr Hitler suspended there in that restaurant or dance hall?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. You say whether that picture is still there?

Mr. STARNES. No, if it wasn't there on that date.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It wasn't there on that date.

Mr. STARNES. It wasn't there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. It has hung there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. But it wasn't taken down just because of that date.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't it a fact there was a picture of Herr Hitler suspended there on that date, either from the roof or on the walls of that building?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And there was a slogan, a printed slogan of some type or character which said, "One Spirit, One Bund, and One Leader"?

Mr. THOMAS. You better refresh your memory.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That was last year.

Mr. STARNES. But it was out there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It was last year out of there; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was the last time the picture of Hitler was up there? When was the last day, according to your best recollection, that the picture of Hitler was there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About the 4th of July of this year.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it up there on the 4th of July?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I think it was.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it up there on August 18 of this year?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Why did you say then it was last year when it was up there and not this year? It was actually up there this year, wasn't it?

Wasn't the slogan up there on July 4 of this year?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You are positive of that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir; I am positive of that.

Mr. THOMAS. You say you are positive on that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; I think I am positive on that.

Mr. THOMAS. But the picture of Herr Hitler was up there on July 4 of this year?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I think so.

Mr. THOMAS. On the other side of the hall was a small picture of George Washington?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. THOMAS. Was there a picture of the President up there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; on the other side of the hall near the bar was a picture of the President.

Mr. THOMAS. A picture of President Roosevelt near the bar?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You are positive on July 4 there was a picture of President Roosevelt there?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I am not certain of that.

Mr. STARNES. Now, to get this literally, the slogan translated is "One Racial Ancestry, One Society, One Leader," is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right, for America.

Mr. STARNES. For America?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In America. That hasn't anything to do with—

Mr. STARNES. You haven't got there—you haven't got that on there though: "Ein Volkstom, Ein Bund, Ein Fuchrer"?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That means one people.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand that, but who would the one leader be if it was for America?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. One leadership of German-Americans because we have thousands of Germans and thousands of different groups and everyone wants to be the biggest one, so we say "you are one people, why haven't we got one organization under one leadership and you get some places."

Mr. THOMAS. What leadership would that be?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That would be ourselves.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said you would get some place. I wonder where that would be?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. You would get political recognition and you would not be thrown out of your jobs and you wouldn't be a second-class citizen in this country.

Mr. STARNES. Was anything said on that occasion about certain racial minorities in this country being human insects?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I didn't hear anything like that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Klapprott, the purpose of the bund is to try to get all the Americans of German descent into one organization, if possible, isn't that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Right.

Mr. VOORHIS. About how many Americans of German descent are there in the United States today? Do you estimate 15,000,000 or maybe more?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Of German descent?



Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; how many people do you consider would be eligible to membership in the bund under those terms and under that slogan?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Twenty million.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many members have you now?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Mr. Kunze stated yesterday—

Mr. VOORHIS. And you agree with his figures, which I believe were 10,000?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Suppose you got all the 20,000,000 into one organization would you expect to dominate the other people of the United States by that means?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We never want to dominate anything.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you easily could, couldn't you?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We could if we would have it today—we could keep this country out of war.

Mr. VOORHIS. That isn't what I am asking about. I was asking you about the domination of the United States, whether you could not dominate the United States if you had all the 20,000,000 German-Americans in one organization and under one leadership.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well; how could we when there are 130,000,000 or 110,000,000 people in the country?

Mr. VOORHIS. They are not organized like that, none of them?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. They are.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that is the most important point about this whole inquiry. Now, you spoke about a boycott. Can you give me one instance of a boycott against people because they were Germans—not because they are members of the bund or some organization, but because they are Germans, which occurred prior to the time of the organization of the Friends of New Germany in 1934?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. VOORHIS. Or before 1936, for that matter, of a boycott.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. When the Anti-Nazi League—

Mr. VOORHIS. That was organized in 1937?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Or the boycott committee of Mr. Untermeyer brought out the first pamphlets. They printed all the firms' names who imported German goods.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was that done?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That was in 1933 already, and today they still give those pamphlets out where those firms are named and they still say as in 1933, that the boycott is the moral substitute of war. In other words, these pamphlets are in war with Germany since 1933.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that movement organized in 1933, Mr. Klapprott?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir; it was organized in 1933.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has your organization ever conducted any boycott against anybody?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you sure?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, we are self-protecting.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you sure it never has?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We never advocated any boycott against anyone else.

Mr. VOORHIS. Not against any German citizens who did not cooperate with the bund? I don't mean German citizens, I mean German-Americans that did not cooperate with the bund? You never boycotted one of those?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Nor you never advocated a boycott against any other group of people?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are sure of that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. But we wanted to protect ourselves.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is the membership of the bund, Mr. Klapprott, composed of American citizens?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Entirely?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that a rule of the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It is a rule.

Mr. VOORHIS. And yet yesterday Mr. Kunze testified that the leader on the west coast is not a citizen.

Now, as I understand Mr. Klapprott's testimony, every single member of the German-American Bund is a citizen of the United States, is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. May I interpose here for a moment?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When did that rule go into force and effect?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. When the bund was formed from the Friends of New Germany, in the national convention in 1936 in Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. STARNES. And since 1936 you have had no aliens in the bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Since that date you have not accepted anybody for membership who is not an American citizen?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Is that correct?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Klapprott, what is the relationship between your organization and the Deutscher Konsum Verband? Is there any connection between the two?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Insofar as the German-American Bund is buying from those people and supports them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is this an affiliate of the German-American Bund or a subsidiary of the German-American Bund?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I would not want to say whether it is an affiliate or subsidiary. I don't know. It is strictly a business matter; but it is supported by the German-American Bund.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words if a store or somebody like that did not cooperate with the work of the bund they probably wouldn't have their name in there, is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I would not say that, no.

Mr. VOORHIS. Isn't that the case?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. If a businessman cares to have the business and support from members and sympathizers of the German-American Bund then he puts his name in there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one or two more questions. Have you in the bund within the last year we will say, have you had any organization within the bund which carried on various types of military drills and disciplinary activities at one time or another within the last 12 months?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, we have the order division but they are not on military duty, as you call it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Aren't they under military type of discipline? Don't they have duties that are very similar, to say the least, to military duties?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. That might be a matter of opinion, might it not?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't want to quarrel with your ideas.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all right, we will let it go at that.

Would you rent Camp Nordland to any group of loyal American citizens that asked for it on the same basis you rented it to the Klan?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I think I would.

Mr. VOORHIS. You would?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question there?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know Mr. Klapprott, whether you would rent Camp Nordland to Jewish war veterans?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes; and when I say "yes" I mean it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Klapprott, have there been any changes in the tactics pursued by the bund with regard to the Communist Party since August of 1939?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think so.

Mr. VOORHIS. You would know, wouldn't you?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Any changes? The changes may have been that the Communists don't attack us so much any more as they did, and as we are always on the defensive we only hit back those who attack us.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I wasn't asking you what somebody else did. I asked what your tactics were about the matter. Have your tactics changed any?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The tactics against or about what?

Mr. VOORHIS. The Communist Party or Communist groups wherever you find them.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We fought communism already from childhood up and I don't think I changed my idea about communism.

Mr. VOORHIS. I did not ask you whether you changed your attitude. I asked you whether the tactics of the German-American Bund with regard to the Communists and Communist groups have changed since August 1939. Now, have they or have they not?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think so—I don't see any change.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you would know whether they had or not.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Still fight the same Communist enemies as we did from the beginning.

Mr. STARNES. But in this country you don't have the actual physical combat between groups of bundsmen and its sympathizers, with the Communists that you once had?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We never tried to physically combat communism.

Mr. STARNES. You never had any physical contact at all with Communists in this country?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Oh, yes; but not that we went to the Communists; the Communists came to us.

Mr. STARNES. Then that tactic has changed?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, they don't come any more, that is right.

Mr. STARNES. I say, they don't come any more?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right. They don't attack us any more bodily.

Mr. STARNES. And therefore you don't defend yourselves any more by hitting them back?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. How could we? How could we if we go to their meetings? That would be un-American. If we go to somebody else's meeting we are un-American and that is no good.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean to say the members of the bund never went to other people's meetings?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Never did.

Mr. VOORHIS. They did not?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. They never did.

Mr. STARNES. Let me ask you this as one of the leaders of the bund: Have you sought during the past 12 months, or since you have been giving your time solely and wholly to the bund, have you sought the cooperation of other groups of American citizens—I will say other racial stocks or groups who do not feature race as a part of their program? In other words, have you sought any agreement with the Klan or the Protestant War Veterans of America and groups of that type and character?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. Have you sought to find a leader in common with other groups in this country? Have you been seeking for a leader during the past 12 months? That was testified to by bund leaders last year. They testified having talked to certain American citizens and meeting with certain groups of American citizens and approaching distinguished Army officers and other men with a view to obtaining someone for that leadership?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I never did.

Mr. STARNES. I am not asking you if you did. I am asking you is it the policy of the bund any longer to do that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I don't know anything about that, no.

Mr. STARNES. You did not attend any of the meetings that Mr. Kuhn and others testified about last year, that were held here in Newark and New York area and along the Pacific coast, in which they were seeking a union of forces in this country who had the same ideals?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know anything about those.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know anything about that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Klapprott, who are the trustees of Camp Nordland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Those trustees are all filed with the State clerk in Trenton.

Mr. THOMAS. That may be so but I am asking you now who the trustees are.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I wish to state that in confidence to you; otherwise these people are smeared through the press again.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, if it is filed in Trenton it is public anyway.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, let them look them up.

Mr. THOMAS. Nevertheless they are smeared or not smeared—

Mr. STARNES. That is a pertinent inquiry and you will have to answer the question. Those articles are on file and are a part of the public record. Any citizen of America can go into the repository where these papers are kept and ascertain who they are. That same privilege is open to the press if they wanted that information.

Mr. VOORHIS. My impression is that the names are in the record as of yesterday.

Mr. STARNES. They are.

Mr. THOMAS. Not exactly.

Mr. STARNES. All but two were identified yesterday. I read the list to Mr. Kunze yesterday and he identified either four or five. You can ask him about the list if you have the list there and you may question him about it.

Mr. THOMAS. Is Walter Kohler a trustee?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Mathias Kohler.

Mr. THOMAS. Is Richard Schiele a trustee?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Is Carl Schipphorst a trustee?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Klapprott, now who are the owners of the cottages at Camp Nordland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I decline from telling here in this court the names just so they can be published in the newspapers again, who the owners of those cottages are.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you submit a list to the committee of the owners of the cottages?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. If you promise to keep them secret.

Mr. THOMAS. Never mind any promises. I want to know whether you will submit a list or not.

Mr. KEEGAN. I think if the chairman will guarantee against unfair publication of the list.

Mr. STARNES. If you will submit a list of those for the committee's files that will be sufficient.

Mr. KEEGAN. Thank you.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Klapprott, what was the revenue of Camp Nordland in 1938?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. You mean the gross income?

Mr. THOMAS. Receipts, gross income; yes.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. For the camp or for the business, you mean?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I mean—I don't know the exact difference between the business and the camp, but I mean the revenue taken in at Camp Nordland—receipts from the sale of beverages and all that sort of thing.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About \$40,000 plus.

Mr. THOMAS. What do you estimate to be the revenue of Camp Nordland in 1940?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Must have been for the camp, four or five thousand, that is about all.

Mr. THOMAS. So in 1938 it was approximately \$40,000 and now it is approximately \$4,000 or \$5,000?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. (No answer.)

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever been to the German-American camp at Midvale—I have just forgotten the name of it.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you attended meetings at any other German-American camps in New Jersey?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You said before you had four units in New Jersey?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Will you tell the committee where the locations of those four units are?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. In Newark, Hudson County.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the address in Newark?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. They have no meetings any more.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, have you a unit in Newark?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Only loose members—they can't get any hold.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, do they meet any place in Newark?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; can't meet any place.

Mr. THOMAS. Don't meet in anyone's home or anything like that?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. So then actually there is no unit in Newark, is that right?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Only those loose members who come up to Camp Nordland, but that is all they can do.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, you say you have a unit in Hudson County. Where is that located?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The same condition. It used to be in the City Hall Tavern in Union City. It is not active now.

Mr. THOMAS. Have no meeting place now?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is the other?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Bergen County.

Mr. THOMAS. Where is the meeting place?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Same condition.

Mr. THOMAS. Where was it before?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. They met in Mrs. Kuhn's place.

Mr. THOMAS. Caroline Meade's lately?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you seen Caroline Meade lately?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. When was the last time you saw her?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The end of December last year.

Mr. THOMAS. That was out at Camp Nordland?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. How did you happen to select Andover Township as the site for your camp?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, somebody heard that there was a place for sale. We were looking for a summer recreation place. Then we got in touch with the owner and we bought the place.

Mr. THOMAS. That was in 1934 or 1936?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That was in the fall of 1936 when we first started to look for a place.

Mr. THOMAS. And will you give the committee the location of it in Andover Township—where it is located?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Sussex County.

Mr. THOMAS. And it is located about how many miles from Dover?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About 12 miles.

Mr. THOMAS. And about how many miles from Pompton Lakes?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know exactly. I never go that way.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, would you say maybe 15 miles or 20 miles?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. It is about that.

Mr. THOMAS. About 20 miles?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How many miles from Winoeki?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Where is that?

Mr. THOMAS. That is halfway between Camp Nordland and Pompton Lakes.

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know the town.

Mr. THOMAS. Camp Nordland is how far from Lake Patna?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. About 7 or 8 miles.

Mr. THOMAS. How many miles from Warton?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know the town.

Mr. THOMAS. You said before that the German-American Bund was a political organization, that is correct, isn't it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Not entirely political—cultural and educational.

Mr. THOMAS. It is in part a political organization?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Part political and part educational.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you made a declaration of receipts and expenditures to the Secretary of State?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Are you talking about the German-American Bund Auxiliary?

Mr. THOMAS. I am talking about the thing that you said was a political organization. You said the German-American Bund was in part a political organization, is that correct?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. The bund; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you made any declaration to the Secretary of State of receipts or expenditures?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know anything about that. That would be the national headquarters to do that.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you checked up with your attorney at any time as to whether you should, under the law, make any declaration?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is up to the legal department, I guess.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you a membership list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You haven't a membership list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. When members pay their dues what do you do? Give them a receipt?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know how they do it.

Mr. THOMAS. You don't know how it is done?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I never collected any dues. I never did collect a penny of dues.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, you are the head of the eastern department of the German-American Bund, aren't you?

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

Mr. THOMAS. And you are familiar with the organization?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether the treasurer gives a receipt or not when he accepts dues?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think so. He gives them stamps which go in the book.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, has he a membership list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think he has.

Mr. THOMAS. Does any officer of the German-American Bund have a membership list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; as much as I know nobody is allowed to carry any list.

Mr. THOMAS. That was a result of an order handed down by Fritz Kuhn a few years ago?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have a mailing list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I haven't got any.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you have a mailing list?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We did in the first years I know, but no one has now—I don't think we have.

Mr. THOMAS. You say there are about 500 members of the bund in New Jersey?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is my estimation.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you know all of them by sight?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, that is impossible.

Mr. THOMAS. You would not know them by sight?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. And you would not know them by name either?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No, couldn't know them by name.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know where they are all employed?



Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is what I don't know at all.

Mr. THOMAS. And that is what you don't want to know?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is your conclusion.

Mr. THOMAS. Is one of the purposes of the German-American Bund to keep this country out of war?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. One of the main purposes.

Mr. THOMAS. One of your main purposes is to keep this country out of war?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Before in response to some questions put to you by Mr. Voorhis in relation to communism, and I think in connection with some other testimony given to this committee, I got the idea that at one time the German-American Bund was active in combating communism, is that correct?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. And still today.

Mr. THOMAS. It is still active today?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, what active steps are you taking today to combat communism?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, wherever we have a chance to have a meeting yet we talk about the danger of Communist philosophy and give a certain educational program to combat communism as a philosophy of life. As I stated before, in the first years communism tried to attack our meetings all the time, and then out of that also the order division got in existence so we could identify our men from others. That was the original creation of the order division in the bund.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you as active in combating communism today as you were in 1938?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We are. We still are against the philosophy of communism as we were before.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you combat communism today as you did in 1938?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We do.

Mr. THOMAS. Is your press still combating it in the same way?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We do as much as —

Mr. THOMAS. Your newspapers, yes, but are your newspapers combating it the same way as they did in 1938?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. You say they do?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I said they do; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Adolf Bauer?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No; I don't know him.

Mr. THOMAS. He is active out there at Camp Nordland, isn't he?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I might know him.

Mr. THOMAS. Adolf Bauer. I don't know exactly how to spell the name, whether it is B-o-w-e-r or B-a-u-e-r. Do you know any person by that name?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know him. I might know him when I see him.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Otto Bauer?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understand you have no liquor license out there now at all?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Is beer sold on the premises now?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Is beer given away on the premises?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, there are some who want to buy one for himself. He buys one and then drinks it.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean someone can buy beer there now?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't care whether someone buys beer or not.

Mr. THOMAS. I may ask—I know you may not care but what I am trying to find out is, can a person go there and buy beer?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Can't buy beer?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Beer is distributed there, isn't it?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't know anything about that either.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know that someone goes into Camp Nordland they can buy a ticket for a dollar?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. We will consider the meeting of July 4 or the meeting of August 18; weren't tickets distributed to people who attended Camp Nordland, who paid a dollar for those tickets?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Not that I know of.

Mr. THOMAS. You don't know of any tickets sold or distributed for the price of a dollar on either one of those days?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. For any purpose whatsoever?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. No.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. If a person were present at that camp on either July 4 or August 18 and contributed a dollar upon solicitation, to the defense fund of Fritz Kuhn, would he be given the right to drink beer there on the grounds?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Not that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. Would he be given some receipt or ticket that would entitle him to drink beer on the grounds and be served beer on the grounds?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. This is very new to me.

Mr. STARNES. Very new to you? All right, your organization as an organization and as part of the national policy, opposed the passage of the Selective Service Act, did it not?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think we did.

Mr. STARNES. You didn't? Did you oppose as a policy of your organization, and I want you to be very careful about this, the passage of the act giving the President of the United States the authority to order the National Guard into service for one year's peacetime training?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That was a bill in Congress.

Mr. STARNES. Yes; I am talking about congressional bills. First, did the bund as an organization and as a part of its policy oppose the

passage of the bill by Congress which authorized the President of the United States to order the National Guard of the United States into service for 1 year's peacetime training?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. We, as much as I know, we always against the President ordering things. We were always for Congress should decide on questions like that.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you oppose giving the President any authority to order out the guard?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you would not insist, would you, that the Reichstag in Germany should have the authority to veto the acts of the fuhrer?

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you if it was the policy of the bund as a national organization, to oppose the passage of the Selective Service Act by the Congress during the past month?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, I would have to look into it.

Mr. STARNES. All right, you might have called it "the conscription bill." Did you oppose the passage of the conscription bill?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I think we did; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't it a fact that you did do so editorially in your publication and that the organization was active in its fight against the passage of that bill?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. Well, only with the newspaper, I guess.

Mr. STARNES. Hasn't the bund as a part of its policy opposed the defense preparations of this country during the past 12 months?

Mr. KLAPPROTT. I don't think so.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I have to ask.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. That is all; you may be excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barker, who will be your next witness?

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Arthur H. Bell.

#### TESTIMONY OF ARTHUR H. BELL, ORGANIZER FOR THE KU KLUX KLAN

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Give us your full name and your address, please?

Mr. BELL. Arthur H. Bell, Bloomfield, N. J.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or vocation?

Mr. BELL. At the present time?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BELL. I am an organizer for the Klan.

Mr. STARNES. At the present time?

Mr. BELL. Yes, until 3 weeks ago.

Mr. STARNES. What positions have you held in the Klan other than an organizer?

Mr. BELL. I was grand dragon for the State of New Jersey, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the chief office?

Mr. BELL. That is so.

Mr. STARNES. That is the chief presiding officer of the Klan in this State?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you were such on the 18th of August of this year?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I beg your pardon?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the truth?

Mr. BELL. That is the truth.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you grand dragon?

Mr. BELL. I was grand dragon from 1933 to 1934.

Mr. STARNES. What position did you hold in the Klan from 1934 to this time?

Mr. BELL. I held no position in the Klan until 2 years ago.

Mr. STARNES. What position did you hold then?

Mr. BELL. I went in business for myself.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, prior to that time, prior to the time you went in business for yourself you were working for the Klan?

Mr. BELL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. An employee of the Klan?

Mr. BELL. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you received your remuneration from them?

Mr. BELL. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a member of the Klan?

Mr. BELL. Since 1920.

Mr. STARNES. How many members, approximately, in the Klan, do you have at the present time in New Jersey?

Mr. BELL. At the present time?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BELL. I could not give you an idea. When I was grand dragon I could have told you.

Mr. STARNES. Who is the grand dragon at the present time?

Mr. BELL. Samuel G. Stout III, of Philadelphia.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any idea how many posts or local units or branches of the Klan there is?

Mr. BELL. As an offhand guess I would say about 35.

Mr. STARNES. In the State?

Mr. BELL. That is a guess, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I understand. We are just merely getting an approximation and there is no criticism of you.

Mr. BELL. Not being the grand dragon I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. STARNES. What was the membership of the Klan—can you give us some approximation of the size of the units so we can get some sort of approximation of the membership?

Mr. BELL. You mean at the present time?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BELL. No, sir; not being in charge of the meetings I don't know anything about them.

Mr. STARNES. At the time you were grand dragon what was its membership in the State?

Mr. BELL. I would say about 300,000.

Mr. STARNES. About 300,000 in the State?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was the peak membership?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you present at the meeting that was held on August 18th at Camp Nordland?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you speak on that occasion?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were you one of the officers of the Klan who made arrangements with Mr. Klapprott for the use of Camp Nordland on that occasion?

Mr. BELL. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. In other words, did you take any part in the negotiations or conversations leading up to the use of Camp Nordland by the Klan?

Mr. BELL. I meant Mr. Klapprott—I mean I met Mr. Klapprott once prior to that date, at which time the thought was brought and it was more or less agreed upon, that we meet there.

Mr. STARNES. What led to that meeting?

Mr. BELL. The thought was brought to me by another member of our organization that it would be a good idea to go to a place where there was supposed to be no Americans and speak on Americanism to them.

Mr. STARNES. Well, did you expect to find such a place at Camp Nordland?

Mr. BELL. Well, that was the understanding, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That there wouldn't be any Americans there?

Mr. BELL. They were hyphenated Americans.

Mr. STARNES. And you were going to put on Americanization program, is that the idea?

Mr. BELL. That is the idea, yes, that I understood, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was there anything said at all in the negotiations about the aims and purposes of the two organizations being one?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything of a movement that has been under way during the past year or 18 months or any time during that period, by leaders of certain groups to unite these groups into one organization or to place them behind one program in this country?

Mr. BELL. I have never heard anything about it. I know nothing about any other organization excepting the Klan and, of course, what I met with—

Mr. STARNES. You have never had any dealings with the officials of the Knights of the White Camellia?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Or the Silver Shirts?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Pelley's organization?

Mr. BELL. I heard of them through the press but know nothing about them.

Mr. STARNES. You never participated in any form, shape or manner in an effort to bring about leadership behind one group in this country or behind one program?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What are the professed purposes of the Klan now, briefly stated and no speech?

Mr. BELL. No, sir. I would like—do you want me to put that in, sir, or do you want me to just speak about it?

Mr. STARNES. If it is brief.

Mr. BELL. This is why I joined the Klan. I was handed one of these and it appealed to me: Believing in the tenets of the Christian religion, white supremacy, protection of womanhood, just laws, the pursuit of happiness, closer relationship of purer Americanism; the upholding of the Constitution of the United States, the sovereignty of our State rights, separation of church and State, freedom of speech and press; the relationship between capital and labor, or the preservation of the cause of mob violence and lynchings, preventing of unwarranted strikes by foreign labor agitators; prevention of fires and destruction of property by lawless elements; the limitation of foreign immigration; much needed local reforms and laws and order. That appealed to me, sir, and that is what the Klan stands for.

Mr. STARNES. You said that the peak membership of the Klan when you were grand dragon in this State, was probably 300,000, is that correct?

Mr. BELL. That is my estimation. Of course, that is a long time ago. I could not give you the actual figures.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say that many at the present time, judging from your experience and your contact with the Klan and your work as an organizer of the Klan, going about over the State, would you say your membership is that strong at the present time?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Would you say it was half that number?

Mr. BELL. Well, you are asking me something that I cannot answer.

Mr. STARNES. I understand that.

Mr. BELL. I will tell you the reason I can't answer it.

Mr. STARNES. But at the same time I would like to have some approximation.

Mr. BELL. The reason I can't answer it is I know nothing about the southern end of the State.

Mr. STARNES. What about the strength of the northern end of the State as compared to former years?

Mr. BELL. I would say it is about one-fourth. That is roughly guessing.

Mr. STARNES. Where was your membership, most of it, formerly located when you were grand dragon and you were familiar with the approximate strength of the Klan?

Mr. BELL. Where was it located, sir?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BELL. All over the State.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any idea what the membership of the Klan was at its height throughout the country?

Mr. BELL. The national Klan?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. At this meeting out here on August 18, was that the only time that the Klan had met at Camp Nordland? Was that the first and only time it ever met at Camp Nordland?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you, in the course of your remarks, make any reference to the fact that it was possible to criticize or talk as you pleased, as an American citizen, about any particular group, racial or religious or otherwise, in this country save one, but there was one minority in this country you would be violently criticized for if you said anything critical of?

Mr. BELL. I heard you put the question and I was trying to remember whether I said anything like that or not. I might have mentioned something casually that way.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall saying something to the effect there was a minority in this country which apparently had control of the press?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the moving-picture industry?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And financial affairs of the nation?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You did not make that statement?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. But you might have said something to the effect that you could discuss and criticize any other racial group and any other organization in this country save one racial minority?

Mr. BELL. It is true I might have said that.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see the picture of Adolf Hitler being displayed anywhere within the confines of that camp at the time you were there?

Mr. BELL. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Was that the only visit you ever made out there?

Mr. BELL. I have never been there except that day.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go through this so-called dance hall?

Mr. BELL. I was in there and had something to eat.

Mr. STARNES. Was there a dance hall there?

Mr. BELL. There is a floor space about, I would say, about as large as this auditorium here, with tables and seats around it.

Mr. STARNES. What was the date of that meeting?

Mr. BELL. August 18.

Mr. STARNES. What have been the activities of the Klan in this State?

Mr. BELL. In which way, sir? Will you put the question again?

Mr. STARNES. I said, what have been the programs of the Klan in this State?

Mr. BELL. To unite the people of the Protestant faith in the organization of Americanism; to teach Americanism where we could to try to discourage hyphenated Americanism and to build up a closer relationship of Christian men and women.

Mr. STARNES. Have you engaged in any drills or formations as an organization, of any type or character?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That partook of the nature of military drills?

Mr. BELL. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you worn masks or robes which would disguise your identity?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You have done that?

Mr. BELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Why do you feel it is necessary to do a thing like that?

Mr. BELL. Sir, that was a part of the ritualistic regalia when I went into the organization. It is simply a symbol—a symbol of secrecy, the same as any other organization, without mentioning any names. They have their secrets and symbols of secrecy. However, that has been changed. They do not wear the visor any longer. That is not allowed by the order of the imperial wizard. The visor is not allowed on the order of the imperial wizard.

Mr. STARNES. How long since the visor is not allowed?

Mr. BELL. In other words, the members of the klan still wear their robes.

Mr. STARNES. Their robes and helmet?

Mr. BELL. The robes and helmets but the visors have been removed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Bell, did you tell the leaders of the German-American Bund that you were going out there because you thought there were not any Americans there and you wanted to Americanize them?

Mr. BELL. I did not say that to anybody. I think that thought was given by the men who made the original arrangements.

Mr. VOORHIS. I thought that was your testimony in answer to Mr. Starnes' question.

Mr. BELL. He asked me why I agreed to it.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, do you think it was wise to hold the meeting there?

Mr. BELL. I did then; I don't now.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are there any groups of people or individuals who are excluded from membership in the Klan?

Mr. BELL. Excluded?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. BELL. Not by the Klan itself. It is a Christian organization, sir, so therefore Hebrews do not join it. It is a Protestant organization, so therefore Catholics do not join it.

Mr. VOORHIS. They can't join it?

Mr. BELL. If the church allows them I understand they can. But it is also my understanding that the Catholic Church does not permit its members to join anything not controlled by the church. I am



not a Catholic and I know I can't join the Catholic Church. This being a white organization the Negroes are naturally excluded.

I think they have organizations that I can't join.

Mr. VOORHIS. But it is your judgment that it is helpful to the country to have different groups organized in little tight organizations?

Mr. BELL. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. And sometimes secret.

Mr. BELL. Yes. Secret societies—they have been in existence since the time of King Solomon.

Mr. VOORHIS. I asked you if you think it is good for the country.

Mr. BELL. I think so in this way. I have made statements—I have spoken in Negro churches and before Negro congregations and before all types of people that don't belong to the Klan, and I made the statement we can work with all organizations and fight for Americanism as groups, working united together.

I mean by that the Catholics, the Jewish people and the Negro people.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you attempt to cooperate with them?

Mr. BELL. Perfectly willing to if they are fighting for America.

Mr. STARNES. Any further questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all.

Mr. THOMAS. No questions.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. You may call your next witness.

Mr. BARKER. Reverend Young.

#### TESTIMONY OF REV. A. M. YOUNG, FORMER GRAND KALIFF OF THE KU KLUX KLAN IN NEW JERSEY

Mr. STARNES. Please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. YOUNG. I do.

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

Mr. YOUNG. Alton Monroe Young, D. D., Hudson County, New Jersey.

Mr. STARNES. You are a doctor of divinity?

Mr. YOUNG. I am.

Mr. STARNES. With an honorary degree?

Mr. YOUNG. All doctors of divinity have honorary degrees.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any other degrees honorary or otherwise?

Mr. YOUNG. None whatsoever.

Mr. STARNES. Are you the pastor of any church?

Mr. YOUNG. I haven't been for about 7 years.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been in the ministry?

Mr. YOUNG. Forty years.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?

Mr. YOUNG. Texas.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a member of the Klan?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, since, almost, the first day it started 23 years ago.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you lived in New Jersey?

Mr. YOUNG. Forty years.

Mr. STARNES. You joined the Klan in New Jersey?

Mr. YOUNG. I did.

Mr. STARNES. What is your present position?

Mr. YOUNG. Klansman.

Mr. STARNES. You have no title of any type or character?

Mr. YOUNG. I am former grand kaliff of the State, which is vice grand dragon.

Mr. STARNES. In just plain, everyday language that means the same as vice president of a corporation?

Mr. YOUNG. Vice president.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you in that position?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, now, I can't give you that date. I was made grand kaliff the day Mr. Bell was made grand dragon and I don't quite remember the year. I will have to ask him to tell you that, sir. I could not tell you.

Mr. STARNES. Are you in a position or do you know about what the approximate membership of the Klan is in the State at the present time?

Mr. YOUNG. There isn't any one, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Don't you keep a roll or record of some sort?

Mr. YOUNG. At Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. STARNES. At Atlanta, Ga.?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. They would have it?

Mr. YOUNG. Atlanta, Ga., has the complete roster of the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. STARNES. For the entire Nation?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You don't have a State organization or anything like that that keeps a record of its own members?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, the Klan is not as it was years ago and I am not really prepared to tell you that for I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. You don't know anything about its finances or anything of that sort?

Mr. YOUNG. No.

Mr. STARNES. How much do you pay annual dues to the Klan?

Mr. YOUNG. \$6.

Mr. STARNES. \$6 per year?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is the initiation fee?

Mr. YOUNG. \$10.

Mr. STARNES. You heard the testimony, of course, of Mr. Bell with reference to the wearing of robes and concealment, and so forth, and so on?

Mr. YOUNG. I did.

Mr. STARNES. His statement was a correct statement of the present situation? They do wear the robes but they ——

Mr. YOUNG. They have no visor.

Mr. STARNES. The visor is pulled back so the face ——

Mr. YOUNG. It is cut off. We are not allowed to have it there. It was cut off by the order of the imperial wizard; and may I add this,

that if any one were caught with something attached, permanently attached, they would be banished from the Klan.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend a meeting out here at Camp Nordland on August 18?

Mr. YOUNG. I did; I arranged it.

Mr. STARNES. You arranged the meeting?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Why did you arrange that meeting?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, I will answer you for the same reason why I have been in the Ku Klux Klan for 23 years.

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment, for your information and to be perfectly fair with you the committee has an unbroken rule we don't permit the reading of statements.

Mr. YOUNG. I am not reading the statement. This is something I thought you asked for about an hour ago and I have it here for you.

Mr. STARNES. Just give us briefly and in your own words and without any attempt at making a speech, the answer to my question—be as factual as you can.

Mr. YOUNG. It is pretty hard for an old fool; why did we?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; why did you arrange the meeting with the bund?

Mr. YOUNG. I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, for the last year and a half we have been bombarding, and I think your Congressman from that district can vouch for that, that we have been out all hours of the night and all hours of the day preaching against the German-American Bund and the Fascists and all un-American or hyphenated American organizations.

On the Fourth of July I happened to be one of the speakers at Newfoundland at a Klan rally, and then went to a church rally—the Methodist Church. I read the next day of a man by the name of Klapprott, who I never saw in my life at that time, and some other men—I can't tell you their names, I don't know. I know I met two bundsmen—Kunze and Klapprott and the thought came to me, you know I probably made an awful fool of myself—I don't object to that going on the record. I am an old man. I am an American and anything that I have ever done in my 23 years with the Klan has only been done with one objective.

The thought came to me if we could only go up there to Camp Nordland, invite all Klans people of the State and around the territory and have a great national day. I went to my superior officer and I told him of my desire. He said it could not be done.

He said: "You don't expect an un-American group like that to let the Klan have its meeting ground when you know we call ourselves the No. 1 patriotic order of America, and I still insist we are—they wouldn't have us there."

"Well," I said: "Who do you get in touch with," and he said: "I don't know."

I learned through inquiring about where I might get a man who was supposed to live in Hoboken, and that was Mr. Klapprott. But I learned he did not live in Hoboken. I got in touch with him through a paper—I never heard of it in my life before. I think they call it the Free America—the Free American, I think that is the name of it.

I called up and asked for the man who had charge of New Jersey and the lady wanted to know who I was and what I wanted and so forth.

I said that I happened to represent the Ku Klux Klan and I wanted to talk about the property for a meeting. Very shortly a gentlemen got on the phone and said his name was Mr. Klapprott and I told him—I told him what we wanted and he said: "Well, I can't make any decision as to that."

As a matter of fact I rather felt he was doubtful that it could be held there. He said he would have to take that up with the board, and he said: "You will have to come to me and you will have to tell us why you want this meeting and we would want to know whether you were going to openly attack us or not."

I said: "Well, we are going to attack, I can tell you now, any group or any individual whom we consider is out of harmony with the United States of America."

So we met—to tell you the house I don't know, it was somewhere in Union City. I could take you there but I don't know the number. I met Mr. Klapprott and Mr. Kunze. I think that is the head of it. He was here yesterday. They asked me why we wanted to visit their camp.

"Well," I said: "It isn't a matter of visiting your camp; it is a matter of putting on an Americanization program."

I told Mr. Klapprott, and I am sure he will bear me out in this, I said: "If you can take the dishing out of our Americanism that we will give you well then I don't think you are such bad Americans, but I don't know whether you can nor can't."

There was only one thing that he asked me and that was that we don't attack what you call the bund.

Mr. THOMAS. What was that? I did not hear you.

Mr. YOUNG. The bund, and I said: "If it is un-American it should be attacked; if it is American you won't object to being questioned anyway."

And to make a long story short of the negotiations, we entered into a contract of which I have here a copy of the contract. If you would care to have me read it or how would you like it presented?

Mr. STARNES. Read it for us.

Mr. YOUNG (reading):

Camp Nordland, R. F. D. No. 1, Newton, N J, July 1940. . .

It doesn't give the date and I can't tell you the date. But I think it does further down.

Agreement: Be it agreed between the authorized representatives of the German-American Bund Auxiliary, Inc., a New Jersey corporation and owner of Camp Nordland, August Klapprott on one part and the authorized representatives of the Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan of the Realm of New Jersey, Arthur H. Bell and A. M. Young on the other part, that the Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan of the Realm of New Jersey, be permitted to hold Americanization exercises, to take up a collection, on the general assembly grounds—

and may I say here, gentlemen, the general assembly grounds is a natural bowl and it isn't on the part of the property where the German-American Bund have their buildings.

There is only a platform there.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question there: Isn't that bowl within the 200 acres owned by the bund?

Mr. YOUNG. I could not tell you that, Mr. Thomas. I don't know. I presume it is because they give us a contract.

Mr. STARNES. All right, proceed.

Mr. YOUNG (reading):

Take up a collection on the general assembly grounds—  
that was the place where we were meeting—

at Camp Nordland on the afternoon and evening of August 18, 1940, subject to the following conditions:

The Knights and Women of the Ku Klux Klan of the Realm of New Jersey agree to abide by the general rules and regulations of the Camp Nordland management; no admission fee shall be charged for entry to the grounds but a contribution of 25 cents shall be collected from the operator of every automobile or other vehicle entering the property—

It doesn't say here but that was——

Mr. STARNES. That was your contract?

Mr. YOUNG. That was their money and not ours. We did not get any of that money. [Reading:]

The restaurant and other food, beverage concessions on the ground shall be operated by the Camp Nordland management. Other current activities on the grounds or in the buildings of Camp Nordland shall not be limited or affected by this meeting.

That is we had no rights there excepting on that field.

Now, I might say, sir, that there is a portion here where it is penciled or inked out and okayed by Mr. Klapprott's signature. He inked it out. He put a stipulation there that they held the right to refuse any one the privilege to come on that field that they felt should not be on the field, and as we were having a meeting where everybody, black and white, Jew and Catholic and Protestant, were invited, we would not stand for it—that is the grand dragon would not stand for it in Philadelphia. He had the contract. He asked to see the contract. They then removed that objectionable part about the camp.

That is about all, gentlemen, regarding that.

Mr. STARNES. May I ask you a question with reference to this meeting——

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question regarding the contract. Dr. Young, was any fee paid for the use of the premises?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, Mr. Thomas, you would say yes and you would say no. We considered the fee of getting the money on the gate was ample fee for the use of the grounds; otherwise there was no money paid.

Mr. THOMAS. That was for the parking privilege?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes—well, I don't know whether you call it parking, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. I understand, it was for automobiles.

Mr. YOUNG. Yes; to get into the grounds.

Mr. STARNES. During the course of the day or evening or both, did you make a talk—a public address?

Mr. YOUNG. Well, sir, I talked about 3 minutes, perhaps—I had a wedding——

Mr. STARNES. Did you in the course of your remarks make any reference to the fact that there was afforded every American an opportunity to criticize any minority or racial group in this country save one, but there was one minority group you would dare not attack without reprisals?

Mr. YOUNG. I could not say that because——

Mr. STARNES. On this occasion you did attack one racial group, did you?

Mr. YOUNG. Now, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. STARNES. Just answer the question.

Mr. YOUNG. Well, I have got to clarify that.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know first if on this occasion during the brief time you talked, if you attacked a racial minority?

Mr. YOUNG. I would not call it "attack." I disagree with the theological standpoint of the Jew and I have been told all around there that there was a law in New Jersey that if a man said something about a Jew he would be arrested; if he carried three pamphlets in his pocket that were anti-Jewish he would be arrested; if he was in his home and had five people there and talked about the Jew he would be arrested. I say it and I say it again that this is a free country and it gives me the right to attack, not an individual—there are criminal libels for that—but any group of people or any race and I still hold that right.

Mr. STARNES. Did any of the other speakers there make any reference to the fact that in this country the press, the moving-picture industry, its financial set-up for the Government was controlled by a racial minority?

Mr. YOUNG. I think there was.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall who made those remarks?

Mr. YOUNG. A man who is supposed to have an organization by the name of——

Mr. STARNES. Smythe?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. He is supposed to be with the Protestant War Veterans of America?

Mr. YOUNG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. He made the statement?

Mr. YOUNG. He made the statement and I was very much opposed to his having been permitted to speak at all on the platform.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who invited him to speak?

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Bell.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

Mr. THOMAS. No questions.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. STARNES. Call the next witness.

### TESTIMONY OF OTTO HOHNER, IRVINGTON, N. J.

(Mr. Hohner was attended by Mr. Keegan, his attorney.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Let the record show this witness is represented by Mr. Keegan.

Will you give your full name and address, please?

Mr. HOHNER. Otto Hohner, 1022 Grove Street, Irvington.

Mr. STARNES. By whom are you employed?

Mr. HOHNER. Roselle Tool & Die Co.

- Mr. STARNES. How long have you been employed by them?
- Mr. HOHNER. About 6 years.
- Mr. STARNES. You live here in Newark?
- Mr. HOHNER. Irvington.
- Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?
- Mr. HOHNER. Germany.
- Mr. STARNES. When?
- Mr. HOHNER. June 23, 1909.
- Mr. STARNES. When did you come to America?
- Mr. HOHNER. 1929.
- Mr. STARNES. Was that the first time you came here?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes.
- Mr. STARNES. Have you been back to Germany?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes.
- Mr. STARNES. When?
- Mr. HOHNER. 1936.
- Mr. STARNES. What month did you go back?
- Mr. HOHNER. End of May, I think.
- Mr. STARNES. How long did you remain there?
- Mr. HOHNER. Until the end of September, including the trip.
- Mr. STARNES. Are you a naturalized citizen?
- Mr. HOHNER. I have my first papers.
- Mr. STARNES. Your first papers?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes.
- Mr. STARNES. When did you take out your first papers?
- Mr. HOHNER. The first time I took it out in 1930.
- Mr. STARNES. Took out your first papers in 1930?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes.
- Mr. STARNES. And you did not complete your citizenship papers so you took out your second first papers when?
- Mr. HOHNER. I applied for them in 1939.
- Mr. STARNES. What month, do you recall?
- Mr. HOHNER. June or July.
- Mr. STARNES. Do you frequently visit Camp Nordland?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.
- Mr. STARNES. When did you first begin your visits to Camp Nordland?
- Mr. HOHNER. My first visit?
- Mr. STARNES. Yes.
- Mr. HOHNER. I think in 1938 I was up there a few times.
- Mr. STARNES. A few times in 1938?
- Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.
- Mr. STARNES. Now, you continued to visit Camp Nordland throughout 1939?
- Mr. HOHNER. That is right.
- Mr. STARNES. You went up there quite often?
- Mr. HOHNER. That is right.
- Mr. STARNES. Would you say once a week or once every 2 or 3 weeks throughout the year, and sometimes more than once a week, is that correct?
- Mr. HOHNER. I should say about once every 2 weeks during 1939.
- Mr. STARNES. Then you have been going up there through 1940?
- Mr. HOHNER. I have been—during 1940 I have been up once a week.

Mr. STARNES. Were you there the day the Ku Klux Klan was having its meeting on August 18?

Mr. HOHNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

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

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. Were you a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. You own an automobile, don't you?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the license number is ES-29-C?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That was the automobile in which you visited the camp on August 18?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Why were you going to Camp Nordland so often if you are not a member of the bund?

Mr. HOHNER. Because I was helping out a friend who is.

Mr. STARNES. Because what?

Mr. HOHNER. Because I was helping out a friend.

Mr. STARNES. You were helping out a friend?

Mr. HOHNER. Who is an officer at the camp and he is under the doctor's care and I was doing——

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen members of the Bund drilling at Camp Nordland?

Mr. HOHNER. I wish you would define that a little more—"drilling." As I heard that this morning already you mean military drilling. If it is military drilling I haven't seen it.

Mr. STARNES. I asked you if you saw any drilling.

Mr. HOHNER. I have seen formations.

Mr. STARNES. Prior to the time that you came here from Germany did you have any military experience?

Mr. HOHNER. I had not.

Mr. STARNES. Had none?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. How were these formations that you saw out there, these drill formations, what were they—describe them to the committee.

Mr. HOHNER. Well, they were the same like they would hold up to the grounds where the speakers were.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen them in uniform out there?

Mr. HOHNER. I have in 1938.

Mr. STARNES. In 1938 you saw them in uniform?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen the swastika displayed out there along with the American flag?

Mr. HOHNER. I have.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen the members of the Bund give a salute like this (demonstrating) with the right hand?

Mr. HOHNER. Early in 1938 I have.



Mr. STARNES. In 1938 you saw them give the so-called Nazi salute with the right hand?

Mr. HOHNER. (No answer).

Mr. STARNES. Is that correct?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You did not see that in 1939 or 1940?

Mr. HOHNER. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Have you seen in the dance hall and in the restaurant a photograph of Herr Hitler displayed or shown either in 1938, 1939 or 1940?

Mr. HOHNER. I have seen it in 1939.

Mr. STARNES. When was it?

Mr. HOHNER. During the summer season.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question there?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Hohner, have you been out to the bar there at Camp Nordland where they serve beverages?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see the pictures of Hitler at the bar?

Mr. HOHNER. At the bar?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. HOHNER. No; I don't recollect seeing it there.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see any pictures at the bar?

Mr. HOHNER. I don't recollect any pictures at the bar.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see a picture of Hindenburg and Bismarck at the bar—in back of the bar?

Mr. HOHNER. I don't recollect.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, now since 1938 did you see any pictures there at the bar at all?

Mr. HOHNER. No, not that I can recall—not that I have noticed.

Mr. STARNES. Did any one make any attempt to get you to join the bund—any one ask you to join?

Mr. HOHNER. Well, I have been asked why I am not joining.

Mr. STARNES. You were asked why you did not join?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did this friend of yours ask you to join?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. You had other friends though who did ask you?

Mr. HOHNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Asked why you did not join?

Mr. HOHNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. What do you understand the purposes of the bund to be?

Mr. HOHNER. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. In asking you to join they certainly told you the aims and purposes of the bund; what did you understand the purposes of the bund to be?

Mr. HOHNER. To gather the German-Americans into one group.

Mr. STARNES. For what purpose?

Mr. HOHNER. To have more political influence and to unify all the Germans—all the German cultures in one organization.

Mr. STARNES. What else?

Mr. HOHNER. That is all I know of.

Mr. STARNES. Did they also tell you it was to fight against any boycott of German people or German-American people and of German

goods? Did they tell you that was one of the reasons they formed the bund?

Mr. HOHNER. Not to me.

Mr. STARNES. They did not tell you that?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. Well, are you in sympathy with the aims of the bund as you understand them?

Mr. HOHNER. As I understand them; yes.

Mr. STARNES. As you understand them you are?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you a Social Security card?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you the card with you?

Mr. HOHNER. I have not; I am sorry.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you recall the number on that card?

Mr. HOHNER. No; I can't give it to you.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Barker, have you got the number of the card?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. A little later on will you give the number to this committee.

Do you know whether the Roselle Tool & Die Co. has any national-defense contracts?

Mr. HOHNER. I don't know.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether that company has any national-defense contracts, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. They do.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, this is one of a great many cases that Mr. Barker and other investigators have unearthed in New Jersey where members go to the bund camp and are employees of firms in this State that have national-defense contracts.

I just wanted to point that out.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair will make a reference concerning the executive hearings that have been held before we adjourn today.

You are talking more freely and giving us more information in a public hearing than you did in executive hearing, aren't you?

Mr. HOHNER. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Isn't that right? I will ask you, you did refuse to give us answers to certain questions in an executive hearing that you have answered today, isn't that true?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Thomas?

Mr. THOMAS. No further questions.

Mr. BARKER. I would like to ask a question. Mr. Hohner, are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. You are an alien?

Mr. HOHNER. I have my first papers.

Mr. BARKER. You have your first papers?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. That is your second set of first papers; isn't it, Mr. Hohner?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. When did you take your first set of papers out?

Mr. HOHNER. 1930.

Mr. BARKER. And you went back to Germany after that?

Mr. HOHNER. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. You did not apply for your second papers after that?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. When did you take out your second first papers?

Mr. HOHNER. I applied for it in June or July 1939 and I received them early this year.

Mr. BARKER. Have you registered as an alien under the act recently passed?

Mr. HOHNER. Not yet.

Mr. BARKER. You have not?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. That is all. You are excused.

Mr. STARNES. The other witnesses are excused. We will not use them at this time. They are all at liberty to go.

Mr. KEEGAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Hohner, when you made this trip to Germany whom did you go with?

Mr. HOHNER. Nobody.

Mr. BARKER. You did not go with anyone?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. You did not go with Geiter?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. But you do know Geiter?

Mr. HOHNER. No.

Mr. BARKER. You said last night you knew Geiter.

Mr. HOHNER. I explained to you last night I thought you were saying Geeto.

Mr. BARKER. You called him Geiter.

Mr. HOHNER. That is not the same man we are talking about, I am sure.

Mr. BARKER. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Ries.

### TESTIMONY OF HERMAN A. RIES, OF THE PENNSYLVANIA MOTOR POLICE

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RIES. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barker, I will ask the preliminary questions. Will you give us your full name?

Mr. RIES. Herman A. Ries.

Mr. STARNES. What is your address?

Mr. RIES. Avondale, Pa.

Mr. STARNES. What is your profession or vocation?

Mr. RIES. Pennsylvania Motor Police.

Mr. STARNES. You are an American citizen?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were born in America?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Educated in America?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And live here?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You can speak the German language?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Barker, you may take the witness.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Ries, you spell your name R-i-e-s?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Were you called to the office of the commissioner of the Pennsylvania State police and advised to go to Washington and report to the Dies committee?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And down in Washington you met Congressman Dies and Congressman Thomas and Congressman Voorhis?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And you had another trooper from the Pennsylvania State police with you who is also a citizen of the United States?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Born here?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Of German descent?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Who can speak German also?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Now, you and the other Pennsylvania trooper and myself then proceeded by automobile to northern New Jersey?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. To make an investigation of the German-American Bund?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. In accordance with instructions from the chairman?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You were employed during that period as an investigator for the Dies Committee?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And your pay as a Pennsylvania State trooper was temporarily suspended?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And then we went to Newton, N. J.?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And established contact with the Jersey State police?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And they provided us with a couple of sets of dead tags for our automobiles?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And you changed your appearance and went in hiking clothes?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And so did the other man?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And I was a farmer down the road shoveling sand?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And we proceeded out to the bund camp?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. All right, now take it up when you went in at the gate—I left you there.

Mr. RIES. On this date that Robert Barker is speaking of, Mr. Strickler, the other member of the Pennsylvania State police, and I went to the gate of Camp Nordland, situated at the gate in a small building where were stationed a group of young German youths. We approached these young men and introduced ourselves as the—as vacationists from Pennsylvania.

We conversed with them in German and the one youth by the name of Geiter disclosed to us that he was sort of suspicious of us on our first appearance at the gate; that we resembled Newton spies. He then stated to me that since he saw me closer he saw the map of Germany on my face.

We were then accepted into the camp as honest Germans and were taken to the restaurant. In German it is called "the Essenplatz." On our way to the restaurant we were then stopped and introduced to Adolf Bauer.

We conversed in German and after conversing some time he asked us if we were willing to contribute a dollar for the welfare of Camp Nordland. We contributed each a dollar and in turn we received a small pink paper which was fastened in our shirt.

Mr. THOMAS. At that point, have you one of those with you?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you give that to the committee?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. That was to indicate you paid a dollar, was it?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And every one who paid a dollar got one of these little pink slips and they put the slip in the button hole of the lapel?

Mr. RIES. Of the shirt, yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you see many of those slips around indicating that many people paid a dollar?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir; and Mr. Bauer then informed us that we had the privilege of coming back into the woods where were congregated some other German people, and where we would be allowed to have a few glasses of beer since we contributed to the welfare of the camp.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask another question: Was it possible to get any beer without paying that dollar?

Mr. RIES. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. You had to pay the dollar in order to get beer?

Mr. RIES. It was explained to us that we were contributing to the welfare of Camp Nordland.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right, but you could not get the beer until you paid the dollar?

Mr. RIES. That is right. We entered the restaurant—the Essenplatz, where were congregated a group of German people all conversing in German. The songs on the victrola were German. One in particular I recall was Deutschland Uber Alliees. In other words it is translated literally as “Germany over all.”

There were people dancing folk dances and some were dressed in folk costumes.

We then ordered our supper or dinner at that time in the German language. Now, this dance hall or the Essenplatz is a large, one story frame building. It has a large dance floor surrounded by tables and chairs on the outside rim of the dance floor. On one side of the dance floor is a large bar from which beverages, soft drinks and things were sold. At one end was a kitchen.

Now, in this dance floor surrounding the inner circle of the dance floor, was a large picture of Adolf Hitler, decorated with the—I think they call it the—it is the red, white, and black colors of the German Nation—I think it is. At the other end of the dance floor was a small picture of George Washington. In the center of the dance floor hanging from the ceiling was an American flag.

There was also displayed a small card with the swastika emblem on it.

We were in there a short time and proceeded out to the grounds where were parked, I estimated, about 300 automobiles, from Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey mostly. That is from our observation those three States the cars were from.

We walked around the camp and saw that there were cottages up in the woods and over near the speaker’s stand in the forest was being erected a large, long building—frame building, which was claimed to be the boys and girls scout camp. Some of the boys were playing soccer. A lot of people were in their bathing suits.

We then confronted Mr. Bauer again and asked him when we were going back to this forest where they had the beer. He informed me not to speak so loud because Deputy Sheriff Dehart from Newton was on the premises, and that there were some newspaper men and some under-cover men trying to get in the entrance. He said he had to go to help try to keep them from getting in. Mr. Strickler asked him if he needed any help we would help him.

We then went back into the woods.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt? In that dance hall were there any slogans of any kind?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir; I forgot about that. A large sign was on the inner circle of the dance floor. It was a white sign and I imagine it was at least 40 or 50 feet long and about 4 or 5 feet wide, and on it was the German words “Ein Folkstom, Ein Bund, Ein Fuehrer.” Literally translated it means “One Society, One People, and One Leader.” That was a large sign that was in the dance hall.

As we were going back into the woods with Mr. Bauer we were taken to a long wooden table with a canopy over the top, and at one end of the table was situated a quarter barrel of beer.

Now, this beer was distributed among the German men and women seated at this table. In fact there were two tables. One was out in the open. Mr. Strickler and I seated ourselves among the people. They acted suspicious at first, due to our strangeness, but after con-

versing some time with the people their suspicions lessened and they talked to us freely.

Their general conversation was the war that was taking place in Europe and the situation in the United States. Most of the people, the majority of them, were pro-Nazi and talked quite considerably of the great things that had been taking place in Europe being done by Hitler.

Mr. THOMAS. Did they make any comments about the possibility of Hitler coming over to the Western Hemisphere or any influence that he might have here?

Mr. RIES. There were no direct words to that effect except the German Government or Hitler would conquer Europe and the German people would be dominating the world.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you also hear comparisons between the German form of government and our form of government here?

Mr. RIES. They were very much opposed to Roosevelt, and they were in favor of Lindbergh and Hoover.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you also hear that they preferred the German form of government to our form of government?

Mr. RIES. Their favoritism was leaning to Hitler—his way of doing.

Mr. THOMAS. And was there a man by the name of Geiter among those people?

Mr. RIES. This gentleman by the name of Geiter took us, prior to going back to the woods, into the restaurant. He was a very passionate-minded pro-Hitler man. He stated to us that he was a sheet-metal worker and a gymnastic instructor on the side and expressed to us that physical training was the main thing in winning wars. He stated that he was in Germany in 1936 for 3 months, as I recall, and during the Olympics.

Mr. THOMAS. Did he say where he is employed now as a sheet-metal worker?

Mr. RIES. No; we did not ask him that because we were just in the camp a short time and did not want to arouse their suspicions through questioning.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask you this: You said a while ago that you thought that most of the people were pro-Nazi. Now, I think you should explain why you think that and on what you base that statement. I mean we should not leave that hanging up there.

Mr. RIES. If I may use my notes, I can refresh my memory.

Mr. VOORHIS. Go ahead. There is no reason you can't do that. I think we should be specific about what you mean when you say that.

Mr. RIES. It has been some time, and I have to look at my notes on that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could you give us again the date when this took place?

Mr. RIES. June 16, 1940.

Mr. VOORHIS. Everybody understands that all people naturally have a loyalty to their own ancestry and to their own people and to the place from which they came, but this business about being pro-Nazi is a different matter because by that we understand an allegiance to a particular political movement and form of government. That is the point I am trying to get straightened out.

Mr. RIES. From one statement by a gentleman at the table, he stated Hitler was not trying to conquer the world or to oppress the people, but to free them, and most of the men at the table welcomed world domination by Hitler.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did they say that?

Mr. RIES. That was their general discussion. There were no direct words to that effect. There was a man at the table—

Mr. THOMAS. But it was evident from the conversation that certain of them were friendly to Hitler and his Government—it was evident they were more friendly to Hitler and his Government than to our Government?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that right?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir. There was a man seated next to Strickler by the name of H. Wunderle, who lives in Hoboken, N. J., who had the floor most of the time. We obtained his name from a subscription of a ticket or chance he bought for the ladies' auxiliary. They were chancing off a blanket or something like that and Mr. Strickler took the next chance and that is how we obtained his name. He stated he was a sailor on a steamship traveling between New York and Panama. He emphatically stated that the Jews were insects of mankind. He stated he was well acquainted with the internal sentiment of Panama, Mexico, and Brazil; that these countries were anti-American and all for Hitler. He stated that the German people at the present time in the United States were much stronger than they were prior to the World War. "They are congregated in a more unified body."

He stated also that he had an employer who was a Jew. In other words, in plain words, if he was fired because he was a German, he could make a lot of trouble.

The conversation was that Members of Congress of the United States and the President were all pro-Jews and were looking out for the welfare of the rich.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one question with reference to what this man said about Brazil and Panama, and so on; did he express himself as being gratified with the situation that he found to exist there?

Mr. RIES. He expressed the feeling that the German people are getting more thickly populated and their feelings for Hitler and his doings are increasing—that their sentiments toward his actions are very strong.

Mr. Wunderle stated also that the time will come when the final haven for Jews will be in the United States.

As I said before, the men around the table had high regard for Lindbergh and Hoover.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you mean that?

Mr. RIES. They were talking in regard to the speeches that Lindbergh had made, I think a few nights prior to June 16, and also the work that Hoover had done during the World War.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean relief work and things like that?

Mr. RIES. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. They approved of that, you mean?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir; and talked to some of the German people who felt that they would not bother anybody as long as nobody bothered them; that they wanted to live in the United States and be citizens. That was mostly the conversation of the more elderly class.



From one person we understood he has been living in the United States for 40 years.

Mr. THOMAS. The younger ones were more militant in their speech and conduct?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What would you say about the younger people in attendance and their attitude?

Mr. RIES. Their attitude was very passionate—lovers of Hitlerism. They thought he was doing a wonderful thing.

We stayed there for some time. The general conversation was back and forth on that subject. We left and were given an invitation to come back the following day. As we left the table the men gave us a salute and the words "Auf Wiedersehen"—"until we see each other again," and the salute was by raising the hand.

Mr. Strickler and I were in the camp and Mr. Barker was dressed as a farmer and digging a ditch. He was on the outside. In that manner we were able to obtain the license numbers of the cars that entered the camp.

Mr. THOMAS. You also visited other camps, did you not?

Mr. RIES. We can back to Camp Nordland the following Sunday.

Mr. THOMAS. I mean you went to other camps in the State?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir; we went to the camp on Federal Hill.

Mr. THOMAS. And got in there with the same ease and about in the same manner?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. And Mr. Barker, as I understand, visited still more places in the State?

Mr. RIES. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Any further questions?

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. This concludes this phase of the hearing. The Chair wishes to make the following statement: That on yesterday afternoon and last evening we held extended executive hearings of the committee, lasting until midnight. More than a score of witnesses were heard by the committee in this executive session.

It is noteworthy that these witnesses, with one exception, were aliens or naturalized citizens of German extraction. They were witnesses who were selected as a cross section of hundreds of available witnesses who had attended the meetings of the German-American Bund at Camp Nordland. They were owners of motor vehicles which had been discovered at these camps by the investigator and his assistants, with the assistance of the State officials of the States of New Jersey and of New York and of Pennsylvania, by which they were able to trace the ownership of these automobiles.

With one exception every witness readily admitted to attendance upon the meetings of various character at Camp Nordland. Some were bund meetings and some were open meetings.

Approximately a third of these witnesses were members of the bund or had been members of the bund. Others were sympathizers. Quite a few went to the camp out of idle curiosity and were certainly innocent of any intentional wrongdoing and professed to have no sympathy with the bund or its program.

Without exception every witness who was heard in these executive sessions was employed in shipyards, munition plants, or industrial plants with governmental contracts involved in our present national defense program.

The committee heard some evidence of sabotage in other plants but not of the nature described in the public hearings yesterday.

The committee has been impressed by the testimony of the witnesses heard in the executive sessions and has noted with interest the demeanor and the statements made by witnesses in the open hearing.

The committee readily understands that any national group in this country who are now citizens of this country but who were born elsewhere cling to family ties, to the heritage of their race or to the traditions and background of their former country. That is natural, and it is not to be criticized.

No one can by merely transporting themselves from one land or one clime to another forget the land of his fathers or his family or the traditions of his native land.

Many organizations in this country have been set up by national or racial groups who have members that have contributed much to the public welfare in this country and have made good citizens, but their energies and their talents have been devoted to cultivating better and more peaceful relations with the other national and racial strains in this country of ours.

I would like to suggest to some of these sincere but evidently misguided and misled new citizens of ours, that this committee has judicially determined that the German-American Bund is not an American organization in its concept nor in its practices. By the overwhelming weight of the evidence this committee has received, the bund has been shown to be an agent of a foreign government, sympathetic with the political philosophy of a foreign government. There is no place in American life for such an organization, and we trust that these hearings will prove of some benefit to those who have been misled and have been misguided.

We have not closed our hearings with reference to discoveries made in this huge metropolitan area of Newark and New York City and in this thickly populated section of our country. It may be that we will hold hearings here or in New York or in Washington on certain phases of matters already brought before the committee.

We hope there will be no hysteria engendered by any group in this country at this time and that no cult nor class nor prejudice will be engendered. There is no time for that now. This is the time for unity and regardless of what the organization is if it is a legal organization, a lawful organization, and if you feel you have a right to join it, and if you do join it, I hope you will direct all your energies toward a better understanding of American ideals and American principles of government and that you will give unswerving loyalty, whether you are a native or naturalized, to the constitutional, representative democracy that we enjoy.

We will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 o'clock the hearing was adjourned.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 4, 1940

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

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

Mr. STARNES. The subcommittee appointed by the chairman to investigate un-American and subversive activities and to hold hearings in the Newark-New York area, having held sessions in Newark earlier in the week and having adjourned the hearing to this date here in Washington is now called to order for the purpose of taking additional testimony.

Let the record show the subcommittee is composed of Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Mason, and the chairman.

Dr. Matthews, will you call your first witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner.

## TESTIMONY OF RICHARD W. WERNER, FORMER MEMBER OF THE O. D. OF THE GERMAN-AMERICAN BUND

Mr. STARNES. Hold up your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WERNER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. After I put the preliminary questions, Dr. Matthews, I shall ask you to take charge of the examination.

State your full name.

Mr. WERNER. My full name is Richard W. Werner.

Mr. STARNES. What is your address?

Mr. WERNER. 302 East Ninety-fifth Street, New York.

Mr. STARNES. What has been your profession or occupation?

Mr. WERNER. In this country I worked as a chef.

Mr. STARNES. As a chef?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What did you do in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. I was an office clerk.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?

Mr. WERNER. In Germany.

Mr. STARNES. When were you born?

Mr. WERNER. December 26, 1903.

Mr. STARNES. When did you first come to the United States?

Mr. WERNER. In the year of 1926.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been back to Germany since you came to the United States the first time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I worked as a crew member on the North German Lloyd boat *Berlin*.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you stay in Germany when you went back?

Mr. WERNER. In 1926 I worked on a boat and we traveled back and forth until I had my visa and then I stayed here in February 1927 for good.

Mr. STARNES. You entered the country legally and lawfully?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever become naturalized?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. STARNES. You are still an alien?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go to school in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was the extent of your education?

Mr. WERNER. I went 4 years in public school and 4 years in military school.

Mr. STARNES. Did you serve any in the German Army?

Mr. WERNER. I served in the Free Corps.

Mr. STARNES. The so-called Free Corps?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; after the war.

Mr. STARNES. How long?

Mr. WERNER. For 14 months.

Mr. STARNES. Are you now or have you been a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. I was a member of the German-American Bund.

Mr. STARNES. You have been a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. When did you join?

Mr. WERNER. In June 1938.

Mr. STARNES. How long were you a member of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Up to February this year.

Mr. STARNES. February of 1940?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, will you take charge of the witness and conduct the examination from this point?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, did you attend a military academy before you came to the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the name of that school?

Mr. WERNER. Imperial German Military Academy in Hanover.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Hanover, Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Hanover, Germany; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you a student there?

Mr. WERNER. Four years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you leave the school?

Mr. WERNER. November 9, 1918.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was 2 days before the Armistice was signed; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the school closed at that time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; the school was closed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the school closed as a result of the general confusion and revolutionary movement in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you go immediately after the closing of the school?

Mr. WERNER. I started to work for a newspaper in my home town.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You took up newspaper work?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did you engage in newspaper work in Germany altogether?

Mr. WERNER. Three years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were also a member of the Free Corps?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what other occupations did you engage in while you were still in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. I worked as a bookkeeper and correspondent in a cigar and cigarette factory in Frankfurt-am-Main. After that I worked in the office of the North German Lloyd and from there I started to work on the boat as a waiter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you work in the offices of the North German Lloyd in Bremerhaven?

Mr. WERNER. In Bremerhaven, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Bremerhaven your home?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you came to the United States in 1927?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To reside here permanently; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have resided in the United States ever since that date?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you arrived in the United States in February 1927—

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you obtain employment at once?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, the following day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Within 24 hours of your arrival in the United States you received employment?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the principal motive in your desiring to reside in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. The times over in Germany were so hard and the living conditions were so bad over there there was hardly any other choice but to leave Germany and look for another country where living conditions and working conditions were better.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not thousands of Germans were migrating to the United States or attempting to migrate to the United States at that time, due to the adverse economic conditions in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; many, many thousands.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were one who came?

Mr. WERNER. One of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who came with that motive?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And anticipating other questions, let me ask you this: From the time of your arrival in the United States when you received employment within 24 hours of your landing here, were you continuously employed up until this year?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever without employment for a period of more than 5 days during those 12 years?

Mr. WERNER. No, never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For a period of 12 years then, you found that you were able to get a job and if you for any reason left a position you had no serious difficulty in getting another one?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. I never had any difficulty.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I interject? Even during the depression that was still true?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; I worked right through it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During 1930 and 1931?

Mr. WERNER. I always worked.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And your employment was that of a chef?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In restaurants and dining cars?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know of an instance wherein a German ship arrived at the port of Houston, Tex.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In which a large number of the crew jumped ship in order to remain in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that happened in 1923.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members were there of the crew of that particular ship?

Mr. WERNER. Fifty-two.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the name of the ship?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it the *Minden*?

Mr. WERNER. The *Minden*; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the 52 members of the crew how many jumped ship at Houston, Tex.?

Mr. WERNER. Forty-eight.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that include the captain of the ship?

Mr. WERNER. The captain and the chief engineer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The captain and the chief engineer were among those who jumped ship in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you know of that incident?

Mr. WERNER. From certain information in my home town. My job was to prepare wage lists for the crew members in the office in my home town. As soon as a boat leaves a foreign harbor we have to make an exact list who is on the boat and who jumps the boat.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in your capacity as an employee in the offices of the North German Lloyd you personally dealt with this question of—

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Forty-eight members of this crew jumping the ship in Houston, Tex.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1923. The point, Congressman Voorhis, is that Mr. Werner was one of the thousands who were getting out of Germany because of adverse economic conditions and going to the United States because they believed it was a land of opportunity; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your first employment then was that of a chef when you landed in the United States, was it?

Mr. WERNER. No; as a bus boy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long did you engage in that work?

Mr. WERNER. About 4 weeks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what was your next job?

Mr. WERNER. Kitchen man.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And your next job?

Mr. WERNER. Waiter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after that?

Mr. WERNER. Chef.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Chef?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words you were promoted from kitchen boy to chef?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I promoted myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever engage in any other kind of work in this country, remunerative employment, other than that of working in restaurants and dining cars?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. 1933 or 1934; I am not quite sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long did you remain a member of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. For about 8 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state briefly why you joined the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please do so?

Mr. WERNER. Yes. There was a meeting in New York in the Turnverein Hall on Eighty-fifth Street and they gave out quite a few leaflets and propaganda and so I decided I wanted to go over there. I took my wife and we both went over there. One of the storm troopers I know slightly. He met me and talked to me and asked if I don't like to join and so on. There were fellows in uniform. At that time they wore white shirts and boots, riding boots. I was raised in a military school and I guess it came over me again and I joined the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the leader of the Friends of New Germany at that time?

Mr. WERNER. There was a Fritz Gissibl and right after that was Walter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Walter?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Spanknoebel?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he one of the leaders of the Friends of New Germany at that time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the storm troopers in the Friends of New Germany or were you just a member of the organization?

Mr. WERNER. Just a member of the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not join the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. No; I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the storm troopers in the Friends of New Germany known as O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are the initials "O. D." the abbreviation for the words Ordnungsdienst?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You spoke of going to a meeting of the Friends of New Germany in the Turnverein Hall. Is that a German center?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York City?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; Eighty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does Turnverein mean gymnastic society?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you drop out of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of your own volition?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state briefly why you dropped out of the Friends of New Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes. I had a chance to buy a house in New Jersey and I liked the country life. I like a little farming, so I bought the house and I moved out to Jersey and forgot all about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you had earned enough money as a kitchen employee, a waiter, and a chef from the time of your arrival in this country to buy a house?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Over what period of years was that, from the time of your arrival here, until you were able to buy your own home?

Mr. WERNER. I will say about 7 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in the course of 7 years you had saved enough money from your wages to buy a house in New Jersey?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where in New Jersey did you buy that home?

Mr. WERNER. In Spottswood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Spottswood, N. J.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did you live in New Jersey?

Mr. WERNER. About 14 or 15 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then did you go back to New York to live?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And to work?



Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. In June 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a membership book of the German-American Bund, No. 18344, and ask you if you can identify that as your own membership book in the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my card.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom was this card issued?

Mr. WERNER. By James Wheeler Hill.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is his name signed at the bottom of the card?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the date of the issuance of this card?

Mr. WERNER. 11th of July 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the name of Fritz Kuhn affixed to this card as the bundesleitung—

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or on behalf of the bundesleitung?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. He was the leader of the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Fritz Kuhn personally?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, very good.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him well enough to address him by the name of "Fritz"?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this book show that your membership dues were paid up?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; paid up to December 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The stamps are affixed to your book which indicate that you had paid your dues, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you also join the O. D. division of the German-American Bund or the storm troopers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the storm troopers at the same time you joined the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; the same time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you remain a member of the O. D. or the storm troopers from that time until you left the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you an arm band with the letters "O. D." on it and the insignia of the German-American Bund and ask you if you can identify that as your own arm band?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my own arm band.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the insignia of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The swastika superimposed on the rising sun?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Above the letters A. V.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are these the trousers and the belt which you used as a member of the storm troopers of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my trousers and my belt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A pair of black trousers and a Sam Brown belt?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the shirt which you used as a member of the storm troopers of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; it is my shirt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the black tie which you used as a part of your uniform?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my tie.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify this as the cap which you used as a part of your uniform in the storm troopers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my cap.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is this flag, Mr. Werner?

Mr. WERNER. This is the bund flag.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that your own flag?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my own flag. I bought it in Camp Siegfried.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You bought this flag in Camp Siegfried?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On Long Island?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you use that for?

Mr. WERNER. Put it up in my home—in my apartment.

Mr. STARNES. What does the "A. V." stand for?

Mr. WERNER. Amerikadeutscher Volksbund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another strap, Mr. Werner, and ask you if you can identify that as a part of your uniform as a Storm trooper in the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; this is my strap for my belt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that go over your shoulder?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And fasten at the ends of the belt?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any special instructions at any time in the use of this belt?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what they were?

Mr. WERNER. In case of fighting we took this belt off from our shoulders and slung it around our arm and used it as a powerful weapon (demonstrating).

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that a specific instruction which members of the O. D. received?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the use of this strap?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For purposes of fighting?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For fighting where?

Mr. WERNER. On streets and in meeting halls.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not some of the members of the storm troopers had metal brads put into this strap?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To make a more effective weapon?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see any of these straps used in combat?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the streets?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, on the streets and in halls.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What particular occasions were there when these straps were used for fighting?

Mr. WERNER. There was one in a hall where we had a meeting on Eighty-sixth Street and some Jewish war veterans came up and tried to break up the meeting or tried to make some noise anyhow, and some of my former friends took off their straps and hit them with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any other instructions in how to fight other than those which had to do with the use of this strap?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I was trained in jiu jitsu.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were all of the members of the storm troopers trained in jiu jitsu?

Mr. WERNER. Ninety percent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have regular training in jiu jitsu?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I had.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a special night of the week set apart for such training?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what night of the week that was?

Mr. WERNER. Wednesday night.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Every Wednesday night through the year?

Mr. WERNER. During the wintertime.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the wintertime only?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Every Wednesday night?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Members of the storm troopers were instructed in the use of jiu jitsu?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For what purpose was that instruction to be used?

Mr. WERNER. To learn and to use as many tricks as possible in case of fighting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there any other weapons or objects used as weapons in which you received instructions for purposes of fighting?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have a flashlight as a part of your equipment?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I had. We used that as a weapon too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you trained to use the flashlight as a weapon or were you just told—

Mr. WERNER. We were just told. I don't think we had any need for training for that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this a large flashlight?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How large?

Mr. WERNER. Fourteen inches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Fourteen inches long?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the flashlights actually used in fights that took place during your membership in the storm troopers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever receive any other instructions that had to do with physical violence?

Mr. WERNER. In the summertime in Camp Siegfried we were trained in shooting rifles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had rifle practice?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who supplied the rifles for that practice?

Mr. WERNER. The O. D.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you personally have your rifle or were they stored somewhere in the custody of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. They were stored in the custody of the bund—in the custody of the O. D.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were brought to Camp Siegfried in the summertime and you were trained in the use of them?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a skilled marksman?

Mr. WERNER. I was pretty good.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive training in Germany in marksmanship?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have training in other ways with a view toward eventually fighting?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; we were sent out nights for some kind of war games out in Flushing Meadows near the Worlds Fair and had military drills on every Monday night when we had our so-called appell night.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is an appell night?

Mr. WERNER. In the army language it means some kind of—you have to be there on the place on a certain time and you have to do whatever you are told to do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words it was a compulsory meeting of the Storm Troopers, was it?

Mr. WERNER. I don't want to say exactly compulsory but it was almost compulsory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, did you ever know of any occasion when some member of the bund had failed, or some member of the Storm Troopers had failed to attend one of these meetings and as a result got into trouble over it?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what that incident was?

Mr. WERNER. There was one certain O. D. man—he did not show up for two or three nights and his group leader asked him why he didn't come and he had the excuse that could not stand up. He said he was working but he was not working. Somebody else saw him, I guess, and he had to stand in front of the line and the O. D. leader was hollering at him and told him "we are soldiers over here and we have to do our duty; that is why you became a member of the O. D. It is supposed to be an honor and if you can't do that it is better that you drop out altogether; it is much better to have ten good and faithful men than one hundred unfaithful men."

Mr. STARNES. May I ask a question at that point, Doctor. You said a moment ago you had military drills in Flushing Meadows?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What kind of drill was that? Was that extended order drill, battle formations and patrols and that type of drill or just mass military drill for disciplinary purposes?

Mr. WERNER. We had about 300 O. D. men that certain night and we were split in two groups, 150 men each and each group split up and some were in patrols of from 5 to 10. The first unit marched out about an hour ahead of us and there was about a two and a half mile square that they had to hide themselves in and we were sent after them to find them.

Mr. STARNES. In other words they were divided into two groups, one group going out in advance to take up certain positions?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. In military formation?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And then the second group proceeded out in military formation to gain contact with this group?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Regular military drills or maneuvers?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, was this rifle practice engaged in, according to anything that you ever heard, simply for the purpose of knowing how to use firearms for hunting?

Mr. WERNER. No; not for hunting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you understand the purpose of this rifle practice to be?

Mr. WERNER. At the end of each summer there was some kind of a tournament and in this tournament there was rifle practice and the best shots of each unit, about twelve men, were specially trained to try to win a prize for their unit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why were you trained in rifle practice? Was there ever anything said about the coming of a time when there would be violent uprisings that would call for the use of firearms?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was that occasion known as when this uprising would take place?

Mr. WERNER. This was in Turnverein Hall in Astoria. We had a Bezirk meeting—that means three units like Manhattan, Astoria and Bronx.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is B-e-z-i-r-k, is it?

Mr. WERNER. B-e-z-i-r-k, that is right.

Mr. STARNES. Did the rifle practice that you had play a part in the military drills—was that coordinated?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. STARNES. Did they tell you why it was necessary to have these night maneuvers of a military nature? Were they in preparation for any particular event?

Mr. WERNER. Our leaders told us many, many times that we have to be prepared—we have to be prepared or we have to be fit for a certain day; when that certain day is coming that we know how to behave ourselves and so we know what to do on that day.

Mr. STARNES. They spoke of "That Day" or "The Day" that was coming?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; "The Day."

Mr. STARNES. Now, what did you understand from their instructions and from the training that was given you, what did you understand that "that day" would mean?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Or what did it mean?

Mr. WERNER. The overthrow of this Government and the establishing of a government like they have in Germany.

Mr. STARNES. That was "the day" for which they told you and other O. D. men were preparing?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And that you should train yourselves for it and fit yourselves for it?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. For "the day" when National Socialism would supercede this form of Government?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You may go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, you were not a citizen of the United States during that entire time, were you?

Mr. VOORHIS. Before you start on that I want to ask one question. I want to ask Mr. Werner if he knows where the rifles were obtained that were used by the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. These rifles we used in Camp Siegfried were in the possession of the O. D. men for many years.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where did they get them, do you know?

Mr. WERNER. No, I don't know.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall any particular individual O. D. member who had the custody of these guns?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his name?

Mr. WERNER. Josef Resch.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that spelled R-e-s-c-h?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he still a member of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know of your own personal knowledge that he was a member of the O. D. up to last February, at least, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have reason to believe he is still a member?

Mr. WERNER. He is still a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, during the entire time that you were a member of the storm troopers receiving training looking toward eventual violent uprisings, and before that to the use of violence on the streets and in the halls, you were not a citizen of the United States, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. I was not a citizen, no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know any other members of the O. D. who were not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, Fritz Kuhn testified before this committee that the German-American Bund at a certain time was ordered to remove from its rolls all persons who were not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I remember that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that testimony true?

Mr. WERNER. No; the testimony was not true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you read about it in the papers at the time Mr. Kuhn testified here?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your statement that the German-American Bund did not do anything to remove from its membership rolls those who were not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. The bund never did any such thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any discussion of this subject in Bund circles or in the O. D. at the time that Fritz Kuhn testified before this committee?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; there was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was said about it?

Mr. WERNER. "Just forget about it."

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words did the members of the Bund and the O. D. understand that Mr. Kuhn was testifying falsely on this question before this committee?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; everybody knew about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And were you ever told in anyway whatsoever it would be advisable for you to get out of the Bund because you were not a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Nobody ever said any such thing to me or anybody else who was not a citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of a single instance in which anyone resigned from the Bund or from the O. D. because he was not a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of such an incident?

Mr. WERNER. I never heard of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you can state that the officials of the Bund never took any steps whatsoever to remove from their rolls those who were not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. Nobody ever took any steps.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, that is rather important testimony. You say you know of a number of other O. D. who are not citizens?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Approximately how many would you say there are who are members of the bund and O. D. who are not citizens of the United States? What is your estimate of the percentage of the O. D. men that you personally knew who were not citizens?

Mr. WERNER. I will say about twenty-five percent of the O. D. men are not citizens.

Mr. STARNES. You know that of your own personal knowledge after having been in personal contact with them?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is despite the testimony of Mr. Kuhn last year?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And Mr. Kunze and Mr. Klapprott of this week?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. In which they stated no aliens were members of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Or of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any knowledge with respect to the membership of the bund itself on this question? You have testified that about 25 percent of the members of the O. D.—

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. —were not citizens?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that same general percentage prevail through the membership of the bund itself?

Mr. WERNER. To my knowledge, yes; it might even be higher.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately how many members of the bund were there in the New York area where you held your membership?

Mr. WERNER. In the Manhattan area?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am speaking of the bund now and not the O. D.

Mr. WERNER. Up to February 1940 there were in Manhattan 288 members left.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the membership of the bund in the districts that surround New York, including New York? I mean by that the Bronx, Astoria, New Jersey, and the eastern seaboard district?

Mr. WERNER. I could not say exactly the number of them but the way they were talking I would say between eight and ten thousand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see any membership records of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what form were those records?

Mr. WERNER. They asked for volunteers who would like to work in the office in the bund—the bund office and who knew how to use a typewriter. I volunteered and that was the occasion I saw some records of the membership records of the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were those membership records cards?

Mr. WERNER. They were cards; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Four by six cards, approximately, would you say?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, something like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you typed names from those cards onto sheets of paper?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you did see membership cards of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From that first-hand contact with the membership records did you obtain any idea as to the number of members in the New York area or in the bund at large?



Mr. WERNER. All I saw was membership cards from the New York area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But it is your testimony that twenty-five percent or more—

Mr. WERNER. Or more; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. —of the members of the German-American Bund as distinguished from the O. D. section of it, were not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man by the name of Heintz Tissen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know him very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. His last name is spelled Tissen?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he also a member of the storm troopers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he was a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He is not a citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you positive that he is not a citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Very positive, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he still a member of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not his wife was a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. His wife is a member of the German-American Bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is she also an alien?

Mr. WERNER. She is an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they both born in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Heintz Tissen was ever a member of the National Guard of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He was a member of the National Guard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where? In New York?

Mr. WERNER. In New York, yes. As much as I know it was the seventy-first regiment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your recollection is that he was a member of the seventy-first regiment of the National Guard of New York?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he was not a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He was not a citizen and he is not a citizen today.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is not a citizen today and he is still a member of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Ernst Sotzek?

Mr. WERNER. He is one of the leaders; the second highest in command.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is the second highest in command of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. His name is spelled S-o-t-z-e-k?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Max Rapp?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I do know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. To my knowledge he is an alien; he is not a citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Henry Fluegge?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He is not a citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he entered the United States illegally?

Mr. WERNER. He entered the United States illegally, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year did he enter the United States illegally?

Mr. WERNER. To my knowledge 1923 or 1924.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is today a member of the German-American Bund and the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. He used to be a former leader of the O. D. in the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Mr. George Frank?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I do know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. I am not quite sure about George Frank but to my knowledge he is an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your best belief that George Frank is an alien?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a member of the O. D. of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Werner Ullrich?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I do know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He is an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he also a member of the O. D. of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; he is a group leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A group leader?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what unit?

Mr. WERNER. In the unit of Manhattan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members are there in a group in the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Eight members in a group and one group leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And there are three groups in a unit; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. Three groups in a unit, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Werner Ullrich was a group leader of the O. D. in Manhattan?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Wilhelm Schelegel?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. No; he is an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is also an alien?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he also a member of the German-American Bund and of its O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Ado Bohlken?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. He is an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he also a member of the O. D. of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mrs. Hans Zimmerman?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know her.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not she was an alien?

Mr. WERNER. She was an alien.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She was a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, she was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your testimony then, Mr. Werner, that you personally know members of the O. D. who are still members of the O. D. and who are not citizens of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And these persons are receiving training and have been receiving training for the use of violence at the present time, when there are not conflicts between members of the German-American Bund and citizens of the United States, and also anticipating the coming of "The Day"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear any member of the German-American Bund, in particular, speak of the time when "blood will flow in the streets of the United States"?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell who that was?

Mr. WERNER. It was the O. D. leader for the eastern district, Herman Schwartzmann.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was it he made the statement "blood will flow in the streets of the United States"?

Mr. WERNER. That was in 1939 in Astoria in the Turn Hall to one of our big meetings, a meeting just for the O. D.'s.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He made that statement at a big meeting of the O. D.'s?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; standing in front of all of us. There were about 300 O. D. men and he made that statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they his exact words?

Mr. WERNER. Exactly his words.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Blood will flow in the streets of the United States"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you understand by that?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. At what time?

Mr. WERNER. Just for "That Day," for "The Day."

Mr. MATTHEWS. The coming of "The Day"?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When there would be a revolutionary overthrow of the existing form of government in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; when they marched through the streets and go down to Wall Street and to some other places.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why were you going to Wall Street? Was there anything said about going to Wall Street in particular on the occasion of this revolution?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; to get some big bankers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was to be done with the big bankers?

Mr. WERNER. Hang them up on the next tree or the next post on the street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Statements were made to that effect?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or in that language?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At meetings of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That when "The Day" came or when "The Day" arrived the O. D. would have the responsibility of going down to Wall Street among other places?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And hanging big bankers?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. At that point, Doctor, we speak here of "The Day." Who was to bring about that day? In other words who was going to bring about the revolution? Who was going to cause it?

Mr. WERNER. When that word came from the highest leader, I imagine.

Mr. STARNES. When the word came from the highest leader?

Mr. WERNER. In the bund or from the National Socialist Party.

Mr. STARNES. And who is that?

Mr. WERNER. The highest leader from the bund or National Socialist Party is Adolf Hitler.

Mr. STARNES. That is when "The Day" would come?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. When he gave the word?

Mr. WERNER. When he gave the word, yes.

Mr. STARNES. In other words this was to be a revolutionary movement that would be dictated by the highest leader?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Who did not live in this country?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And the bund itself would be a part of the revolutionary movement?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And the storm troopers would play a vital part in that because of their training?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And their fitness?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Physical and mental?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And as a result of those things "blood would flow in the streets of the United States"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And this attack on Wall Street was to be an attack on capitalism?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. To destroy capitalism and substitute therefor national socialism?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is what you were told would come about?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this connection, Mr. Werner, did the names of specific individual bankers come up?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were they?

Mr. WERNER. There was Morgan, Schiff, and Kuhn & Loeb.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These men were named as bankers who would be the objects of the violence of the O. D. when "The Day" came?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, because they were against us—working against us and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, I show you a photograph and ask you to describe that photograph briefly?

(Handing photograph to the witness.)

What is that a picture of?

Mr. WERNER. This is a picture of O. D. members from Bezirk, New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that include Manhattan, the Bronx, and Astoria?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a picture of the members of the O. D. from Manhattan, the Bronx, and Astoria?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know most of the individuals whose faces appear in that photograph?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know most of them; about half of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you find yourself in that photograph?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; right here, carrying the flag [indicating].

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are at the end of the right hand top row; is that right?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or at the end of the top row; the right-hand end?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I ask you if you can identify on that picture Heintz Tissen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, here he is [indicating].

Mr. MATTHEWS. Heintz Tissen is in the second row and the eighth man from the right-hand end of the row?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify Max Rapp on that photograph?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, here [indicating].

Mr. MATTHEWS. Max Rapp is in the first row of those seated?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or the second row of the picture and the sixth man from the left-hand end of the row; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, can you find Henry Fluegge on that photograph?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. I also would like for you to find the others, the ones you have named as aliens: Werner Ullrich, Wilhelm Schelegel and Ado Bohlken, whichever one you find first will you please point out?

Mr. WERNER. Henry Fluegge was not present on that occasion, I don't think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have not found him?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, I want to ask one more question. I asked you a series of questions awhile ago about "The Day" and the preparations you were making for "The Day."

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. The military training and night drills that you had?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And the instructions that you had as to what you would do on "That Day"?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And when "That Day" arrived "blood would flow in the streets," and so forth. Now, that occurred in the New York area, did it not?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. These drills occurred in the New York area and these meetings were held in that area?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And these conversations, or speeches, or statements were made to members of the O. D. of the bund in the New York area and it was all while you were a member of the bund, a paid-up member of the bund and also a member of the O. D. yourself?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you are speaking of actual, personal knowledge and contacts there?

Mr. WERNER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now are you able to identify Ullrich or Schelegel or Bohlken on that photograph?

Mr. WERNER. This is Schelegel here [indicating].

Mr. MATTHEWS. You identify as Wilhelm Schelegel a man in the third row from the top of the picture, the eighth man from the right end?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the row?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, have you found Ullrich or Bohlken?

Mr. WERNER. Ullrich and Bohlken are not in the picture.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Ullrich and Bohlken are not in this picture?

Mr. WERNER. No. These are not all the members. There were some missing—there were many more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were members absent on this particular occasion?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask this be marked for identification as exhibit No. 1.

Mr. STARNES. It will be marked exhibit 1 and made a part of the record.

**(The photograph referred to was marked "Werner Exhibit 1")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, did you know a member of the German-American Bund by the name of Schellenberger?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what Schellenberger's first name is?

Mr. WERNER. No, I don't recall his right first name. To my best of knowledge it is Bruno but I am not quite sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew him as Schellenberger?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; as Schellenberger.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have a vague recollection his first name is Bruno?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. He is a member of the O. D., yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is now in the United States Army?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he is at the present time in the United States Army?

Mr. WERNER. Fort Dix.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is at Fort Dix?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is in New York State?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At Fort Dix?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, Fort Dix.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him personally?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, I do.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any photographs of him or any other method of identification?

Mr. WERNER. No, not from Schellenberger. He belongs to the Bronx unit.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Reporter, let the record show now and for practically the entire hearing a quorum of the full committee is present in addition to the subcommittee. That quorum is composed of Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Mason, Mr. Dempsey and the chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, I show you a photograph and ask you if this is a photograph of yourself in this [indicating uniform] O. D. uniform that you have identified?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; that is me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that taken, approximately?

Mr. WERNER. On Christmas.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Around Christmas of this last year?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, last Christmas.

Mr. MATTHEWS. December 1939?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that be marked as exhibit No. 2.

Mr. STARNES. The photograph will be marked as exhibit No. 2.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph, Mr. Werner, and ask you if that was taken at Madison Square Garden during a rally of the German-American Bund on February 28, 1939?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; February 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. February 28, 1939?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is this a picture taken on the platform of Madison Square Garden?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And are these men in the picture members of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the individual in the foreground of this picture yourself?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; that is me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You appear to be on the right-hand end of the line on the platform of Madison Square Garden that night in your O. D. uniform?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be marked as exhibit No. 3.

Mr. STARNES. It may be marked "Exhibit 3" and made a part of the record.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, do you know a man by the name of Hans Meyer?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I know him very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. M-e-y-e-r?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a citizen of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is he now, do you know?

Mr. WERNER. He is in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. He was a leader of the O. D.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know when he went to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. In the summer of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you help me find his photograph in this pile of pictures?

Mr. WERNER. This is him.



Mr. MATTHEWS. He is in the first row of the photograph, the fifth from the end, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Hans Meyer?

Mr. WERNER. Hans Meyer.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why did he go to Germany?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state why he went to Germany, Mr. Werner?

Mr. WERNER. Well, his vocation is a mechanic. He was called back by the German Government with everything paid, his trip for himself, for his wife and child and a job over in Germany—a small house and garden.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What kind of a job did he receive over there?

Mr. WERNER. He worked in an airplane factory—in a Hermann Goering airplane factory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Magdeberg, Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say he was called back. You stated he was an American citizen, didn't you?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But he was called to Germany by the German Government?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, through the German consul in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see him at the time of his departure from the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you talk with him about his going to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you understand from him that he had received both instructions and passage from the German consulate in New York?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To go to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the individual in the German consulate in New York, the Consul Hans Borchers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; consul general.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Consul B-o-r-c-h-e-r-s delivered instructions to Hans Meyer?

Mr. WERNER. B-o-r-c-h-e-r-t.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there a "t" in it?

Mr. WERNER. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think not but we can verify that. Hans Meyer received instructions and passage for himself and family?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Despite the fact that he was an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the consul general in New York to go to Germany and work in the Hermann Goering airplane factory?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Last summer, a year ago?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just prior to the outbreak of war?

Mr. WERNER. About in June.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it understood in the O. D. and German-American Bund that American citizens who were members of these organizations were also subject to orders from Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That was understood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the understanding?

Mr. WERNER. It was understood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is no doubt in your mind about that?

Mr. WERNER. No doubt in my mind about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About the fact that anyone who was a member of the O. D. and the German-American Bund were subject to orders from Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. He isn't the only one who went back. There was another citizen from this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please name someone else who was a citizen of the United States and was called back to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. There was Hans Asch; he was a mechanic too.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When you say "called back," you mean ordered back?

Mr. WERNER. I guess that is almost the same.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It was not clear in my own mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they receive instructions to go back?

Mr. WERNER. I will say yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any instance in which a member of the O. D. or the German-American Bund received instructions to go to Germany and did not comply?

Mr. WERNER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not comply with those instructions?

Mr. WERNER. No; I don't know about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know of such instances?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you do know of your first-hand conversation with Asch and Meyer?

Mr. WERNER. No; Asch went overnight. He didn't have time to say goodby to anyone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean he received instructions and went immediately?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Without even an opportunity to say goodbye?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you know that he went to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. He wrote a letter to some of his friends over here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which indicated that he was in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. He was in Germany and working in the factory in the southern part of Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Rudolf Markmann is now in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he is in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he receive instructions to go to Germany or did he escape to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. No; I would say he ran away from here. That was in the beginning of the investigation of Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that a little more than a year ago?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And at that time Markmann decided to get out of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, disappear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And go to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. To my knowledge he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As far as you know he was an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any peculiar circumstances surrounding his desire to get out of the United States and go to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he sneaked out of this country. He wanted nobody to know about it. Even his plans were to hide himself in a box and some of us should carry him up on the boat in the box and leave the box and then he would get out, but we did not do that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is he wanted to be carried aboard ship in a box?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; one of my friends brought him on the boat just 5 minutes before sailing time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was that, Josef Resch?

Mr. WERNER. Josef Resch, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he your roommate?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I lived with him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You lived with Josef Resch?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Josef Resch took Markmann aboard ship?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you knew about Hans Meyer going to Germany because he received instructions from the German consul general in New York. Did members of the O. D. go down to the boat to see Hans Meyer off?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; all the members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All the members?

Mr. WERNER. All the members, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What boat did he sail on, do you recall?

Mr. WERNER. It was the Hamburg-American Line, the New York or the Hamburg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Either the New York or Hamburg?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the Hamburg-American Line?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go down to the ship personally to see him off?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. To see who off?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Hans Meyer. And you say many other members of the O. D. went down to the boat to see him off?

Mr. WERNER. There were about 50 or 60 members of the O. D.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you received aboard ship in any special manner by ship officials?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; we were led to a special dining room. It was just reserved for him so he could have some kind of farewell party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you all in O. D. uniforms?

Mr. WERNER. Not in full uniform. We had our black trousers, grey shirt, and black tie. We were not allowed to go on a German boat in the full uniform.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is you did not have the cap on?

Mr. WERNER. Did not have the cap on or we didn't have the belt on. We had this arm band on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had the arm band on?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; but not the full time. We sung a couple of songs, one special song, and then we put on this arm band.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you had the trousers and the grey shirt and black tie?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And part of the time you had the arm band on?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were given a special dining room by the officials of the boat?

Mr. WERNER. We were given a special dining room, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that by the captain, or do you know?

Mr. WERNER. I am not quite sure, but I guess they would have to have the captain's permission.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did these people want to go back to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I guess they wanted to go back. They pictured everything so nice and quiet and peaceful and plenty of work and good living conditions over in Germany, so I guess everybody was willing to go.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know of any instance that might be called an exception to that, where any one of these persons actually wept because he had to leave the United States under orders?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was that?

Mr. WERNER. Hans Meyer, and one fellow by the name of Hans Zimmerman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they say they preferred so much to stay in America that they actually wept when they had to leave the United States to go to Germany—did they explain it?

Mr. WERNER. Leaving so many friends behind and there were some good fellows—I guess that touched their heart.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Ernst Sotzek was in Germany recently?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Ernst Sotzek is now what in the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. He is O. D. leader for the unit of Manhattan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is the leader for the Manhattan unit of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was he in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. To my best knowledge the last time was 1936 or 1937. I am not quite sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear him say anything about whether or not he had wanted to remain in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did he say about it?

Mr. WERNER. One of his brothers is a very high official in the Nazi Party in East Prussia and he went back over there for a visit. He

made a remark that he would like to stay over there and his brother and some other officials told him to go back to the United States, become a citizen—he could do much more good for Germany and for the ideals they have over here than over there; they have plenty of men over there, but they need some good men out in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So he was advised to return to the United States despite his desire to remain in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because bund leaders and Nazi leaders were leaders in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And more than he was needed in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he came back to the United States and is now the O. D. leader for the unit of Manhattan?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was he a citizen of the United States at the time this happened in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. No; he was not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is he a citizen now?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He became a citizen at the direction of the officials of the Nazi Party?

Mr. WERNER. According to his word, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At this point, Mr. Werner, I would like to ask you if you have recently registered as an alien in compliance with the recently enacted statute in this country?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall when you registered as an alien?

Mr. WERNER. That was the third or fourth day after it became the law.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that about the middle of September?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I would say so. I don't know exactly the date, but I am sure it was the third or fourth day after we had to register.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you registered did you give the information that you had been a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I marked down I was a member of the German-American Bund up to December 1939 because I only paid dues up to there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you continued your active association up to the end of February; is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you were a dues-paying member up to the end of December?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does Sotzek's brother in East Prussia occupy the position of Gauleiter as far as you know?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is his position in East Prussia?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it was his brother who advised him to return to the United States to take up a position of leadership in the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know G. Wilhelm Kunze personally?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know him very good.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you known him for a number of years?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; since I was in the bund I know him and for the last half a year in the bund I had a chance to know him very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any contact with him after he became the fuehrer—

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the German-American Bund as a successor to Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Kunze ever expressed any desire to remain in Germany and not to return to the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you learn that?

Mr. WERNER. One of the officers from the bund, one of the higher officers from the bund, told me and some other fellows that Kunze would like to stay on one of his visits—wanted to stay in Germany and even begged them and they told him “no,” that he has to go back to the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that high official who told you that Gustav Elmer?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Gustav Elmer now is the treasurer of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall whether or not Kunze was in Germany in 1938?

Mr. WERNER. I am not quite sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze testified before this committee a few days ago that he was in Germany in 1938 and also in 1937. When he returned from Germany did he address meetings of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or of the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he describe what he had seen in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he described everything was wonderful and he praised the conditions over in Germany sky high.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in the course of his addressing the meetings of the bund after his return from Germany on either one of these occasions, did he say anything about having met high officials of the Nazi Party or of the German Government while in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He did?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whom did he say he had met?

Mr. WERNER. He met former bund members, high officials now in Germany—talked to them, and to our knowledge he even met Hitler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by “to your knowledge he even met Hitler”?

Mr. WERNER. I don't know if he was the one who said that he met him but everyone from the O. D. who talked about it said Fritz Kuhn met Hitler and other members—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whether or not Mr. Kunze did meet Hitler is the question. Was it the opinion of the O. D. that Kunze met Hitler in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that he talked with him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That he as well as Kuhn had met Hitler?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During his visit to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What occupation was Kunze alleged to have been engaged in prior to his assumption of positions in the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. To my knowledge and to the other fellows' knowledge he was a teacher and I was surprised a couple of days ago when I was reading the paper that he was a chauffeur and mechanic and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the year that you knew him in the leadership of the bund did you ever hear him or anyone else in the bund refer to him as a chauffeur?

Mr. WERNER. Never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had no idea that he had been a chauffeur?

Mr. WERNER. No; never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Most of his adult life?

Mr. WERNER. Never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As he testified before this committee?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was the belief in the bund that he had been a teacher?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze did not testify that he had ever been a teacher; he testified that he had been a chauffeur-mechanic.

Mr. STARNES. I believe he testified he had been a chauffeur-mechanic since 1933 and prior to that time he was in Trinidad and other islands of the West Indies where he held several positions. But since 1933, if I recall his testimony correctly, he has been a chauffeur-mechanic.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he said anything about meeting Walter Kappe?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. He said he met Walter Kappe at Stuttgart.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At Stuttgart in the Ausland Institute?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether he met Fritz Gissibl?

Mr. WERNER. He did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that also in Stuttgart in the Ausland Institute?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you know that from his having said so?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He told O. D. members that?

Mr. WERNER. He told O. D. members and members from the German-American Bund—at a membership meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he say he had met Josef Schuster?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he make particular reference to Kappe and Gissibl and Schuster because they had all been in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; they were former members and leaders from the Friends of New Germany and he talked to them. He was wine and dined.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what position Josef Schuster now occupies in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. He is second district leader or Gauleiter from Bavaria.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Nazi Party in Bavaria?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least that is the report you got in this country as to his activities?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were Kappe and Gissibl and Schuster American citizens or do you know?

Mr. WERNER. I could not say for sure. Kappe was not a citizen, I know that, and Schuster—

Mr. STARNES. Gissibl's testimony was that he was not an American citizen. That was the testimony we received in 1938. He testified that he was an alien and that he returned to Germany. As I recall one of his brothers was a citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet Gissibl?

Mr. WERNER. Fritz Gissibl, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The one who is now in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; as a member of the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Walter Kappe?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I saw him when he was talking at meetings and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Josef Schuster?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is there any particular significance attached to these men? They have been in this country and were connected with the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund. They are now in the Ausland Institute in Stuttgart?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; and Kunze stated he met no officials of the party while he was in Germany. He said he went down to see his parents-in-law in Germany.

Now, do you know whether Rudolf Markmann occupies any position in Germany at the present time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he an official of the party or of the Government in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. As much as—I will say to the best of my knowledge yes—he has—he is working for the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did Hans Zimmermann happen to leave the United States? You have identified him already as a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; and a former member of the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also an O. D. member?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how he happened to leave the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he had to leave this country—he had his deportation papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was deported?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Because he was in the country illegally?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he deported in June 1939 or thereabouts?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he express any great regret at having to leave the United States and go back to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. No, no; he was not sorry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man by the name of Albert Born?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a bund member?

Mr. WERNER. He is a bund member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he is employed at the present time?

Mr. WERNER. He works in the airplane factory in Long Island.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In an airplane factory on Long Island, N. Y.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the name of the factory?

Mr. WERNER. No, I don't know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, after you had your drills—I believe they were were on Monday night, were they not?

Mr. WERNER. Every Monday night, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Bund, was there anything in the nature of a pledge taken by the members at the conclusion of the meeting?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was that? Will you please describe that?

Mr. WERNER. After the meeting was over—that was at 11 o'clock, we had to stand up and we would sing the second verse of the bund song and then the O. D. leader would shout "attention." He would say it in German.

Mr. MATTHEWS. "Achtung"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. And then his words were: "For our spiritual leader, for our bund, for our O. D., and for what it stands"—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, who is referred to in the expression: "To our spiritual leader"?

Mr. WERNER. Adolf Hitler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the way in which Hitler is designated in the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. First this salute or pledge was "for our spiritual leader" and that is for Adolf Hitler?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then, "for our fuhrer in this country"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, yes—no, no,—yes, "for our political leader," for our bund leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be Kunze at the present time?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then for the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the German "sieg heil, sieg heil, sieg heil"—"hail victory, hail victory, hail victory"?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Kunze testified a few days ago there wasn't any connection between the German-American Bund and the Nazi Party or the Nazi Government in Germany.

If I recall correctly, Mr. Chairman, he went so far as to say he was opposed to the spread of nazi-ism in the United States.

Mr. VOORHIS. That was his testimony. He said that three times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As Congressman Voorhis said, he said that three times. Have you any statement to make about whether or not the German-American Bund is opposed to the spread of nazi-ism in the United States.

Mr. WERNER. No; it is not opposed to it. They are for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any doubt whatever in your mind, Mr. Werner, that the German-American Bund is an agency which is under the control of a foreign principal in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; it is my firm belief and my firm conviction that the German-American Bund is some kind of an agency of the National Socialist Party in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not trying to give the exact legalistic description of the connection, but you are quite positive that there is a connection?

Mr. WERNER. Whatever we said or whatever we did it was in favor of the National Socialist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know August Klapprott?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I do know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know him very well?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear Klapprott say anything about "Der Tag," "The Day"?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his comment about "The Day"?

Mr. WERNER. Well, one of his comments was that "The Day isn't so far away." He said: "We will have it our way—the way we are working for." I could not say exactly his words.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you hear him make such a statement as that—a statement referring to "The Day"?

Mr. WERNER. This was in Brooklyn in one of the big O. D. meetings. There was about—between four and five hundred O. D. men there.

Mr. STARNES. The public hearings are now recessed until 1 o'clock p. m., this date.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 o'clock p. m., the hearing was recessed until 1 o'clock p. m., the same day.)

#### AFTER RECESS

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Werner, when Fritz Kuhn testified before the committee he stated the records of the German-American Bund had been destroyed. This morning you testified that you volunteered your services to copy names from bund membership cards onto sheets of paper.

Do you know whether there was any connection between this work which you did and the anticipated destruction of the records?

Mr. WERNER. To my best knowledge the cards were destroyed and the lists were kept.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was your understanding the cards were to be destroyed and the lists, which would be much smaller in bulk than the cards—

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would be preserved as membership records?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was the understanding you had when you did this work?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anyone who, for a time at least, possessed the membership records in the form of the sheets which you had helped to copy?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was that?

Mr. WERNER. O. D.'s man Hans Kramer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was Hans Kramer's occupation?

Mr. WERNER. He owns a barber shop on Seventy-fourth Street near Second Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph which appears to have been made at Camp Nordland—

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since the words "Camp Nordland" are on the building in the background of the picture?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I will ask you if you can identify any one of the persons in that photograph as Hans Kramer?

Mr. WERNER. This man here [indicating].

Mr. MATTHEWS. The one man in the group whose full face view is toward the camera?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just for the purpose of other identification, who is that [indicating]?

Mr. WERNER. August Klapprott.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who this is [indicating]?

Mr. WERNER. William Kunze.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the other man?

Mr. WERNER. Mr. Keegan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. General counsel for the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that be marked in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. The photograph referred to will be marked exhibit No. 4 and made a part of the record.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was it your understanding that Kramer kept these membership records in the form of typewritten sheets in his barber shop?

Mr. WERNER. In his apartment behind the barber shop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In his apartment behind the barber shop?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see them there or how did you know they were there?

Mr. WERNER. He told me that himself and I saw James Wheeler Hill, the former secretary, going in the back—going in the apartment and looking over some books and some lists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were present when that took place?

Mr. WERNER. I was present when that happened, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You attended the Madison Square rally of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On February 20, 1939. You have testified to that already?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know how much money was collected at that meeting?

Mr. WERNER. James Wheeler Hill said downstairs in one of the lobbies when we were off duty for a half hour, he said there were eight thousand two hundred-and-some-odd dollars collected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Hill was at that time treasurer of the Bund, was he not?

Mr. WERNER. Secretary of the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Secretary?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he was the right-hand man to Kuhn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Told you at the meeting that night—

Mr. WERNER. Yes; and some other O. D. members, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That eight thousand two hundred-and-some-odd dollars had been collected?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the Garden that night?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know how much money was reported later to the membership of the bund as having been collected at that Madison Square Garden rally?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; \$825; something like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. \$825 was reported as having been collected?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And yet Hill told you that \$8,000 had been collected?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any idea how many people were present at the Garden that night?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Garden filled?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; filled up to the last seat. I don't know how much it holds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a photograph of the meeting at the Garden that night?

Mr. WERNER. Between twenty and twenty-two thousand, and many more cards sold on the outside.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean tickets were sold?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, to people who couldn't get in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that another photograph of the Garden meeting that night?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it appear that a very large number of people in the audience are giving the Nazi salute in this photograph?

Mr. WERNER. Almost every one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it be your own understanding that with twenty-two or twenty-three thousand persons present there must have been more than \$800 taken in in collections?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sure. Some of the collection boxes had checks for more than \$100 and there were \$50 and \$20 bills in the collection box. I would say about 100 O. D. men went around with the collection boxes and almost everyone reported that they were filled up to the top—you could not put a dime in any more in these boxes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you were on duty that night in the O. D.?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I was carrying the flag.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to mark these photographs as exhibits.

Mr. STARNES. The photographs will be marked "Exhibits" and received in evidence.

**(The photographs referred to were marked "Werner Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the names of any of the larger contributors to the German-American Bund; I mean financial contributors, of course?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; one bund member, one Dr. Klein.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he lives—in what city?

Mr. WERNER. I think Eighty-seventh Street in Manhattan, near Second Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Dr. O. H. Klein?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever yourself solicited contributions from him for the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, you have been assigned the work of going around to get money from Dr. Klein?

Mr. WERNER. No; they didn't tell me to go to Dr. Klein, but I went there because I knew he was one of the best spenders for the Bund. He never refused. As soon as I was handed the list that was my first thing, to approach him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any of the other larger contributors to the financial treasury of the Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; a baking firm—concern—Krueger.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you spell the name?

Mr. WERNER. K-r-u-e-g-e-r.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Krueger?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Krueger baking concern?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir. He owns quite a number of trucks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it Mr. Krueger himself who was one of the larger contributors to the Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether he is a man of considerable wealth or not?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any of the large contributors?

Mr. WERNER. One woman in Jersey. I just don't recollect her name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see her name in any of the records of the Bund as a contributor?

Mr. WERNER. Her name was mentioned in one of the meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she live in Short Hills, New Jersey?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. She loaned the Bund \$1,000 for Fritz Kuhn's bail and she did not ask for it—she did not ask for the \$1,000 back. She left \$500 in the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you be able to identify her name if I have it to you?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I would.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it Mary Fertsch?

Mr. WERNER. Mrs. Fertsch, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mary Fertsch of Short Hills, N. J.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever go around to merchants, German merchants in New York to solicit contributions for the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these merchants, these German merchants all members of the bund or sympathizers with the bund?

Mr. WERNER. No; not sympathizers. In one way, yes; but not all members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Some of them were members and some were not?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make it a point not to go to German merchants who were not sympathizers with the bund, or did you go to all German merchants you knew about? What was your practice?

Mr. WERNER. For collecting money I went to all the merchants I know and I was dealing with and asked for contributions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know anything about a practice of imposing something like a boycott on German merchants who refused to contribute to the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I myself threatened some of them—I don't want to say "threatened," but I told them I would not buy there anymore and I would tell my friends not to come in there anymore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not that was the general practice?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For solicitors from the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To give at least implied threats of a boycott to merchants who refused to contribute?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; everybody was doing that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not the bund has active sympathizers in the police department of New York City?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any idea about how many such sympathizers there are?

Mr. WERNER. Oh, I would say a few hundred in the New York Police Department.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever met them personally—any of them?

Mr. WERNER. One of them I met quite often—almost at every meeting we had.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know that he was a sympathizer with the German-American Bund? In what way did he express his sympathy?

Mr. WERNER. He attended all meetings; he bought all papers and he thought we were right—whatever we were doing was correct and he was with us—not only he, but quite a few members of the police department are with us. He used to have a swastika ring at every meeting he attended.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He wore a swastika ring?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know his name?

Mr. WERNER. No; I don't. I will say that Heintz Tissen is working for his wife in a beauty parlor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Heintz Tissen who was mentioned this morning in your testimony?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Working for the wife of this ———

Mr. WERNER. Policeman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Policeman?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In a beauty parlor in New York?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the only way you can identify the policeman?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been out to Camp Siegfried?

Mr. WERNER. Very often.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been there often?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not boys from California who were spending their vacation at Camp Siegfried were sent to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; there were four boys from a military academy from California that came up to Camp Siegfried. They wore the uniform and they left Camp Siegfried. They were in Camp Siegfried for 1 week and they were going to Germany. They told us that the trip was paid for by the German Government and they were spending some months in Germany as guests of the German Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether the bund ever directly or indirectly sent other young people to Germany for propaganda purposes; and by "indirectly" I mean the bund was active in getting up such delegations?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of tourists to go to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In order that they might come in contact with the National Socialist system there?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And come back to the United States and propagandize on behalf of the Nazi movement?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who receives the propaganda literature from Germany to distribute on behalf of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is one O. D. man, Ernst Schwenck.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does literature come directly to Schwenck from Germany?

Mr. WERNER. It comes to him directly from Germany as far as I know; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, how do you connect him with it?

Mr. WERNER. Every week we were getting the German papers, what they call the Black Corps and the Sturmer. They were printed just 1 week before I received them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean they were printed in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; if today is the 4th or 5th of October they were printed maybe the 27th or 28th of September in Germany. I get them just 1 week or 8 days later. He was the one who sold us these papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At least you know that much, that he sold you the literature that came from Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was that his special responsibility in the bund—in the work of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you under any kind of compulsion, moral compulsion or otherwise, to buy this literature?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; moral compulsion I will say. If he did not sell his papers he stood up and made a speech that he ordered them and he is getting these papers and he expects that everyone at least gets one or two of these papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before the outbreak of the war when German boats and crews were still coming into New York harbor, did the crew members go to the German-American Bund camp as the guests of the camp?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; sometimes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that happen often or infrequently?

Mr. WERNER. About four or five times I would say for sure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you personally knew of four or five instances?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In which the crew members of German ships were the guests of the camp?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What camp was that?

Mr. WERNER. Camp Siegfried.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not each German boat that came into New York Harbor had its own propaganda feuhrer or leader?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it had.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did these propaganda leaders from the German boats visit the camps of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; sometimes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they make speeches?



Mr. WERNER. Not in the camp but in meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In meetings of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. In meetings of the bund; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a member of the O. D. of the German-American Bund did you ever do guard duty at the meetings of Joe McWilliams of the Christian Mobilizers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it the common practice for the O. D. to be assigned to do guard duty at the meetings of Joe McWilliams?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall any occasion on which George Deatherage of the organization known as the Knights of the White Camellia addressed meetings of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That was a meeting of the German-American Bund and the Christian Mobilizers together in the Bronx in front of Ford Park or something like that—a big park.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that Innisfail Park?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Innisfail Park in the Bronx?

Mr. WERNER. In the Bronx, yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was a joint meeting of the German-American Bund and the Christian Mobilizers?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Addressed by Joe McWilliams?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And by George Deatherage?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; and by Fritz Kuhn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of an organization known as the Kyffhauserbund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. K-y-f-f-h-a-u-s-e-r?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that organization formerly known as the Steel Helmets or in German, Stahlhelm?

Mr. WERNER. Steel Helmets—Stahlhelm.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about the nature of the Kyffhauserbund?

Mr. WERNER. I would say it is an organization of former German war veterans and pro-Nazis. In the meetings they don't have any American flags—only the swastika there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been to a meeting of the Kyffhauserbund?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where they meet?

Mr. WERNER. In the Kreutzer Hall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know the Kyffhauserbund did meet at the Kreutzer Hall?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know that?

Mr. WERNER. I was working in the Kreutzer Hall as a chef and I happened to go up to one of these halls and they were decorating the hall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were decorating the hall for a meeting of the Kyffhauserbund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you were working in the hall?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not attend the meeting but you saw them decorating the hall?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say "German war veterans" you mean Germans who fought in the German Army?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In some war or other?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; that is right, in the last war.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the relationship of the German consul's office to the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. On a couple of occasions I saw one of the secretaries—I guess he is a secretary—in the German consulate. He was inside in the office of the German-American Bund, and one of the leaders was saying, "There is still a higher leader than Kuhn." At that time Kuhn was the leader.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said: "There is still a higher leader in the German-American Bund"?

Mr. WERNER. Kunze made the remark.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That there was someone in the consulate——

Mr. WERNER. No; not in the consulate, but between us, we know who it was. He was one of the secretaries in the German consulate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, Kunze made a statement that there was someone in this country——

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was higher in the leadership of the bund than Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or himself?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; who gave orders to the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who gave orders to the bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you say that you understood that that man was one of the secretaries in the German consulate?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who the man was?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know his name?

Mr. WERNER. It was something like Ohnen or Ohner. I am not quite sure of the name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How would you spell it, approximately?

Mr. WERNER. I would spell it O-h-n-e-r or O-h-n-e-n.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know which it was?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But when you heard the name, that is the impression it made upon you, is that right?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Ohner or Ohnen?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A secretary in the German consulate who had higher authority in the German-American Bund than either Kuhn or Kunze?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about a Nazi school in Yorkville?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Manhattan?

Mr. WERNER. There are different schools. There is one school run by the German Bund and there is one school run by the German consulate—under the supervision of the German consulate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is this school in Yorkville that is under the supervision of the German consulate?

Mr. WERNER. In the Turnverein Hall, on Eighty-fifth Street and Lexington Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lexington Avenue and Eighty-fifth Street?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it behind Jaeger's Restaurant?

Mr. WERNER. In the same building.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the rear of the building?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this school run by the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the National Socialist Party in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. In the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom is it financed?

Mr. WERNER. The German consulate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is financed by the German consulate?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With funds that come from Germany, as far as you know?

Mr. WERNER. I don't know where the funds are coming from. I guess they would have no other means of making any money.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, how many pupils attend this school?

Mr. WERNER. Between two and three hundred.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are the approximate ages of the pupils in attendance at the school?

Mr. WERNER. Between 8 and 16.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any of the pupils or have you known any of the pupils who attended the school, yourself?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know two children.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How old were the children that you personally knew?

Mr. WERNER. Eleven and twelve.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Boys or girls?

Mr. WERNER. One boy and one girl.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you happen to know these two children who attended this Nazi school?

Mr. WERNER. The mother of the two children was my laundress—took care of my laundry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She washed your clothing?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever help these two children with their home work which they brought home from the Nazi school?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was instruction in that school in the German language?

Mr. WERNER. Only in German.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see the books which they were studying from?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they books published in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the German language?

Mr. WERNER. That is right. They were printed in Erfurt and Leipzig.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, these two children who were the children of your laundress, where were they born?

Mr. WERNER. They were born over here in this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were American citizens?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not their father was living?

Mr. WERNER. The father is dead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the children on relief?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; they were getting money from the city of New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the mother tell you that.

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the attitude of these children, let us say the boy in particular, toward the United States and his attitude toward Hitler's Third Reich?

Mr. WERNER. All his talk and all his thoughts were pro-German.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they pro-Nazi?

Mr. WERNER. Pro-Nazi; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his attitude toward the United States? Did he express himself?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he did. He did not like it over here. He wanted to live in Germany. That was his sole ambition.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him last year?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was 11 years old then, was he?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he thought it would be much nicer to live in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Than in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he ever plan to go to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; the plans were made in the German consulate. He was waiting for his ticket and his passport from Germany so he could go to Germany, through the German consulate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Plans were made at the German consulate to send him to Germany?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And to pay his expenses?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; to pay the ship's ticket and his upkeep over in Germany for 6 or 7 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And when was he planning to make that trip?

Mr. WERNER. Just before the war started and his——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you talk to him after he discovered that it would be impossible for him to go to Germany because the war had broken out?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was his attitude toward that?

Mr. WERNER. He was heartbroken that he could not go.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, do you mean to say that here was a boy born in the United States, an American citizen, who was being taught in this Nazi school, supported by the German Government through the German consulate——

Mr. WERNER. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Promised a trip to Germany with his expenses paid by the German Government?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who thought that Germany was a much better country than the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When the plans fell through and he was unable to go to Germany he expressed himself in the manner which your describe as "heartbroken"?

Mr. WERNER. Heartbroken; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the witness is able to give the name of the woman and the children if you desire it.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that be done in executive session. I prefer it be given to the committee in executive session, but be certain the committee is provided with that information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said that this Nazi school where two to three hundred children are enrolled is under the direction of the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, is the National Socialist Party an organization in this country different from the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is in the United States a National Socialist Party, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who any of the leaders of the National Socialist Party of the United States are?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I know two of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who are the ones that you know?

Mr. WERNER. One man by the name of Otto Johannsen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is the other?

Mr. WERNER. Gerhard Haack.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you know that these two are among the leaders of the National Socialist Party in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not any bund members have dropped out of the German-American Bund and entered the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; quite a few.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say "quite a few," what do you mean—a score, or do you mean more than that?

Mr. WERNER. No; I will say about 40 or 50 bund members are now members in this party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That you know of?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that I know of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Kunze testified before this committee a few days ago that the membership of the bund had dropped from somewhere around 20,000 to somewhere around 10,000.

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear anything about an attempt to create the impression that the German-American Bund was in a state of decline, for propaganda purposes?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it was a couple of times said we should join some other organization—try to go inside and try to win the upper hand and bring them to our side.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communists call that "boring from within." Did you understand the same thing to be true in this connection?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, bund members were told that they should go into other organizations and bore from within?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But in addition to that, they also left the bund and joined the National Socialist Party, is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So that when Mr. Kunze says that 10,000 members of the bund have dropped away from membership it would be your understanding that at least some of those have gone into the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; and to some other organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also into other organizations?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Into what particular type of organizations would these ex-bund members go for the purpose of "boring from within"?

Mr. WERNER. Well, all pro-Nazi organizations. Now, some of these former bund members made them pro-Nazi.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean there were organizations already set up that were not pro-Nazi but bund members went into them?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under instructions from the bund, and made them pro-Nazi by these boring-from-within tactics?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you name some of these organizations into which the bund members have gone for the purpose of influencing their policies?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please do so?

Mr. WERNER. The Steuben Bund in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is spelled S-t-e-u-b-e-n?

Mr. WERNER. That is right; and the Kyffhauserbund—the sport club, soccer ball club, rather—Eintragt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Soccer football club?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, where is that located?

Mr. WERNER. The sport club?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. WERNER. In Astoria.

Mr. STARNES. Do they never play any games of soccer football at a place called Federal Hill? Do you know where Federal Hill is in New Jersey?

Mr. WERNER. In New Jersey? I don't know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think now of any other organizations into which the members of the bund have gone to bore from within?

Mr. WERNER. The Kyffhauserbund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mentioned that one and the sporting organization, the Steuben Bund.

Mr. WERNER. Yes. And there are quite a few small clubs, like somebody come from one city like Hanover or Bremen—they have their own clubs. A couple of members join that club and other members join the other club.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question in connection with this Steuben Society—

Mr. WERNER. Not the Steuben Society; this is different.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is a different organization from the Steuben Society?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; altogether.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is what I wanted to know. The Steuben Society is very old and of long standing.

Mr. WERNER. No; this is different.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Gerhard Haack, whom you mentioned as one of the leaders of the National Socialist Party, the manager of Kreutzer Hall?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Kreutzer Hall is where in New York?

Mr. WERNER. 228 East Eighty-sixth Street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that where the O. D. sometimes had its drills?

Mr. WERNER. We always had drills for the last year—for the last year we had our drills over there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You always had your drills in Kreutzer Hall?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; and our meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have any personal contact with Gerhard Haack?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; every day I was working in that place and talked to him every day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to any camps with him?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where?

Mr. WERNER. Near Nyack.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean he personally escorted you to a camp near Nyack, N. Y.

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do there?

Mr. WERNER. Went shortly before Christmas and chopped down some Christmas trees and some green for the Christmas trees.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that a German-American Bund camp?

Mr. WERNER. No; it was not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What kind of a camp was that at Nyack?

Mr. WERNER. This was a camp of the National Socialist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A camp of the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the German-American Bund have a unit up near Nyack?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What kind of a unit was that?

Mr. WERNER. Rockland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Rockland County, N. Y.?

Mr. WERNER. That is right, Rockland County.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nyack is in Rockland County?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the composition of that unit—what type of persons belonged to it?

Mr. WERNER. Mostly lawyers, doctors, and merchants.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words so far as you know they were professional people?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; professional people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that seemed to be a special unit for professional people that was organized in Rockland County?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Nyack?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, this morning you named quite a number of your former associates in the O. D. and you offered photographs of O. D. members. Are you in general familiar with the occupations which these O. D. men held?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you give a general characterization that would apply to these men so far as their occupations go? Were they professional people?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How would you describe them?

Mr. WERNER. They were mechanics, bakers, restaurant people; a couple worked in a hospital as porters, and carpenters and painters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, would you say in other words that the rank and file of the membership of the O. D. was made up of hard working people?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And not people of means?

Mr. WERNER. No, no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not professional people?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Generally speaking?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But hard working people?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who draw wages in the lower brackets—

Mr. WERNER. That is right

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of income?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was there any hardship imposed upon such people in the amount demanded of them in order to belong to the bund?



Mr. WERNER. Yes; to belong to the bund and to belong to the O. D. it cost quite a little bit of money every week.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear any expressions or feel any pinch yourself?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did. There were quite a few fellows only made \$18 and \$20 a week, who were married and some with a child or two and it was pretty hard for them to meet their membership dues and other things. They had to pay carfare and the papers we had to buy. It was very hard for them to meet that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know whether Otto Willumeit from Chicago came to address bund meetings in New York?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you see him personally?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Colin Ross ever addressed any meetings of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Colin Ross?

Mr. WERNER. I only know him as a speaker—a speaker who goes around. He addressed a meeting here in New York. He was addressing meetings of the German-American Bund—German-American Bund meetings in Chicago and California.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mentioned this morning an occasion when a member of the O. D. had failed to attend two or three meetings and was called on the carpet by the O. D. leader for having failed to attend. I don't think you told what happened to him?

Mr. WERNER. Some of them out of the ranks shouted that he was a traitor and a spy and two O. D. men jumped up to him and hit him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you say they hit him?

Mr. WERNER. They threw him out of the meeting hall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he severely beaten, would you say?

Mr. WERNER. His nose was bleeding and he had a puffed-up eye.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the man in charge of that occasion?

Mr. WERNER. The O. D. leader, Ernst Sotzek.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know a Martin Heinrich who was an O. D. member?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Martin Heinrich have any part in the beating of this storm trooper?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; he is one of the fellows who beat him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did that affect you?

Mr. WERNER. I was disgusted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why?

Mr. WERNER. (No answer.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you think the man had had an opportunity to answer the charges or not?

Mr. WERNER. He gave the excuse—he said he was working, but he was not working. He was out dancing on two nights and some of them reported that he was not working.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And so they set upon him without giving him a chance?

Mr. WERNER. Did not give him any chance.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any letters from Hans Meyer after he arrived in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he express himself as enjoying it or otherwise?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; he wrote me that he was disappointed; he expected much more and he was disappointed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was the American citizen who went to Germany after he received passage and instructions from the German Consulate to go there?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any difficulties as a result of showing Hans Meyer's letter or telling its contents to other O. D. members?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I had quite a few members—rather I will say my closest friends in the O. D.—I showed them this letter from Hans Meyer and they told me I should not do that and I should not talk about the letter, and after that they gave me the cold shoulder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your attitude toward boycotting German businessmen who would not contribute to the German-American Bund?

Mr. VOORHIS. Would those be German businessmen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did that affect you? Did you have any special attitude toward that practice of boycotting German businessmen who would not contribute? Did you have any attitude toward that practice?

Mr. WERNER. No; I did not like that and on a couple of occasions I did it myself. I told them if they didn't give me any money for this I would not come back and buy and would tell my friends not to come there in their store.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, did you have any suspicions of an idea that this might be a sort of improper way of getting funds, to threaten Germans with boycott?

Mr. WERNER. No; in those days I did not but later on I did.

Mr. VOORHIS. When were "those days"? Do you mean in 1938?

Mr. WERNER. Later on in 1940 after I got out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever make any protest at any bund meetings about any of the practices that had to do with raising money or spending money?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what that protest was?

Mr. WERNER. I made a couple of statements in O. D. meetings between O. D. members that the bund keeps such a big office and such a big force and we are suckers enough to pay for them; if the office gets closed and them fellows have to go out and work like we have they would feel a little different.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words did you think that out of your very meager income you were supporting a top-heavy bureaucracy in the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you publicly protested against that?

Mr. WERNER. I did; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At a bund meeting, and how was your protest received?

Mr. WERNER. Oh, very cold. They did not like the idea and I guess that it was the finish for me in the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After that did you feel that you were distinctly set apart?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As some one to avoid?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; hardly any one talked to me anymore and would not hardly say "hello" on the streets anymore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, when did that happen?

Mr. WERNER. In February of this year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was in February of this year?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you decide to do then about the whole bund after you found that you had been isolated from the membership of the bund as a result of your protest?

Mr. WERNER. At first I didn't want to do nothing the first week or two because there was quite a number of real nice, good fellows inside in the O. D. and in the bund. Then I had ample time to think things over and I missed some of these fellows and I thought it over, what we were doing over there, them fellows and me. Most of us, we had a pretty good job and made a pretty nice living; we could afford many things and then it came to me we are only suckers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean after you had stopped going to the bund meetings in February and after some weeks of thinking this thing over—

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And looking back on it you decided that you just had been made a sucker of?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do eventually about the matter of your German citizenship?

Mr. WERNER. In July I applied for my first papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To take out citizenship papers?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the way, do you have a German passport?

Mr. WERNER. Yes. [Handing booklet to Mr. Matthews.]

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I presume the witness will have to keep possession of this passport for the time being, but here is his current passport which is good until 1944.

Is that correct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. The other members may look at the passport and of course it should be returned to the witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But in July of this year you made an application for your first papers to become an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did your decision, after having been in the United States 13 years—

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS (continuing). To take out citizenship papers have anything to do with the fact that you had become disillusioned with the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Would you say that again, please?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have given some concrete things that led to your questioning the practices of the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you decided you had been made a sucker of in the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And some of your friends had been made suckers of?

Mr. WERNER. All of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All of them?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All of them had been made suckers of in this bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that you had come to America, you had had opportunities with fairly good income and you had been able to buy your home?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And those were things that you think may not have happened to you if you had stayed in Germany?

Mr. WERNER. No; we never could have had that in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I want to know if this all led up to your decision to become an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or to try and become an American citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that is the reason.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This disillusionment with the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; that is right, with the bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever persecuted?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the United States?

Mr. WERNER. No, never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*. You have seen that paper frequently, have you not?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify that as an issue of the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* for October 3d, 1940. That is yesterday's paper. G. Wilhelm Kunze is the editor of this publication?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is so listed on the masthead: "G. Wilhelm Kunze, president, G. Wilhelm Kunze, editor, G. Wilhelm Kunze, managing editor." He holds three positions?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In a sworn statement of this particular issue of the publication.

Now, when Mr. Kunze was on the stand a few days ago he was asked if the *Weckruf* had taken any position on the Tripartite Pact—the Rome, Berlin, Tokyo Pact, which has just been concluded. I think he answered that there had not been time for the *Weckruf* to discuss it and he further stated that he would not have any position on it because the bund did not mix in foreign politics.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is quite a lengthy editorial on the pact, approving it quite highly and saying the United States should fall in line with the pact and keep its hands off of the affairs of foreign countries.

That editorial appears on page 2, but I was going to ask the witness about a statement in an editorial, presumably from Mr. Kunze, to the effect that 30,000,000 people living in the United States, whom he identifies as the German-American population, are about to have their rights and lives exterminated by violence, conducted with Government sanction.

I want to have the witness testify whether or not he ever had any experience in this country which by any stretch of the imagination would justify that kind of an assertion?

Mr. WERNER. No; I never have.

Mr. STARNES. To what does that article have reference? Is it the Selective Service Act or ordering the National Guard into service or what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It appears to be a general article, Mr. Chairman. It reads:

There are about 30,000,000 people living in the United States who know that they live under a political condition which is only prolonging their civil and political death.

and it doesn't get any more specific than that.

There are also articles against conscription.

Mr. STARNES. I believe the leaders of the bund in their testimony said as an organization they did oppose the selective service bill, the passage of it, and also the National Guard training bill.

Mr. MASON. Would you say, Dr. Matthews, that the editorial was nothing but glittering generalities, vague and so forth?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. It is a very long editorial and that is the trend of the article. It covers a great deal of territory. It goes back to King George the III, and brings it right down to date.

Now, Mr. Werner, after you took out your first citizenship papers you had not yet discussed with any outside persons the fact of your break with the German-American Bund, had you?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had not discussed it with anyone?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had kept the matter entirely to yourself but when you came to register as an alien in the middle of September, you did make a notation that you had formerly been a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, after you applied for your first papers to become an American citizen, did you associate this step which you had taken with the importance of trying to bring out the facts about the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. I did not get that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you decided to become an American citizen if you could be admitted?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you had not talked about the bund yet?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wondered if there was any connection between the fact that you decided to become an American citizen and your willingness to appear before this committee?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or to go to any other person and tell what you knew about the real facts pertaining to the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. My sole reason and my sole ambition is that all my former friends get wise to the German-American Bund and think it over. They know they are making a living over here and making a better living than they would in Germany; and to forget about the bund and the things the bund is standing for and just be real Americans.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the bund stand, among other things, for the dissemination of hatred?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; the bund stands for that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Stands for racial hatreds?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also stands for class hatreds. If you are going to hang the bankers that is class hatred, isn't it?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As one who aspires to becoming an American citizen do you think that hatred has any place in the American way of life?

Mr. WERNER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you would like for your former comrades in the German-American Bund to get wise to themselves, as you put it?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; that is right. That is my sole ambition. I don't have any hatred or hard feelings against anybody because most of them—they are a nice bunch of fellows. They are working hard and most, almost all of them own a nice home, are married, have children and they are over here in this country and they have all the opportunity in the world, and let them be real Americans.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not long ago—in fact, I think it may have been the last job you had, weren't you working in a diner where a number of nationalities were working all together in the same place?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the last job you had where this took place?

Mr. WERNER. The last steady job, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The last steady job you had?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were there as a German; was there another German working there?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; a German fellow, a Russian, an English fellow, a Frenchman, a Canadian and a Polish fellow—two Polish fellows and a Russian.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you all worked in one diner?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did that impress you as constituting a little league of nations?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you get along together?

Mr. WERNER. Wonderful.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did that come to impress itself upon your mind as being something of a picture of America in miniature?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; if we work in a small place like that so nice together we ought to be able to work in a large place together.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Werner, you spoke a moment ago of the fact that the bund had ordered its members to join other organizations?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And to work within the framework of those organizations to create sympathy for the National Socialist Party or the Nazi government?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You gave us a number of names of some groups. Were you given any instructions other than to go into the Christian Mobilizers?

Mr. WERNER. A few former members of the bund joined the Christian Mobilizers.

Mr. STARNES. But you don't know whether it was under instructions or not?

Mr. WERNER. No; we didn't have any instructions for that. We attended some meetings and so forth or rallies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In a sense there was open collaboration, was there not, between the Christian Mobilizers and the bund?

Mr. WERNER. The aim of Fritz Kuhn was to be the head man of all these organizations. He tried to unite them and he wanted the German-American Bund to be the head of all these organizations.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not any of the former bund members joined the Knights of the White Camellia?

Mr. WERNER. No, not what I know.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether any of them joined Pelley's Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. WERNER. Not that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not they have worked closely with the Black Shirt Legion or the Fascist groups in New York?

Mr. WERNER. The Italian Black Shirts?

Mr. STARNES. Are they tied in with that group?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, they are tied in with that group.

Mr. STARNES. Have they held joint meetings to your knowledge, the members of the bund and the Black Shirt group, have they held joint meetings in New York City?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Were they working along the same line and following the same program in this country?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Since the Hitler-Stalin pact of the past year, August of 1939, has there been a change in the attitude of the bund men and of the Storm Troopers toward the Communists in this country?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was the attitude originally? Was it rather hostile? Didn't they attack the Communists?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Rather severely?

Mr. WERNER. Wherever we met a Communist or some Communists we would pick a fight and they picked a fight with us and there was a good free-for-all with pleasure.

Mr. STARNES. That happened quite often, didn't it?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; it did.

Mr. STARNES. Now, since the pact have there been any further fights between the Communist groups and the bund groups in the New York City area?

Mr. WERNER. Never since the pact was signed.

Mr. STARNES. Now, prior to the time of the pact the Germans were constantly attacking the Communist Party through the columns and editorial pages of their papers?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Have those attacks ceased since that time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; stopped almost altogether.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever read the Daily Worker either through curiosity or otherwise?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I guess I had it twice or three times.

Mr. STARNES. Prior to that the Daily Worker was very severe in its attacks on nazi-ism in this country?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. But since signing the pact have those attacks in the Daily Worker against the Nazi and Fascist movements ceased?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In other words there has been an accord in this country, to your personal knowledge, between the Communists, Fascists, and Nazi groups since the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact of the past year?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, here are two issues of the Weckruf which establishes the fact that at least in these issues there are no anticommunist articles.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received as exhibits.

(The Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 7.")

Mr. VOORHIS. And prior to the signing of the pact I doubt if there was a single issue of the Weckruf that did not feature an attack upon the Communists, is that right?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At the time you joined the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund, you were still a German citizen?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Your sympathies naturally were toward things German, German culture, German heritage, and German traditions and so forth?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. But now you have, as a result of your experiences in the Friends of New Germany and in the German-American Bund, plus the experiences that you have obtained or lived through in this country, have convinced you that the way you trod and the way the members of the Friends of New Germany and the members of the German-American Bund have trod, was the wrong way?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you are now applying for citizenship papers in this country?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.



Mr. STARNES. And you joined the German-American Bund, of course, as a German citizen in order to promote the Friends of New Germany and the German-American Bund and at that time you were sincere in it?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. STARNES. You were sincere at that time?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. STARNES. And you now vow equal sincerity in renouncing that program and that faith in accepting a new faith and a new program and a new citizenship?

Mr. WERNER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Has the German-American Bund blacklisted you or attempted to blacklist you with reference to the question of employment since you have broken with it?

Mr. WERNER. It is my impression; I can't prove it.

Mr. STARNES. You can't prove it but that is your impression?

Mr. WERNER. That is my impression.

Mr. STARNES. You find it difficult if not almost impossible to obtain employment since that time?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Although within 24 hours after you landed on these shores 13 years ago you obtained employment?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And held it steadily and continuously through the years until after you broke with the German-American Bund?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the apparent reason why you could not get a job after you broke with the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Employment offices would send me to a restaurant or to a diner and the boss would tell me to start work the next morning at 4 o'clock. I came down with my working clothes and one of the night men would tell me: "I am sorry, the old chef is coming back." And on other occasions the boss told me to bring my tools and working clothes the following day and I shall start to work. I came down with my tools and working clothes and he told me: "I have some bad news for you. I am going to keep the old chef."

I was working in a place about a week and the boss came to me and said "I am sorry, I have to let you go. The old chef is coming back."

And I was working for one place for 4 years and the other place for 5 years and I know I always did my work well—as good as I could and never any complaints and now all of a sudden——

Mr. STARNES. You were never discharged before from any of your positions?

Mr. WERNER. No, never. I always quit.

Mr. STARNES. In the 13 years?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; never was discharged.

Mr. STARNES. And you never left any place of employment save with a good record and good conduct?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And I believe you stated this morning you were never out of employment during the 13 years for over a week at a time?

Mr. WERNER. No; the longest was 5 days.

Mr. STARNES. That was the longest time?

Mr. WERNER. That was the longest time; yes.

Mr. STARNES. I will say for you that is an unusual record.

Mr. Voorhis, Do you have anything further?

Mr. Voorhis. I want to ask a further question.

You mentioned something about the National Socialist Party of the United States?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. Voorhis. Not much has been known about that organization. There has not been much in the press or any place else about it.

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. Voorhis. How long has it been in existence in the United States, do you know?

Mr. WERNER. In the United States? I could not say.

Mr. Voorhis. You don't know?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. Voorhis. When was the first time you heard of it?

Mr. WERNER. It was in the fall of last year.

Mr. Voorhis. The fall of 1939?

Mr. WERNER. 1939, yes.

Mr. Voorhis. And what did you hear about it at that time?

Mr. WERNER. That it is a branch from Germany of the National Socialist Party and it was to open up an office on Eighty-sixth Street. Quite a few Germans I know belong to that. When we talk about it we say: "The Party."

Mr. Voorhis. Do you know whether there was ever an attempt to keep this organization extremely secret and at the same time to make the bund as a sort of front for the activities of the National Socialist Party so as to divert attention from it?

Mr. WERNER. No; I would not say they want to keep it a secret. If they want to keep it a secret they would not make an office in the middle of Manhattan.

Mr. Voorhis. Which do you think is the more important from the standpoint of the Nazi movement, the German-American Bund or the National Socialist Party?

Mr. WERNER. The National Socialist Party is more important than the bund. The bund is a hell raiser I would say; they make a lot of noise. The National Socialist Party, they are working quietly and my impression is that the quiet work does more harm than the hell raising.

Mr. Voorhis. Do you know who is the head of the National Socialist Party in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. No; not of the United States I don't know.

Mr. Voorhis. You don't know that?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. Voorhis. You never heard that discussed?

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He named two men he knows who are leaders but not the leader.

Mr. STARNES. Among the leaders.

Mr. Voorhis. But there never would be any doubt about who the leader of the bund was, would there?

Mr. WERNER. No. They are very closely associated with the German consulate. Every meeting they have one of the consul staff at the meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did the bund support the candidacy for Joe McWilliams to Congress, do you know?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did they support him vigorously?

Mr. WERNER. Yes; helped him to distribute some pamphlets and attended his street meetings in Yorkville and stood guard in the street meetings in case there should be some fighting.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was Mr. Pelley's literature ever distributed by the bund in bund meetings?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir; this Schwenck sold Pelley's papers, the Silver Shirt, I guess the name was. At quite a few big meetings we had some fellows who were allowed to sell Pelley's papers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, along a little bit different line. Do you believe the German-American Bund represents the real point of view of the average German-American who has come here from Germany, or whose parents came here from Germany?

Mr. WERNER. No. The feeling of the German people over here—will you say the question again?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. I asked you whether you thought the bund represented the feeling of the people of German ancestry who are in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. No, not in general. No, not in general.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wouldn't think so either.

Mr. WERNER. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you feel any less affection or loyalty to your own ancestry and your own people today than you did when you were an active member in the bund?

Mr. WERNER. Do I feel—

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you feel any less loyalty to your own German people and your German ancestry and their traditions and so on today than you did when you were active in the bund?

Mr. WERNER. No. I feel more for my people in Germany than at that time.

Mr. MASON. In other words your loyalty to the German ancestry and the German people and the German culture is one thing?

Mr. WERNER. Yes.

Mr. MASON. And your loyalty to Hitler and his regime and the National Socialist Party is a different thing entirely?

Mr. WERNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is the point I was trying to bring out. Do you believe that the activities of the bund are doing a good thing or a bad thing for the German people in the United States?

Mr. WERNER. I think they are doing a lot of harm to the German people over here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Putting them in a false light?

Mr. WERNER. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think that is all.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Dempsey.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No questions.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Mason.

Mr. MASON. No further questions.

Mr. STARNES. That is all and we thank you very much for your testimony.

We hope that you will become a good American citizen.

Mr. WERNER. I will try my best. I will try to make up for what I was doing that was wrong.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think the committee should, as you have already done, express its very great appreciation for this man coming here. He has done a courageous thing.

Mr. STARNES. His testimony has shed further light on the true intent and purposes of the German-American Bund and the National Socialist Party. It has served to center the attention of all of us upon the necessity of being constantly on guard against any of these movements, like the bund, which foster class hatred and racial hatred and prejudices in this country. A love of our family life and our background, the traditions of our race, or of our mother country is one thing, but a loyalty, political loyalty and allegiance to our adopted country is another. They need not be in contradistinction or against each other. But with your background and with this new land of ours you should become a better citizen than many of us who don't know what occurs over there.

Mr. WERNER. I shall try my best.

Mr. STARNES. Is there anything further, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nothing further, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Then the hearing will adjourn.

(Whereupon, at 2:30 o'clock p. m., the hearing was concluded.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will be in order.

Chairman Dies has appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Voorhis of California, Mr. Mason of Illinois, and myself to investigate the American Peace Mobilization and other groups against whom charges have been made of seeking to disturb our national unity and through their affiliations to disrupt production for national security.

I think all of us appreciate the fact that this is a most critical period in the history of our Nation; that the great need of the hour is national unity and our security can be maintained only by unprecedented production for defense.

Certainly any individual or group of individuals who, by one method or another, would disrupt, willfully disrupt, this production program or willfully disturb or attempt to destroy national unity or the confidence of our people in their ability or their capacity to govern themselves, is a dangerous group.

This subcommittee is meeting for the purpose of investigating the truth of assertions made by certain of these organizations and allegations made concerning the nature of the work of the organizations and whether or not they are really and truly subversive in their character.

I think it only fair to state that this committee issued three subpoenas directed to the officers of the American Peace Mobilization, requesting them to bring their records to the committee and to go over those records with the committee and discuss the matter. The first two subpoenas were not even acknowledged. The only acknowledgment we have received to the third subpoena, which was issued late in February of this year, returnable March 4, was given by Mrs. Montgomery, who appeared at the committee's office, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Cadden, of the American Youth Congress, and Mr. Morris Watkins, of the Newspaper Guild, and Mr. Lamb, and the only information they brought or gave to the committee was one small pamphlet which disclosed nothing.

Before proceeding with the hearing of the witnesses whom we have scheduled to be heard today, I would like to ascertain whether or not the following parties are in the committee room with the material which they were requested to bring by proper subpoena: Mr. Arthur B. Hersey, treasurer of the Washington Committee for Aid to China.

Mr. HERSEY. Here.

Mr. STARNES. And Mrs. Muriel Koenigsberg, secretary of the Washington Committee for Aid to China.

Mr. HERSEY. Yes; she is present, your honor.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Hersey, you were requested by the subpoena to bring with you all of the financial records of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, including all receipts, disbursements, and contributions in connection with the Chinese Christmas Bazaar, sponsored by the Washington Committee for Aid to China, also all receipts, disbursements, contributions in connection with the Paul Robeson concert sponsored by the Washington Committee for Aid to China, also a complete financial statement of funds received, expended, and disbursed by the Washington Committee for Aid to China. Do you have those records with you, Mr. Hersey?

Mr. HERSEY. I have them with the exception of the financial statement of the committee which I haven't been able to complete within the rather short notice that was given to me.

Mr. STARNES. All right; just stand aside, then; and, Mr. Stripling, will you wait on Mr. Hersey about that matter?

Mr. TAUB. May I address myself to you now, please?

Mr. STARNES. No; you can't now. I haven't completed my statement yet. Mrs. Koenigsberg.

Mrs. KOENIGSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were subpoenaed to bring with you the membership list of the Washington Committee for Aid to China, also copies of minutes of executive council meetings, also copies of a resolution adopted by said organization, and also all official correspondence of said organization. Do you have those with you, Mrs. Koenigsberg?

Mrs. KOENIGSBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much. Now, if you will just stand aside, later in the day, Mr. Stripling, the secretary of the committee, will be glad to wait on you and receive those papers and whatever statements you wish to make. Thank you very much for appearing.

Mr. TAUB. May I address myself now to you? I will appreciate an opportunity.

Mr. STARNES. We are not ready to listen to any statements now.

Mr. TAUB. I am counsel here for these people.

Mr. STARNES. May I say to you that the committee is merely ascertaining whether or not these people are present with the records. That is all we want to know and we are now ready to proceed with the hearing and we are not ready to hear any statement.

Mr. TAUB. I just want to make a statement. I was called in yesterday by the committee—I am the counsel—I haven't had a chance to consult with them. I respectfully ask you to listen for the record. My name is Allen Taub, 175—

Mr. STARNES. We are not ready to hear from you now.

Who is the first witness we will have today, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Miss Hazel Huffman.

Mr. STARNES. Miss Huffman, will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth so help you God?

**TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HUFFMAN, BROOKLYN, N. Y.**

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name for the record?

Miss HUFFMAN. Hazel Huffman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are you from, Miss Huffman?

Miss HUFFMAN. From New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Miss HUFFMAN. 55 Pierpont Street, Brooklyn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Miss HUFFMAN. I was born in Niagara Falls, N. Y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly what your educational training has been?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am a New York State registered nurse and graduate of the University of Buffalo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what occupations have you followed other than nursing, if any?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, I have been a telephone operator; I have clerked in a store; I have been a trained nurse, and in my nursing field I have done industrial nursing, private duty nursing. I was a night superintendent of a hospital in Brooklyn.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is sufficient. You are a registered nurse in the State of New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you engaged in research or investigations on the subject of un-American and subversive activities?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For approximately how long a period?

Miss HUFFMAN. Just a little short of 10 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you appear once before this committee as a witness?

Miss HUFFMAN. Twice before, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Twice in 1938?

Miss HUFFMAN. Twice in 1938. I believe August and November or December. Anyway, it is volumes 1 and 4.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the subject of your testimony at that time was—

Miss HUFFMAN. Pertaining to the Federal Theater Project.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your testimony was in connection with the Federal Theater project?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you engaged by this committee to make an investigation of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you made such an investigation?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the past year?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did your investigations cover the entire history of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you find with respect to the origin of the American Peace Mobilization and its relationship to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Miss HUFFMAN. The American League for Peace and Democracy had become rather dormant. The organization was not operating actively except for a few groups that were struggling to still maintain a peace, so-called peace program. Then around the first week in June 1940 Israel Amter and Charles—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a minute. The American League for Peace and Democracy was formally disbanded in February of 1940, was it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; it was formally disbanded but some of the smaller groups, possibly because of their social aspects, still were holding on. They had some rather unimportant meetings during that period of time. They hadn't completely disbanded. For instance, the Niagara Peace Council was still having meetings under the name of the Niagara Peace Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you were about to say that something happened in June of 1940; what was that?

Miss HUFFMAN. From around January 1 up to June certain groups in labor had come out with a program, certain youth groups had come out with a peace program. I believe that was following a special peace program that had been issued from the Soviet Union, but they were not connected groups. Then in June of 1940, for New York State this would be, Israel Amter and Charles Krumbein—that is, the New York State chairman and secretary of the Communist Party of the United States—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Israel A-m-t-e-r?

Miss HUFFMAN. A-m-t-e-r; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is chairman of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Charles Krumbein?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. State secretary of the Communist Party of New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. They issued orders to all section organizers throughout New York State to organize peace groups in their various sections, branches, and units. It is natural to conclude that this same order went out from other State secretaries in the various States. At least our findings show that similar action was taken in all the States as was taken in New York State.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you only know the express order as coming from Krumbein and Amter?

Miss HUFFMAN. From Krumbein and Amter; yes, sir.



Mr. MATTHEWS. But the same effects that followed in New York were also noticed throughout the United States?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute—who are Amter and Krumbein? I mean what organization did they issue these orders to? To what section organizers?

Miss HUFFMAN. It was the orders issued to all sections for New York State, all sections and branches and units.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of what?

Miss HUFFMAN. Of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know they did that?

Miss HUFFMAN. This information came from a most reliable source—a man who was a member of one of the units.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he tell you about this?

Miss HUFFMAN. He testified to that—he gave us that information under oath, yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean do you have documents there with reference to that?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I, perhaps, help in clearing this up? In the course of your investigation you relied to some extent upon the work of informers inside of the Communist Party, is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this particular information about the orders was obtained through such informers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is it your finding that the order, at least, is in entire agreement with the developments which took place later?

Miss HUFFMAN. Completely. These orders were to the effect that the groups were to be conducted under nonpartisan affiliations and they stressed the importance of keeping the Communist Party in the background and under no circumstances was the party to sponsor any of the original peace organizations or any of the demonstrations by these peace organizations.

The order stressed that the original organizers of the peace groups should be comprised of the individuals from the following groups and organizations: Section and branch chairman of each assembly district of the Communist Party. Executives from the shop and industrial branches of the Communist Party. Leading Communists from Communist-front organizations, and fellow-travelers from the various trade-unions, fraternal and religious groups and so forth. Communist executives and fronts from the Workers Alliance, National Maritime Union, American Labor Party, left-wing, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Tenants League, Jewish People's Committee, Friends of the Soviet Union, American Council on Soviet Relations, and various other similar groups.

Under the orders each peace committee or organization was to adopt a different title, for instance, there would be the West Side Peace Council, the New York Peace Committee, the New York Peace Conference, the Coordinating Committee for Peace; the West Side

group, the Harlem group, all of them appearing to be spontaneous and individual organizations, having no link or connection with the others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, did you name the New York Peace Association in that list?

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe I named the New York Peace Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You gave them as examples of the titles?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now did you find that an organization was set up known as the New York Peace Association?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. I was not listing all of the organizations that were set up. I was merely giving examples of the type of names that were to be used. That is the way the order was issued, you see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photostatic copy of a throwaway; have you seen that?

(Handing document to the witness.)

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. This was obtained at one of the meetings and this confirms the list that I gave previously, of the groups that were to be set up—Mothers Club, United American Artists, United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism, International Workers Order, Jewish People's Committee, American Friends of the Chinese People, and the Coordinating Committee Against Profiteering.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the entire meeting was under the auspices of the New York Peace Association?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be incorporated in the record at this point.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The document was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. You may proceed.

Miss HUFFMAN. The orders as issued by Mr. Amter and Mr. Krumbein went on further to state that all street meetings were to be under the auspices of some union or organization and they were all to follow strictly the party line. The speakers were to discourse strictly along Communist Party lines and the speakers at street meetings, and I quote this:

Will only be allowed to speak after they have shown credentials which will be furnished each contemplated speaker by the Communist Party section chairman.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say you quote that? What do you quote it from?

Miss HUFFMAN. That was given to us by the man who was in this group; it is a direct quote regarding the street meetings.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you haven't it from any official document or anything like that?

Miss HUFFMAN. It came from an official source, Congressman Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. What source was that, that is what I am trying to get at.

Miss HUFFMAN. I was asked not to divulge that source in open hearing. I should be very glad to give the source of that information in executive hearing because it would interfere with the further activities of this particular party for this particular agency.

Mr. STARNES. You can give that information to Mr. Voorhis in an executive session.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Huffman, do you know what the New York address of the American Peace Mobilization national headquarters is?

Miss HUFFMAN. The address of the national headquarters is 1133 Broadway, New York City—that is Broadway just above Twenty-sixth Street. I believe it is on the fourth floor. I would not be too sure of the floor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I show you a copy of a publication called The Peace Reporter, issued by the New York Peace Association, the organization which you have identified as being one of the local groups set up.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In compliance with this alleged order of Krumbein and Amter. The address of the New York Peace Association was 1133 Broadway, which is now the address of the national headquarters of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; that is the national headquarters. The New York office is at 381 Fourth Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you spoke of the line which was to be acceptable in these programs as being the line of the Communist Party, did you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I mentioned the fact that the speakers were to follow strictly the so-called party line.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Communist Party line?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Communist Party line; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, at this point I ask to have introduced into the record the editorial from the June 1940 issue of the Peace Reporter, published by the New York Peace Association, which sets forth the line of the New York Peace Association.

Mr. STARNES. That is in corroboration of Miss Huffman's testimony?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; it is in corroboration of the facts that Miss Huffman gave with reference to the New York Peace Association line being the line of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 2.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, will you proceed?

Miss HUFFMAN. The State committee especially urged, that is, the New York State committee of the Communist Party, especially urged that attention be given to the Italian sections, and this was given to me as before, Congressman Voorhis, as a direct quote of the order given out by Mr. Amter and Mr. Krumbein:

Since Italy entered the war, a wonderful field is open for uniting the Italian people to support the Communist Party peace program because the Italian people will be the center of attack by the warmongers and advocates of the war hysteria which will brand them as fifth columnists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not the Communist Party has carried out that instruction and engaged in special activities among Italians in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; Dr. Matthews, because I am going into the organization of the lower East Side of New York, which was

carried on by the Communist Party members of the Italian division of the Communist Party—the Italian bureau of the Communist Party, to be exact.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right.

Miss HUFFMAN. This list were the leaders for the Communist Party of the lower East Side and they were delegated to organize the lower East Side. They included Louis Hanover.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please spell these names for the reporter, Miss Huffman?

Miss HUFFMAN. L-o-u-i-s H-a-n-o-v-e-r. His real name is Louis Yanover—Y-a-n-o-v-e-r. He is section chairman of the Tom Paine branch of the Communist Party, located at 289 Bleeker Street. Tony Morano. He was chairman of the Garibaldi branch of the Communist Party, located at 107 MacDougal Street. That is in Manhattan.

Gino Bardi, editor of L'Unita del Popolo, which is termed the Communist-Italian paper. That is located at 80 East Eleventh Street.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether 80 East Eleventh Street is headquarters for a large number of Communist Party organizations?

Miss HUFFMAN. It is; and Doctor, right there I might mention that—and I am talking now about June 1940, but this editor, Gino Bardi, is one of the most active speakers at the present time. Within the past 2 weeks he has made speeches at three and four meetings a day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Meetings of what?

Miss HUFFMAN. Covered three or four meetings a day for the American Peace Mobilization, where he has been the speaker and the organizer, always stressing the Italian aspect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is 80 East Eleventh Street the same address as 799 Broadway? Do you happen to know what?

Miss HUFFMAN. I would have to figure that out. I prefer not to answer that now. Then for the same paper we have the associate editor, Mary Ratti. Her party name, Maria Testa, is given to us in this report which is also the name under which she has been speaking for the American Peace Mobilization. She is the wife of Carl Petrino and is also a member of the Italian bureau of the Communist Party.

Carl Petrino is chairman of section 31 of the Communist Party and was a candidate for Congress from the second assembly district on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That would be the Second Congressional District rather than the second assembly district if he was running for Congress?

Miss HUFFMAN. This was given as assembly; it should be Congressional District; yes.

Alex Schwartzman of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and Ralph Simola of the Italian Bureau of the Communist Party; Teito Nuzio of the Italian Bureau of the Communist Party; Bob Lesser, chairman of local No. 10 of the Workers' Alliance, located at No. 9 Jones Street; Robert Meiron of the National Maritime Union; Martin Ludwig of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and executive branch No. 2 of the Communist Party for the East Side.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who are these people?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These people are the people who were delegated to organize the lower East Side of New York for the peace movement. They were ordered by the Communist Party executives at the time this official order was given out to the sections and units.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are going to leave the Italians for the time being?

Miss HUFFMAN. I just have one more name, Congressman Voorhis: Beatrice McCullem, a Communist Party member and executive of the Tenants' League.

Now, that is just a group that was ordered to organize the East Side. Similar groups were ordered to organize the West Side, the Harlem area, and the Bronx, and various other sections of the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, the Congressman asked you if you were going to leave the Italians?

Mr. VOORHIS. I thought there was one question that might go in here. I wanted to ask whether you secured any substantial evidence that any work had been done with the Italian groups that were not Communists?

Mr. STARNES. In other words, did you secure any evidence about Fascist groups being used in these peace drives?

Mr. VOORHIS. What I want to know is, you said that there was great emphasis to be placed on the Italians. Of course, everybody knows there has been a very bitter and sharp division between the Italian people for a long time; and the Italians that were Communists themselves, there wouldn't be any difficulty about working with them. I want to know whether the significance of that statement had to do with an attempt to bring in other Italian people into this supposed peace mobilization and whether there had been any success in attempting to do that?

Miss HUFFMAN. I don't believe I understand your question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I wonder if I can help clear that up. You have read the Daily Worker rather regularly during the past year?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You spoke a moment ago about this order being directed to work among the Italians because they would be the victims of the warmongers; isn't that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, have you read editorials in the Daily Worker which deal with that question?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I ask you if those editorials do not reflect this viewpoint, that the Communist Party tells the entire Italian population, as it were, that because the United States may become involved in a conflict with Italy, the entire Italian population will be subjected to suspicion on the part of their non-Italian neighbors?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that therefore the Communist Party hopes to exploit that fact to win members of the Italian population generally to its program?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is what you meant?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and that is a point that is stressed by Gino Bardi and Maria Testa in the speeches they made. They are constantly dwelling on that phase of it.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, you were going to take up some of the other groups around New York City. Did you conclude that part of your statement?

MISS HUFFMAN. Similar groups were set up in the various areas and sections. Each designated area, such as the East Side, West Side, Harlem, the Bronx, Brooklyn, had their own particular group of delegates who did the organizing. That was specifically set up by the Communist Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. All right. Will you proceed?

MISS HUFFMAN. The first large public activity was on Memorial Day of 1940, at which time an attempt was made by some of these peace groups to circulate war circulars at the ceremonies of the Rhineland Post of the American Legion.

There had been several street fights. Several of them had been beaten and assaulted and as a result of that having happened, Eugene P. Connolly, chairman of the New York County American Labor Party, left wing, telegraphed protests to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine charging the police with failing to provide adequate protection. Along about that time Mr. Connolly issued the statement defending Representative Vito Marcantonio's sole vote against the President's defense program, stating that one vote had the full support of the rank and file of the American Labor Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now have you found that Eugene P. Connolly is active in the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you give some of the facts on that point? In what way has he been active other than telegraphing this protest to Mayor LaGuardia and Police Commissioner Valentine?

MISS HUFFMAN. As head of the organization of the left wing of the American Labor Party. They have been very active in the group—

MR. MATTHEWS. Is this so-called left wing of the American Labor Party officially known as the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party?

MISS HUFFMAN. I had always felt that was one of the slogans they used rather than it being the official title. It might be the official title.

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, it is the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. VOORHIS. I think it is rather important to distinguish that from the American Labor Party as such. I think it is rather important to distinguish that from the American Labor Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is what I wanted to bring out.

MISS HUFFMAN. In all references I make to the American Labor Party, left wing, I am referring to the group that is headed by Morris Watson, Eugene P. Connolly, Herman—

MR. VOORHIS. I understand that perfectly well, Miss Huffman, but a lot of people might not understand it, and I think it is important

that it be made clear that is not the American Labor Party as such—it is simply a dissident group within.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have some more on Eugene P. Connolly's participation in the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, he is a sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean he is a national sponsor?

Miss HUFFMAN. He is a national sponsor of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And so listed officially on their literature?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; then another one of the large groups that was set up at that time and was particularly active on this Memorial Day in 1940, was the group known as the West Side Mothers' Peace Committee. They had presented a petition, an antiwar petition, to Congressman Bloom and Congressman Barton in which there were 10,000 mothers' signatures. That group is still very active as of the present day.

Under their new title, which is "The Women's Division of the American Peace Mobilization," and that group is headed by Dr. Annette T. Rubenstein, who is principal of the Robert Louis Stevenson School at 304 West Eighty-eighth Street in New York City, and Dr. Rubenstein headed the delegation at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Delegation to what?

Miss HUFFMAN. Delegation that presented that petition of the 10,000 mothers' signatures. At that time Dr. Rubenstein denied she had any Communist affiliations. From that time on Dr. Rubenstein has been very active with the group and—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. The American Peace Mobilization. And the Communists in the American Peace Mobilization—I hope I can make this clear because it is more than just a term of endearment—Dr. Rubenstein is constantly being described to me by people who are Communists and people who are members of the American Peace Mobilization as "the darling of the peace movement." At a meeting she spoke at 2 weeks ago, I have the exact date here, she mentioned that she had spoken at four meetings that day and her mother had spoken at three and for the past week she had been speaking at from three to four meetings. She is head of the women's division of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, these various local groups were set up in New York, and also such specialized committees as the mothers' peace group?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Mothers' West Side Peace Committee, which Dr. Rubenstein at this time admitted was affiliated with the New York Peace Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what was the next step in bringing all of these groups together?

Miss HUFFMAN. On August 4, a People's Rally for Peace was held at Randalls Island—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is Randalls Island?

Miss HUFFMAN. Randalls Island is in New York City, in Manhattan. At this rally the speakers were John P. Davis, of the National

Negro Congress; Miss Jean Horie, of the New York Youth Congress; Rabbi Moses Miller, of the Jewish People's Committee; Harry Van Arsdale, president of Local No. 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; and Congressman Vito Marcantonio.

There were about 10,000 people who attended this rally. I believe the police department estimated 10,000—it wasn't the organization's estimate. And prominent among them were members of the Workers' Alliance, the American Student Union, the National Negro Congress, the American Youth Congress, National Maritime Union, and some branches of the Communist Party.

A telegram was read at that meeting from Joseph Curran, expressing his regrets at not being able to attend.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Joseph Curran actively associated with the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a sponsor or official of the organization?

Miss HUFFMAN. He is a sponsor and also a member of the National Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is also head of the National Maritime Union; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; he is president of the National Maritime Union and a member of the International Labor Defense.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the name of this rally held on August 4, 1940? Did they have a special name for it?

Miss HUFFMAN. The People's Rally for Peace of the Emergency Peace Conference.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you say that this rally received a very extraordinary backing and pushing by the Daily Worker?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, it was both advertised—it was distinctly a Daily Worker-publicized affair.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could you say it was the chief feature in the Daily Worker for a number of days?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes; both before and after. The next large activity was the American Peace Mobilization which was held in Chicago stadium on August 31.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Emergency Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; the Emergency Peace Mobilization on August 31. This call went out to all the prominent fronts of the Communist Party to come to the aid of the party in putting this gigantic rally across. That information came from the same man that was a member of these branches and these units. The order had gone out to all of them to give both financial and personal support to putting over this rally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you go ahead with that, I show you a photostatic copy of a letter dated August 10, 1940. This letterhead bears the name of the Committee to Defend America By Keeping Out of War.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the letter has to do with the holding of an Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.



Mr. MATTHEWS. And the letterhead on front and back side has a list of the sponsors of this Committee to Defend America By Keeping Out of War?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen this letter before?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify this as one of the pieces of literature in the early stages of the organization of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The name "Committee to Defend America By Keeping Out of War" was dropped, was it not, in favor of the Emergency Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Emergency Peace Mobilization; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And at the Chicago conference the name then became the "American Peace Mobilization," is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be introduced in the record at this point, but I would like to ask Miss Huffman if it is not true that some of the persons who appeared as sponsors of the organization at that time have withdrawn after having learned that the organization was under the control of the Communist Party. Have you learned such?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have made a check of this personnel against the subsequent personnel, have you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; but the point on that is not only that they withdrew—some of them did not withdraw because of the Communist domination. At least there was some newspaper publicity given to the fact that some of them claimed that their names had been used without their consent or their approval. I mention that because two of the girls working in the national office in New York City explained to me that the sponsors on the call and the sponsors on the American Peace Mobilization folder that was distributed at the Mecca Temple rally—that is a blue folder that has a list of names—that they had in writing in their office, the acceptance of the sponsorship. The fact that they had written accepting the sponsorship of the American Peace Mobilization so that this sort of thing wouldn't happen again to discredit them, so the people could say their names were used without consent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What I want to have in the record, Mr. Chairman, is this: That the names which appear on this list and do not appear on subsequent lists as sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization, should not be considered as now active in the organization.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think those names should be very clearly pointed out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That will be a matter of checking, say 99 names against 89, or something like that, to be sure they do not appear subsequently.

Mr. STARNES. They will be incorporated in the record and then I would like for you to make a statement later or insert a statement rather, showing those who have subsequently withdrawn and that will keep the record straight.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We don't happen to know in every instance why the name does not appear in subsequent lists.

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe in going through the file we can make up such a list.

Mr. STARNES. Of course you don't know why but you can insert it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask that this be made a part of the record.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 3.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have one more question on this letter: In this communication, the statement is made that the prominent speakers at the Chicago conference would include Senators Nye and Clark?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Senators Nye and Clark both refused to attend this meeting when they learned that it had connections or affiliations with the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. I believe they did. At least they were not speakers there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They publicly withdrew?

Miss HUFFMAN. They publicly withdrew; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend this Randall's Island meeting about which you spoke a moment ago, the one held on August 4, 1940?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir, Dr. Matthews; may I go into the meeting that was held at Steinway Hall where the report from the Chicago conference rally was given?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. I wanted to bring out if it was a fact that you yourself were attending these meetings almost from the beginning of this organization or from the very beginning?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You personally attended them?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you know what went on at these meetings?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, after the Chicago conference, what was the first meeting held in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, divisional meetings were held around the various places. The meetings that I attended at that time were principally the midtown group. That was the Mid-Manhattan Peace Council that held the meeting at Steinway Hall and I also attended some of the meetings that were held by the upper Manhattan group. That was the Washington Heights group.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say there was a meeting at Steinway Hall?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of that meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. That was September 15, 1940, immediately after the Chicago meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend that meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And will you please state briefly what transpired at that meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. The open discussion before the meeting, which was led off by Ira Klein, discussing the transfer of the 50 destroyers

to the British and he brought out a lot of the aspects of the transfer and had so worked up the audience that I wondered whether they would ever come to order. This was a premeeting discussion.

I am only bringing that in because it seemed to me that it was a piece of agitation work to get the rest of the meeting into the spirit of the meeting. It was a little unusual. Perhaps I am not making myself clear.

MR. MATTHEWS. Who was the man?

MISS HUFFMAN. Ira Klein.

MR. MATTHEWS. By the way, do you know who was in charge of the housing and arrangements for the Chicago meeting of the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; Abbott Simon, the committee secretary, Chicago committee secretary.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you spell that, please?

MISS HUFFMAN. S-i-m-o-n.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Abbott Simon was also in charge of housing arrangements for the gathering of the American Youth Congress in the city of Washington in February of 1940?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. Mr. Simon was in charge in Chicago, and Walter Neff took charge of all the New York arrangements. They were the two heads of the committee. If I may, there is one thing I didn't go into at the time they were setting up these various organizations in New York. I am going back a little now.

Along with this West Side Mothers' Club that was set up, there is another women's organization that is still very powerful as of the present day, that is the Trade Union Women's Committee. It was first set up and is now a division of the American Peace Mobilization, and that group was formed by Bella V. Dodd, of the Teachers' Union, and Mrs. Miriam Murphy, of the Transport Auxiliary.

The original committee for the Trade Union Women's Committee was Miss Mary Lucille McGorky, president of the New York district, State, County, and Municipal Workers' Union; Miss Norma Aronson, manager of Local 16 of the United Office and Professional Workers of America, C. I. O.; Miss Esther Letts, vice president of Local 65 of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees' Union of the C. I. O.; Mrs. Frieda Jordan, secretary of the Bakers' Union Auxiliary of the American Federation of Labor; Miss Dora Jones, organizer of the Domestic Workers' Union, of the American Federation of Labor; Mrs. Ona Luebke, president of the Architects and Engineers and Technicians Union Auxiliary, C. I. O.; Mrs. Winifred Crost, secretary of the Photo Engravers' Union Auxiliary, American Federation of Labor; Mrs. Mabel Pollock, president of the New York Newspaper Guild Auxiliary; Miss Ann Wharton, organizer of the United Federal Workers, and Miss Jane Filley, educational director of Local 1250 of the Department Store Workers' Union of the C. I. O.

I mention that, Dr. Matthews, because of their pronounced activities at the present time.

MR. MATTHEWS. You were reading from a page of the Daily Worker for June 27, 1940?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Page 5, were you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I was; and I also attended two of their meetings, and that has all been rechecked, so I am not just reading a newspaper clipping because all of those names and their activities were rechecked, and the fact that they had participated in the subsequent meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And these women were members of the women's organization—the Trade Union Women's Committee for Peace?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Headed by Bella V. Dodd, of the Teachers' Union; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, we would like for you to stand aside, if you don't mind, for the next witness.

Mr. STARNES. Who is your next witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Mary Spargo.

### TESTIMONY OF MARY SPARGO, INVESTIGATOR FOR THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. STARNES. Miss Spargo, will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony that you shall give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss SPARGO. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please give your name for the record?

Miss SPARGO. Mary Spargo Wardell.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born, Miss Spargo?

Miss SPARGO. Yonkers, N. Y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly your educational training?

Miss SPARGO. Riverhook School for Girls, the Bennington, Vt., High School, and the University of Vermont.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your profession?

Miss SPARGO. A newspaper woman—I mean it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What newspaper experience have you had?

Miss SPARGO. I worked on a number of papers. My last experience was on the Washington Daily News.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you work on the Washington Daily News?

Miss SPARGO. Up until March 27 from last September.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you now an investigator for the committee—for this committee?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your special assignment after you became an investigator for this committee?

Miss SPARGO. My assignment was to investigate particularly the Washington angle of the American Peace Mobilization and the part that Government workers played in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please outline in chronological order, as far as possible, just how you went about investigating the American Peace Mobilization here in Washington, and subsequently elsewhere.

Miss SPARGO. I attended a meeting of the Washington Newspaper Guild outside—that was, I believe, on March 26.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Newspaper Guild?

Miss SPARGO. I am. Outside the door of the District Building was a man who later identified himself to me as Louis Kolb. He had a letter

from Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Sarah V. Montgomery, identifying him as a distributor of literature for the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify Mrs. Montgomery at this point, with respect to her connections with the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. She is secretary-treasurer of the Washington branch. I believe she is so listed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And she had signed the credentials for Louis Kolb?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right. What did you do after you met Louis Kolb?

Miss SPARGO. He had these handbills so I asked him if I might have one and I looked them over and told him that I was very much interested in the Peace Mobilization. He asked me if it would be possible for me to persuade the Washington Newspaper Guild to let him speak to them. He said: "You are interested." I said: "I am very much interested, but it would be impossible for me to persuade the Washington Newspaper Guild to have a representative of the Peace Mobilization speak to them because the Washington Newspaper Guild is very strongly opposed to this movement." I said: "However, there is no reason why I can't take a personal interest in it."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now what did you do next in the way of learning about the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. I went next into the local headquarters at 1116 Vermont Avenue, at that time, and saw Mrs. Montgomery, taking with me the literature which Mr. Kolb had been distributing. I told Mrs. Montgomery that I was very much interested in the Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. In a sort of fashion. I was very active in it. I never got a membership card.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, what did you do in the way of joining?

Miss SPARGO. I went to the meetings with them and did some little work at their headquarters and that kind of thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see anything like an application blank or anything that you fill out to become connected with the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. No; Dr. Matthews, I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never saw any such thing?

Miss SPARGO. No; I did not. I do know that they had membership lists, but I did not see any application blanks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you offer your services in any way whatsoever to Mrs. Montgomery at the headquarters of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you do any work in the office?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe briefly what that was?

Miss SPARGO. Oh, I folded throw-outs and handbills and that kind of thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long did you do that?

Miss SPARGO. I would have to have my notes for the exact dates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Never mind the exact dates.

Miss SPARGO. Approximately a month.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is you were in the headquarters quite regularly for approximately a month?

Miss SPARGO. In and out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you express any desire to attend—

Miss SPARGO. Oh, I am sorry; I worked on the Graphic Arts Committee. That was a committee making posters and lay-outs and that kind of thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you express any desire to attend the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization held in New York—

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Early in April?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And will you please describe how you went about that?

Miss SPARGO. I just went in and asked Mrs. Montgomery about it and said that I would like to go and learned about the arrangements for buying tickets.

She said that they were not selling tickets until the next day and that the people who handled the tickets would be in the next day. I went down the next day and saw Samuel Schmerler and Helen Schmerler, who were in charge of tickets. Morton Friedman was another who was in charge of transportation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you see them?

Miss SPARGO. At the headquarters on Vermont Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you obtain transportation to go to the New York meeting from Schmerler, or how did you get your transportation?

Miss SPARGO. I am not quite sure from which person I obtained the transportation, Dr. Matthews. I believe that I bought my ticket from Mrs. Helen Schmerler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you pay for it?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it a cut rate on a special train or special car?

Miss SPARGO. It was on a special train to take the Washington delegation down.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you are sure that you made arrangements to go to New York with this committee; is that right?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you don't happen to remember which one actually took the cash out of your hand; is that what you mean?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was in charge—any one of these individuals in particular?

Miss SPARGO. Morton Friedman was named as being in charge of transportation but Samuel Schmerler and Helen Schmerler were equally active. It depended—I mean it depended on which hour of the day you went in there. There were different people in charge as you can imagine—they are working people and cannot spend all their time there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify Sam Schmerler as to his occupation?

Miss SPARGO. He works in the Federal Security Agency.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Federal Security Administration or Agency?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he employed there now?

Miss SPARGO. I believe so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you made a check on whether or not he is employed there?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; I checked with civil service, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And according to that check he is employed at the Federal Security Administration?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Mrs. Schmerler employed anywhere in the Government?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, Dr. Matthews. I will have to have my papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is Mrs. Schmerler employed?

Miss SPARGO. I don't seem to have that there. My recollection is that she is with the Railroad Retirement Board.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you made a check on her employment?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, Dr. Matthews, but I am not well prepared on these names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that because you happen to have several hundred?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir. I don't know that we have several hundred but we have a great many and I have not had time to prepare the definite listing of those names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where Morton Friedman is employed?

Miss SPARGO. I do not, Dr. Matthews. I do not believe Morton Friedman is a Government employee but that also I have not yet checked.

Mr. STARNES. We do not want any testimony concerning Government employees or any list until you have finished checking except those you have personal information about.

Miss SPARGO. I understand that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said you didn't know whether there were several hundred or not. Don't you have lists that you have checked that have at least 2,000 names on them?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have at least 1 list that has 2,000 names you checked?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, Dr. Matthews; but that is not the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I understand, but I am talking about Government employees.

Miss SPARGO. Interlocking organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked you about Government employees and not about the American Peace Mobilization. What was the date of the meeting in New York?

Miss SPARGO. April 5 and 6.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you go up to New York?

Miss SPARGO. We went up April 4, Friday.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many persons went with you on the trip, on the train to New York, approximately?

Miss SPARGO. I think on the train there were approximately 150 people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have special cars?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; we did, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many?

Miss SPARGO. Two.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had two cars?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet a large number of these delegates on the way up to New York?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you come to know some of them personally?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And quite well?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did; very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether other delegates went from Washington to the New York meeting of the American Peace Mobilization by other methods of transportation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; a great many went by special bus and a great many went by private car.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did any one of the officers in the headquarters of the American Peace Mobilization here in Washington tell you what the size of the Washington delegation would be?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; Sam Schmerler told me that they would have about 500 delegates from Washington, 150 of whom were to be delegates from the Government—all of those that they called Government delegates and all those delegates whom I met were members of the U. F. W. A.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. You don't mean they were delegates from the Government?

Miss SPARGO. That is what they were called.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean they were delegates from the United States Government to the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization, so designated?

Miss SPARGO. I am referring to them only as they were referred to me, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is rather important that we get this matter plain. You mean that the President appointed these people to represent the United States Government?

Miss SPARGO. Oh, certainly not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of course, you don't. What you mean is they were people who came from Washington, who belonged to a union, perhaps, that was composed of Government employees; isn't that right?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. They called themselves, however, Government delegates.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were they delegates to?

Miss SPARGO. Delegates to the American People's Meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. People's meeting?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct; which was a meeting of the national meeting of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. These people who were referred to as Government delegates were purported to be Government employees?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. They were in fact Government employees.

Mr. STARNES. Government employees?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.



Mr. STARNES. And the Washington council or the Washington chapter for that reason, presumably, referred to them as Government delegates?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. In contradistinction to those who were not employes of the Federal Government?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether or not there were as many as 500 delegates from Washington to the American Peoples Meeting?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There were approximately 500?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; there were approximately 500.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Washington?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. I believe some of the literature of the American Peace Mobilization and the Washington Peace Mobilization said that there were 600 delegates from Washington. I am merely giving my own estimate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which would be nearer—500; is that correct?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say the official title of this meeting was the "American People's Meeting" but it was held under the auspices of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to have a call that was issued for that gathering?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that it?

(Handing paper to the witness.)

Miss SPARGO. That is it; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please describe that briefly?

Miss SPARGO. "Call, American People's Meeting." A. P. M. Those are the capital letters which form A. P. M. reading downward—American Peace Mobilization. It calls upon all friends of peace and liberty.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it is signed by a large number of names, isn't it?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately how many names appear as signers of this call?

Miss SPARGO. I don't know, sir—maybe 225.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this call which has been identified by the witness, be made a part of the record.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to is marked "Spargo Exhibit No. 1.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, on the back of the call, I direct your attention, Mr. Chairman, to the fact that the sponsoring organizations or participating organizations in the American Peace Mobilization, are also listed in part: The American Youth Congress; the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota; the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union; the International Workers Order; the Jewish Peoples' Committee; the National Maritime Union; the Southern Negro Congress; the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America,

Local 1225; the Washington Commonwealth Federation and other organizations of that general character.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is the American Peace Mobilization on that call?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the bottom of the page we find the following:

Please mail immediately to the national office of the American Peace Mobilization, 1133 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think that is the only place where the name appears.

Mr. VOORHIS. But it does appear on there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

You attended this gathering, did you not?

Miss SPARGO. I did, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On your way up to New York on the train did you do any work in preparation for the gathering in New York?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. The group led by Sam Schmerler made up a song on the train. I had my typewriter with me, so I made several—made a good many copies of that song for them for distribution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have referred a number of times to Sam Schmerler. Was he one of the leaders of the delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; very decidedly. He was one of the ablest leaders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does he have any official title in the Washington Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. It does not appear on the letterhead, but he is chairman of the Trade Union Council of the Washington Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give any other pertinent details about your trip to New York City. You helped them type some songs. What else transpired on the train? Were there discussions of the organization?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; and the chief business on the train was rehearsing songs and things of that sort, such as *The Yanks Are Not Coming, No, Sir*, and also the business of where people were to stay was straightened out, and that kind of thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what did you do after you reached New York? Will you describe what happened?

Miss SPARGO. We went to Mecca Temple to register and arrange for housing the Washington delegation. The Washington delegation was largely housed at the Hotel Lincoln.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then will you go ahead with the story of the gathering itself? Describe the gathering which took place in New York step by step.

Miss SPARGO. Dr. Matthews, do you want to have the first meeting? The first meeting of the Washington delegation—would you prefer to have that first?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Miss SPARGO. The Washington delegation met in the Crystal Room at the Great Northern Hotel. An executive committee was formed. Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Sarah V. Montgomery, Morris Tepping, alias Tepletsky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Tepletsky?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you happen to know that is an alias for Morris Tepping?

Miss SPARGO. It is so given in the records of the Metropolitan Police Department.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right. Will you name—are you naming the executive committee that was chosen?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Sarah V. Montgomery chairman of the executive committee—is that the reason you named her first?

Miss SPARGO. Her name came first on the list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Proceed with the names of the executive committee.

Miss SPARGO. Sam Zibet, alias Samuel Goodman; Jack Zucker; Sam Schmerler; Morton Friedman; Mary Richardson; and Henry Thomas. Henry Thomas is the Negro leader of the southwest Communist Party here.

A national presiding committee was also formed. Jack Mink—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that national presiding committee formed in the Washington delegation meeting?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. That is the committee which was to be the contact with the national committee and sit on the platform and that kind of thing.

Jack Mink, Mary Richardson, and Henry Thomas, Morris Teping, Jack Zucker, and Miss Mildred Bricker were also mentioned, but they withdrew. A lobby committee was set up. This was to show the White House and Congress how the American Peace Mobilization felt about this "imperialist war." This lobby committee is the same committee which was aiding with this present picketing of the White House.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you describe the war as an "imperialist war," what are you quoting?

Miss SPARGO. I am quoting what was said at the meeting, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the common parlance of the American Peace Mobilization, as you learned to know about it in describing the war?

Miss SPARGO. It is, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the word "imperialist" invariably prefixed?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether or not that is also the Communist Party line?

Miss SPARGO. It is, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the question of the war?

Miss SPARGO. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; you were naming some committee.

Miss SPARGO. A lobby committee was set up. Jack Zucker and Sally Montgomery—"Sally Montgomery" is Mrs. Sarah V. Montgomery. She was generally called "Sally" by the people there. A resolutions committee was set up. Sam Schmerler; Lee Whiting; Tod Ozmun, identified by the Metropolitan Police as a Communist Party leader and organizer here for many years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please spell the name?

Miss SPARGO. O-z-m-u-n. Alexander Betz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what Ted Ozmun does for a living—what his occupation is?

Miss SPARGO. I do not, Dr. Matthews. He has been repeatedly employed upon W. P. A. and W. P. A. projects. He has translated for that department and other departments, according to information he gave me. At the present time I don't know what he is doing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Had you concluded the reading of the names of the committees?

Miss SPARGO. No, sir. Benjamin Kanerak. He is a bituminous-coal employee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean an employee of the Bituminous Coal Commission?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And not a miner?

Miss SPARGO. No, sir. Hugh B. Miller, an attorney of the Bituminous Coal Commission; Mrs. Eleanor Fowler; Mrs. Dorothy Strange; Reginald Audrey; Herman Dolgan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. D-o-l-g-a-n?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, I believe, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. STARNES. As you read those names you are identifying people that you know personally to be employed by the Federal Government in various capacities?

Miss SPARGO. I was so informed.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, so I may understand this, is that a list of an executive committee?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are committees appointed by the organization in New York. She said this particular person was an employee of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

Mr. STARNES. And I asked if she had personal knowledge that these people were employed by the Government.

Mr. MASON. Of those you listed as employees?

Miss SPARGO. I know from them or from checking with Government departments that they are employed—by checking in the departments where they are employed.

Agnes Spencer; Alpheus Hunton, a professor at Howard University.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What committee is that you just read?

Miss SPARGO. That is the resolutions committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any other committee?

Miss SPARGO. Hudson Wells, who was president of the Washington Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he on the resolutions committee?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; he was appointed to draw up a separate resolution on housing. Then there was the march from One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you through with the committees?

Miss SPARGO. No, Dr. Matthews. They scheduled a march from One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street to Randall's Island and appointed a committee to handle that. Jack Zucker, Charles Adamson, Fay Goldstein, Ted Ozmun, and five or six people of whom I have only the last names—do you wish those included?

Mr. STARNES. Only the last names? I don't know that that is material.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that conclude the list of committees?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, this was all business which transpired at the meeting of the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To the American Peoples Meeting?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did any other business transpire there that is pertinent to this investigation? Did the meeting consist entirely of naming these committees?

Miss SPARGO. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who presided at the meeting of the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Mrs. Montgomery.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there a secretary of the delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; Mary Richardson acted as secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what her employment is?

Miss SPARGO. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall who made speeches, if any formal speeches were made, at this meeting of the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Sam Schmerler spoke and Jack Zucker spoke mostly upon the kind of resolutions which they wanted to have included in the national platform.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Sam Schmerler in his speech make any reference to the Washington Bookshop?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, Dr. Matthews. He said that members of the American Peace Mobilization would get a special discount at the Bookshop and that the Bookshop on Seventeenth Street carried literature which no other bookshop would carry in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he state with what authority he could offer special discounts from the Bookshop to the members of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. No, I believe not, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He just stated that as a fact?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After the Washington delegation had its meeting, was there a main session of the entire American Peoples Meeting?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that held?

Miss SPARGO. It was held in Mecca Temple. It was originally scheduled to have been held at Randall's Island, but because of rain it was called off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you start to Randall's Island?

Miss SPARGO. We did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And it began to rain on the way?

Miss SPARGO. It did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the march turned around and came back to Mecca Temple; is that right?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the meeting at Mecca Temple an open or public meeting?

Miss SPARGO. No, sir; it was for delegates only.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the meeting at Randall's Island to be a public meeting?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How far had you marched before you turned around and went back to Mecca Temple?

Miss SPARGO. We marched from One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street part way across the Triborough Bridge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you got back to Mecca Temple, what did you have to do? Show your delegate's card or badge in order to gain admission to the meeting?

Miss SPARGO. In every section at Mecca Temple you had to show your delegate's card. May I explain?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Miss SPARGO. I was given a delegate's card, although I could present no credentials. I mean they were asking for credentials and I said that I had none, but I was very interested and that is how I happened to have a delegate's card.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you get the delegate's card? Here in Washington?

Miss SPARGO. No; at Mecca Temple when I first went down there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the meeting of the Washington delegation did you have any particular friend with whom you were sitting and with whom you discussed what was going on, or did that occur on the march or subsequently? Did you discuss this matter with any particular individual in the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; particularly with a Miss Julia Marcus.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that J-u-l-i-a?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. M-a-r-c-u-s?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that during the gathering you got particularly acquainted with her?

Miss SPARGO. On the way down on the train. She is a Government employee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where she is employed?

Miss SPARGO. I have it in my notes, Dr. Matthews. I don't recall offhand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you get to know any other individual particularly well from the standpoint of discussing the nature and purposes of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; I got to know Mr. Ozmun quite well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you sit with him in some of the sessions?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I sat with him at the sessions of the Washington delegation in the Crystal Room of the Great Northern Hotel and on subsequent occasions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Mr. Ozmun take it upon himself to explain to you carefully the nature and purposes of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. He did. He asked me to join the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did he ask you to join the Communist Party? Going up on the train or coming back or where?

Miss SPARGO. No; it was at a session in Mecca Temple, a branch meeting of Press, Office, Government and—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Had he led up to his asking you to join the Communist Party with any discussion of the relationship of the Communist Party to the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He just didn't ask you out of the blue to join the Communist Party, did he?

Miss SPARGO. No, indeed. He had the evening that I arrived in New York—I wonder if I might refer to my notes?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Certainly. Will you detail your conversations with Ozmun?

Mr. STARNES. We are going to declare a short recess for the purpose of letting the witness check her notes.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will be in order.

As I understand it you are to show by this line of questions what relations there were between the Communist Party and the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. I would like Miss Spargo to remember as exactly as possible the language of her conversations with Mr. Ozmun that had to do with the relationship of the Communist Party to the American Peace Mobilization. Will you describe the conversations?

Miss SPARGO. Part of this conversation was at a party given April 4, given at the home of Miss Muriel Draper, 144 Lexington Avenue, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Miss Muriel Draper, the famous dancer?

Miss SPARGO. I believe so. The party was for out-of-town delegates to the American People's Meeting.

I had to go to the party with Miss Julia Marcus and it was there that I met Mr. Ozmun. We had a very lengthy conversation. He began to quote the things William Z. Foster had said about the rights of workers. He then asked me how far I had progressed. He said that by this time: "You have discovered that the old two-party system, the dear old American way, is just so much bunkum for the workers."

Later Mr. Ozmun said he believed that I was about "ripe to join the C. P."

I asked him: "You mean the Communist Party?"

He said: "Of course, don't tell me you don't like the party."

I again saw Mr. Ozmun and sat with him at the Washington delegation meeting the next morning. That was April 5. Then, later again that same day on April 5, I saw him at the evening conference at Mecca Temple. Mr. Ozmun wanted me to leave the conference early to attend a party at the Youth Workshop, at 4 West Eighteenth Street, which was being given in—I mean for delegates to the American People's Meeting. I suggested that since they had given me a card as a delegate I should stay at the sessions and attend the sessions. He thereupon said in a meeting where there were people around, I mean a great many people, the whole audience, he said "You can't do any good by sitting at these sessions. All the positions are held by members of the C. P. Nobody who is not a member of the C. P. can get anywhere in the A. P. M."

Mr. VOORHIS. Did Ozmun tell you that?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, Mr. Voorhis, he did. He said:

We have a few A. P. M. members who are not C. P. people but they haven't a thing to do with running this organization.

He said:

When you join the C. P. it will be worth while for you to stick around; you might be elected to office or put in a group leadership position, but don't forget the C. P. has this whole matter of the American Peace Mobilization in the bag and is running it just the way it wants to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was that conversation to dissuade you from staying at the meeting on the ground that if you stayed you could not do anything because you were not yet a Communist Party member? Is that the way you understood the conversation?

Miss SPARGO. It was partly for that purpose and partly as an organizational effort. He is organizer and he was trying to show me how important it was to join the Communist Party. He had brought that up several times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He wanted you to go to another meeting—is that correct—or party?

Miss SPARGO. He wanted me to go to a party at the Youth Work Shop.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to the party at the Youth Work Shop?

Miss SPARGO. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Go ahead with your conversations with Mr. Ozmun, if there was some more on that particular point.

Miss SPARGO. At the Youth Work Shop Mr. Ozmun informed me he had started the Workers Alliance here in Washington with 10 members and it had grown to 2,500. He said he had joined the Communist Party 5 years ago. He said he had worked in various capacities on W. P. A. Historical Records Survey, translating for the Justice Department, Interior Department, and Agriculture. He said that because the Communist Party had many members in key defense positions in the Government, and was trying to get as many more as it could, that he had tried himself to get in with the Defense Commission, but he said that he had been turned down because he believed that the police knew he was a Communist. He said:

I was one of those who picketed the German Embassy and I served 30 days in jail for it, all because they knew we were Communists. I was with the Seamen's Union at that time.

He also told me that Representative Cox, of Georgia, had slapped his face on one occasion and he said he had made the headlines with it.

I suggested to Mr. Ozmun that if I should join the Communist Party I wouldn't care to have it generally known. Mr. Ozmun informed me that that was very easy, he would propose me, the Communists in the Newspaper Guild will inquire into my reputation and only he, they, and the local party secretary would know my real name. He said:

We all use different names in any Communist connection except for such people as Corliss Lamont.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he use the name Corliss Lamont?

Miss SPARGO. He did, sir. He also suggested that joining the Communist Party would be a wonderful form of insurance for the future, because the Communists were going to be able to take over this country in about 5 years, he thought, and he said that naturally party members would fare better than others when the revolution came.

I believe, Dr. Matthews, that that is about all on that particular point.

Mr. STARNES. May I ask you a little bit further about this tie-up of the American Peace Mobilization? He told you the only way you could hope to achieve a position of responsibility or leadership in the movement was to become a party member?



MISS SPARGO. What he told me was that I couldn't hold an office or be on a committee or have anything whatever to do with running it if I were not a Communist Party member.

MR. STARNES. In other words, he told you definitely that the Communist Party controlled the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS SPARGO. He did, sir.

MR. STARNES. All right.

MR. VOORHIS. Now, with that as No. 1 point, would it not be true that every effort would be made to try to get people who were not Communists to be interested in it or affiliated with it in one way or another, providing they didn't have any position?

MISS SPARGO. Providing they held no position of leadership, oh, absolutely.

MR. VOORHIS. And wouldn't the effort be made to get people as far away as possible if you could, to come along with the thing and attend meetings and be members and so on and so forth?

MISS SPARGO. Oh, yes; I definitely know that.

MR. VOORHIS. That is what a front is for, isn't it?

MISS SPARGO. Yes; only this is a personal opinion, Mr. Voorhis, but it seemed to me this is less of a front than most of these other organizations—it is more open.

MR. VOORHIS. You mean the control is tighter and it is more definitely communistic?

MISS SPARGO. It is more definitely communistic; yes. In other words we have so much testimony—

MR. VOORHIS. The point I am trying to make is, it would not do the Communist Party any good to have an organization that was just limited to control by them and membership of their own people, so, therefore, the attempt is to utilize this cause of peace in which so many people are sincerely interested, and deeply concerned and from, to my mind, the very best of motives, to utilize that as a means of getting a lot of perfectly good people as tails to what is definitely a Communist kite, isn't that right?

MISS SPARGO. That is exactly so.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Chairman, if Miss Spargo will stand aside for a few minutes, Miss Huffman has testimony concerning the same meeting and the same point, and if you will hear that now we will have Miss Spargo come back in a moment.

MR. STARNES. Very well, Miss Spargo, you may stand aside.

#### TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HUFFMAN—Resumed

MR. MATTHEWS. Miss Huffman, did you attend the first large meeting of the American Peoples Meeting held at Mecca Temple after the affair was adjourned from Randall's Island to the temple?

MISS HUFFMAN. Both. Before Randall's Island meeting there was some activities at Mecca Temple previous to the Randall Island meeting.

MR. MATTHEWS. You attended all the meetings, did you?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please give what information you have on what transpired at that meeting at Mecca Temple, particularly

as it relates to the question of the part that the Communist Party was playing in the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes; both that and a meeting that I attended later that evening that was not an American Peace Mobilization.

MR. MATTHEWS. All right.

MISS HUFFMAN. At the American Peace Mobilization one thing I was particularly interested in was observing how many of the so-called leaders of the Communist Party were in attendance at that meeting.

Among those in attendance at the meeting on the floor with the delegates were Ben Gold, Rockwell Kent, Isobel Walker Soule, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Norman Tallentire, of the International Workers' Alliance; Joseph Brodsky, William F. Dunne, Robert Dunn, Mike Gold, Si Gerson, a former representative; Jerry O'Connell, the Michigan State senator. Stanley Novak was both a speaker and for a period of time was on the floor with the delegates.

MR. VOORHIS. What meeting is this?

MISS HUFFMAN. This is the meeting at the Mecca Temple.

MR. STARNES. Of the Peace Mobilization?

MISS HUFFMAN. The American Peace Mobilization convention. It was called the American People's Meeting.

MR. STARNES. I understand, and that is this meeting?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and they were on the main floor with the delegates. There was the main auditorium and two balconies and these people were all seen on the main floor with the delegates.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you mean over a period of years as you have studied this question that you are able to identify or recognize these persons yourself?

MISS HUFFMAN. Not only from that point, Doctor, but from the point of attending meetings that were purely Communist meetings at which they were the people in charge of the meetings. There is no question of that.

MR. MATTHEWS. You are speaking of first-hand knowledge when you say the people there are Communists?

MISS HUFFMAN. I know the people individually, personally—I saw these people in the audience. In fact, I spoke to some of them at the meeting as they came off the floor with the delegates. I am only mentioning those people that I know first-hand and am able to identify. Lloyd Gough, who is in charge of the cultural division of the A. P. M., and who was one of the ringleaders with the theater arts committee and Francis Bass and Morris Watson.

I have given that just as a partial list of the people that I identified.

May I be permitted to go to the evening meeting? After we attended the A. P. M. meeting and that was a celebration for Norman Tallentire—that was a jubilee celebration for his fifty-fifth birthday.

MR. MATTHEWS. At any rate it was a birthday celebration?

MISS HUFFMAN. At any rate he was born on April 6, 1896 and it was the celebration of his birthday and his 40 years in the labor movement.

The sponsors of that meeting are all of the people who are quoted in the Daily Worker, who are leaders in the Communist Party and

known to be the leaders in the Communist Party. I thought I had that exhibit here but I haven't.

At that meeting Rockwell Kent, William F. Dunne, Robert Dunn, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Joseph R. Brodsky, Isobel Walker Soule—William Z. Foster was scheduled to attend but sent his regrets—and William Dunne covered the part of the program which Mr. Foster was to cover.

William E. Browder, the brother of Earl Browder, was one of the speakers at that meeting. Each speaker referred to the fact that he had been at the American Peoples Meeting; each one of them spoke of the necessity for the American Peace Mobilization and what it could do.

Along with that they were describing how the exact place where each had fitted in on what might be termed the Communist "cause celebre" movement such as the *Sacco-Vanzetti case*, the *Tom Mooney case*. They called themselves the agitators who had carried on all this agitation and activity on behalf of Tom Mooney and the Sacco-Vanzetti cases, the *Butte (Mont.) case*, the Montana Anaconda strike, the marble strike in Vermont, the activity for the recognition of the Soviet Union.

As a matter of fact one comment that was made there by Mr. Tallentire was that they were largely responsible for the fact that the Soviet Union had recognized the United States and went on to explain that was the way it really happened.

Mr. William Dunne in telling of his activities during the 1923 and 1924 period with the unemployed and in strike areas constantly referred to the United States as "this Wall Street government." Rockwell Kent told of his activities in association with Norman Tallentire over this long period, and Rockwell Kent spoke of the activities of the United American Artists in the American Peace Mobilization.

William E. Browder also told of his activities. I bring that out because there was no question in the subjects that they were covering and in their activities about the fact that they had carried on this movement for the Communist Party. They so stated. And they closely associated the fact of the activity of the American Peace Mobilization with the Communist Party at that particular meeting.

MR. MATTHEWS. I have a throw-away on the Norman Tallentire jubilee celebration.

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Was this distributed at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS HUFFMAN. I received this particular one, I know from the signature in the right-hand corner, at the upper Manhattan American Peace Mobilization meeting. I have the exact date here that was on—March 26, 1941—at which this Norman Tallentire was one of the principal speakers along with Rabbi Plotkin, of New Jersey.

At that time Norman Tallentire, speaking at an American Peace Mobilization meeting, spoke of his 40 years in the progressive labor movement. He referred to himself as "a party member." He stated he was a delegate to the Chicago Mobilization for Peace in September from the International Workers' Order, and that he was a delegate for the April 6 convention.

You see this meeting was before the Mecca Temple meeting, so he was telling that he was a delegate to the Mecca Temple meeting.

He stated that the International Workers' Order had a membership of 1,700,000 people and "is a proud affiliate of the American Peace Mobilization."

He credited efforts of the A. P. M. march on Washington for changing the congressional vote on the conscription bill from, I quote:

One vote on the first ballot to 163 votes on the final ballot.

He stated and I quote:

Efforts have been untiring since the Amsterdam Congress Against War to defeat efforts of Ford, Du Pout of Bethlehem Steel, and the rest of the warmongers to lead the people into imperialist wars.

This speech that he made at the American Peace Mobilization was entirely pro-Soviet and along Communist Party lines, dealing with sharecroppers, housing, unemployment, conscription. He claimed that Great Britain through Halifax built up Hitler in an effort to cause a war to fight—and I quote:

the only nation of the workers, the most glorious place in the world, a socialist nation that occupies one-sixth of the world.

This praise of Soviet Russia and advantages of the Soviet Government for the workers lasted 15 minutes. He stated:

The purpose of peace mobilization is to cause all of us in every nation, after Germany and Britain are exhausted, to rise up and throw off the Fascist yoke in every nation—Italy, Germany, Britain, Africa, India, and these United States, and build a world republic of the workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you mean to say that there is no secret whatever about Norman Tallentire being a member of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. He doesn't make it any secret because he tells when he joined it and when he went into the labor movement. He went into the Socialist Party in Canada first and then came to this country. He admits being a member of the Communist Party—he states he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was one of the defendants in the famous Bridgeman Michigan criminal syndicalist trial some years ago, was he not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Along with Foster and other Communist leaders?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the other persons you have named who were on the program at the Norman Tallentire celebration were openly and avowed members of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. Rockwell Kent introduced them at the meeting as being Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Rockwell Kent the master of ceremonies?

Miss HUFFMAN. Rockwell Kent was master of ceremonies at that meeting; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you were going to go back to the meeting at Mecca Temple. Have you concluded with the Norman Tallentire celebration?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. At the meeting at Mecca Temple the first plans were to have nothing carried on at Mecca Temple, I be-

lieve, except some of the conferences such as have been previously mentioned, which were held, some at Mecca Temple and some in the various hotels. There was a great deal of confusion due to the fact that it was raining and no one could ascertain as to whether or not there was to be a Randall's Island meeting or not. Consequently we had time to circulate in the lobby and on the second floor where they were selling literature. The literature was for sale and also being distributed, and where the "free Browder" petition was being distributed there was a petition on the poll tax and subscriptions for various publications.

It was finally announced that the meeting would be held at Randall's Island, so we went up to Randall's Island.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, before you go into the Randall's Island meeting—I understand that is a rather important episode—can you tell me about what time you will take on this phase of the testimony?

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were going to describe what transpired at the Mecca Temple meeting with respect to Communist relationships to the organization, were you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long will it take you to do that?

Miss HUFFMAN. I think I can cover that in about 3 minutes. I may be underestimating myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then we will be ready to adjourn.

Mr. STARNES. We will finish the Mecca Temple meeting and then we will recess for lunch.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Off the record.

Mr. STARNES. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. STARNES. We will take a recess at this time until 1:30 p. m. (Whereupon, at 12 noon, a recess was taken until 1:30 p. m. the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

(Whereupon, at 1:30 p. m., the hearing was resumed, pursuant to the taking of a recess.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will please be in order.

Who is your first witness, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Huffman.

#### TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HUFFMAN—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we will ask Miss Huffman to continue with her account of the meetings of the American Peace Mobilization held at Randall's Island and Mecca Temple on April 5 and 6 of this year. Will you proceed, Miss Huffman?

Mr. STARNES. Before you begin, Dr. Matthews, do you have prepared a chart or diagram of any kind or character showing the initiation of this American Peace Mobilization, its affiliation with the Communist Party in any way, and also any interlocking of interests or community of interests or community of control and so forth and so on with any of the other organizations which may be checked upon later?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Mr. Chairman, we have an elaborate chart of the American Peace Mobilization. It lists the officers and sponsors not only of the organization but also their various connections with the Communist Party and front organizations of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. I would think that is of paramount interest to the committee and at the proper time and place, without interfering with your schedule of the hearing, let me suggest you introduce that and make it a part of the record because I think it is not only pertinent and very important that we have something like that for the record but the committee must have something of that nature.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now will you proceed with your description of the meeting at Randalls Island and Mecca Temple?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. At Mecca Temple on the second floor, which was used for the displays and the distribution of literature, the one side of the balcony had a huge display of the International Workers' Order and its plan of plenty—the publication *The Plan of Plenty of the International Workers' Order*. That was sold at the meeting.

In fact, a number of the people who represented themselves as being strikebreakers from the Harvester strike as well as the International Workers' Order people were distributing or selling this particular booklet.

The foreword in this booklet, which might be of interest to the committee, is written by Herbert Benjamin, the national executive secretary of the I. W. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Herbert Benjamin was at one time the secretary-treasurer of the Workers Alliance; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and this book—and the point that was brought out and was mentioned to me by a number of people who were selling the book and later at this Tallentire meeting by people who admitted being Communists was that it was to be the basis of a bill to be presented in Congress and in the *Sunday Worker* of May 11, 1940—I am including this clipping which states one of the bills, H. R. 4688, embodies the principle of the plan for plenty originated and sponsored by the International Workers' Order, the International Workers' Order having been set up in 1930 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

I am particularly mentioning that because at both the Mecca Temple meeting and the subsequent meetings the International Workers' Order—being set up by the Communist Party, shows a definite Communist connection—because of their membership, practically every committee had a person who can be identified as a member of the International Workers' Order.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The International Workers' Order is officially one of the affiliated bodies of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. I read that in this morning's testimony, that Norman Tallentire said—I gave the exact quote of Norman Tallentire of

their full support of the American Peace Mobilization, their affiliation with the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask this clipping be introduced in the record at this point.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The clipping was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 4.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. You may proceed.

Miss HUFFMAN. The other piece of literature that was perhaps outstanding was the book *Soviet Power*, written by the Dean of Canterbury. There was a huge display sign on the second floor of Mecca Temple, and special prices were being offered by the American Council on Soviet Relations. A number of the people who claimed to be strikers and who were also selling the *Harvester* literature to raise funds for the strikers were also engaged in selling this book, *Soviet Power*, which was offered at this special price.

Mr. STARNES. You keep speaking of "strikers," Miss Huffman. Was that at the International Harvester plants?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Men from those plants?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see or converse with any people or persons at either the Mecca Temple meeting or the Randall's Island meeting who claimed to be strikers in the Allis-Chalmers plant at Milwaukee?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. In fact this is literature that was sold in order to raise funds for the men who were on strike. This one piece of literature was the publication from the Allis-Chalmers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, will you have this introduced in the record at this point?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. There are two pieces of literature on the Allis-Chalmers.

Mr. STARNES. Both will be received.

**(The literature referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 5.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Harold Christoffel was formerly connected with the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and he is included on our chart.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you know whether or not Harold Christoffel addressed a meeting, a mass meeting of the American Peace Mobilization, here in Washington about 2 weeks ago?

Miss HUFFMAN. I saw an account of it. I did not cover the meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Harold Christoffel is the leader of the Allis-Chalmers local of the United Automobile Workers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Other literature that was being sold or distributed was that of the American Student Union and an announcement of the Cornell and New York University dance for the delegates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you leave the International Harvester strikers, you say they attended the meeting in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. Now, just a moment, Doctor; I have the point here where they were introduced on the platform. Mr. Fellhaber, vice president of the Ohio C. I. O., introduced—

Mr. MATTHEWS. His first name is Elmer, is it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I think so. Elmer Felhaber introduced "Brother Enoch Rohback," and he was introduced as one of the leaders of the Allis-Chalmers strike.

Mr. Rohback told of the women and children sitting on the lawn in the park and how the police threw tear-gas bombs into their midst. He told how one deputy sheriff resigned in disgust after this happened. He told of the tear-gas battle and stated: "It was not without casualties, 42 deputy sheriffs," and the audience at the A. P. M. immediately gave considerable applause to the fact that 42 deputy sheriffs had been injured.

Mr. Rohback went on to say:

"We, too, bear scars, honor scars," which brought applause. Then he appealed to the audience for funds to help the strikers, stating that the strike had been going on for a long time and that most of the strikers were living on the county. He stated that they had raised \$1,000 bail for one fellow the F. B. I. got and "\$10,000 bail had to be raised in one day."

Then the strike delegates from the Allis-Chalmers went through the audience and distributed these circulars that have previously been entered in the record, distributed them in exchange for contributions to continue the strike.

Then Mr. Felhaber introduced Senator Novak, the State senator from Michigan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is N-o-v-a-k?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; Stanley Novak, and he was introduced as an outstanding organizer in the labor movement from the Ford organization camp.

He constantly referred to the Ford police and the Gestapo, and Mr. Novak claimed that 70 percent of the Ford workers live in his district and he claimed he had been elected to the State senate by the C. I. O. organization, that he had been in the Ford organizing staff for a number of months. He said that the Ford workers were really organized and "there is no greater danger to American democracy than the Ford Motor Co."

He also stated that while on the floor of the senate, that is, the State senate, on Tuesday, "the news reached me the Ford plant was down—shut down," and the audience went into perhaps the loudest burst of applause up to that time of the meeting. It was greeted with a great deal of cheering.

Mr. STARNES. This was a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization. And he said that that was certainly good news, that the plant was shut down. He stated that he had participated in practically every auto strike since 1930—General Motors, Chrysler, Plymouth, and Ford. He said that Ford is the most complete success and "the plant is closed."

Every reference that was made to Harry Bennett was greeted by boos from the audience. Senator Novak also mentioned that he is head of the Stanley Novak Federation, of Detroit, Mich., and this organization is one of the organizational sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization.



Mr. Novak introduced one of the men from the picket line at the Ford plant, "Brother George Davis." The audience when Mr. Davis—when George Davis came on the platform, he was the first colored man who had been introduced at that day's meeting, the audience meeting—the audience immediately burst into singing Solidarity Forever.

Mr. Neff then introduced several strikers from the International Harvester strike in Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Walter Scott Neff?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his relationship to the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Dr. Walter Scott Neff is in charge of the New York Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is one of the professors from the City College that was ousted as a result of the investigation of the Coudert committee?

Miss HUFFMAN. Bob Travis, of Cleveland, was the first striker that Dr. Neff had introduced.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he was from the International Harvester strike?

Miss HUFFMAN. He was from the International Harvester strike. He paid tribute to John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers, which brought forth applause from the audience, and stated: "We have told the bosses, 'Get on the line or we are out too.'"

He also stated that the "Harvesters are fighting American fascism in the form of the Chicago Police Department." Every reference at this American Peace Mobilization meeting that was made to the Chicago Police Department or the Kelly-Nash machine, as it was called, met with boos from the audience. Mr. Travis claimed that there were 65,000 new C. I. O. members in Illinois due to the Harvester strike, and he quoted John Lewis as saying: "Forty-five million people will not become indentured slaves of this country."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not this is the same Bob Travis who led the sit-down strikes at Flint, Mich.?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1936?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; it is, and that was brought out by—I was sitting with the Kentucky delegation and the woman who was sitting next to me knew Mr. Travis from the Flint, Mich., strike and had mentioned the Flint, Mich., strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, who else was there from the International Harvester strikers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Those are the only names that I have on this report, Doctor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Grant Oakes is the head of the union which was on strike?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the International Harvester?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any record of Grant Oakes' connection with the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; Grant Oakes is listed on the chart.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is one of the officers of the American Peace Mobilization, is he not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; he is a member of the national executive council. The address of the national office is 1133 Broadway. That is just above Twenty-sixth Street in Manhattan.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us a list of the officers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Do you want a list of the national officers at this time?

Mr. STARNES. I don't want to interrupt you now—we will take that up later.

Miss HUFFMAN. Now, other than the strikers I would like to go back to Randall's Island. The Randall's Island rally was called off. We did go to Randall's Island and we took in our car three people who were in attendance at the meeting. One of them was a man named Jack Marshall, a delegate from the C. I. O. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America; Shrover, the Ohio delegate from Cleveland; and Jack Wallace, formerly of the Art Project of the W. P. A., New York City.

Mr. Marshall stated that he had with him the credentials of Mr. Fahy, vice president of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. Marshall, in talking to us on the way to the meeting, was very frank about the fact that he belonged to the Communist Party.

Mr. Shrover was frank about the fact that he was connected with the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. When we reached Randall's Island the rain had already started. The group was small but there was, I would say, approximately 50 people of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade there with a large pennant.

The outstanding event at the rally was the songs that they sang. In between every other song they sang Solidarity Forever. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade sang the Internationale and sang the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Marching Song. There was frequent singing of We Will Hang Henry Ford From A Sour Apple Tree, and Why Do You Stand There In the Rain, the Ballad of October 16, and Billy Boy.

I am mentioning those songs because those are exactly the same songs that are sung at all of the other meetings that are conducted by the Communists. They are the songs that appear in the American Peace Mobilization book of songs that is distributed at their meetings.

Mr. STARNES. They have a book of songs, do they?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Congressman Starnes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May we have this introduced in the record at this point?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is American Songs for American Peoples Meeting, April 5 and 6, American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received in evidence.

**(The booklet referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 6.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, while we are on the subject of songs, Miss Huffman, have you seen the album of records which is published as a special edition for the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether this is one of those albums of records that I am handing you?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you desire to have those attached as exhibits?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I think they should be attached as exhibits.

Mr. STARNES. And make proper reference to them in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The phonograph records referred to were marked "Huffman Exhibits Nos. 7, 7-A, 7-B, 7-C, and 7-D.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now here is a throw-away put out by the dispensers of these records in which there is advertised this special A. P. M. edition of this album.

I would like for Miss Huffman to read the words of two or three of these songs. Will you first read the words of a song entitled, "C for Conscription," which appears on one of the records.

Miss HUFFMAN. Dr. Matthews, on the point of the records, on this balcony floor where the books were being sold, they had a victrola there with a man in attendance, that constantly played these records and a special price was offered with a huge sign announcing the special price for the recordings.

C for Conscription and C for Capitol Hill;

C for Conscription and C for Capitol Hill;

It's C for the Congress that passed that goddamned bill.

This here New York City water tastes like cherry wine;

This here New York City water tastes like cherry wine;

They tell me army water tastes like turpentine.

I'd rather be here at home, even living in a hollow log;

I'd rather be here at home, even living in a hollow log;

Than go to the Army, be treated like a dirty dog.

#### WASHINGTON BREAK-DOWN

Franklin D., listen to me, you ain't a-gonna send me 'cross the sea; you ain't a-gonna send me 'cross the sea;

You may say it's for defense, it's that kinda talk that I'm against; I'm against, I'm against, that kinda talk ain't got no sense.

Lafayette, we are here, we're gonna stay right over here; we're gonna stay right over here.

Marcantonio is the best, but I wouldn't give a nickel for all the rest; I wouldn't give a nickel for all the rest.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the end of that song?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; the next song is Washington Break-down which I have read.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think we might omit the next stanza, Mr. Chairman.

Miss HUFFMAN. I think it is a good example of their filthy minds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is a rather personal reference to Mr. J. P. Morgan.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Miss HUFFMAN.

Wendell Willkie and Franklin D., seems to me they both agree; they both agree on killin' me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now there is a chorus of the Ballad of October 16.

Miss HUFFMAN. This Ballad of October 16—after the meetings are over, that is the upper Manhattan meeting, the Harlem meeting, the

midtown meeting, they get into Childs Restaurant or any place else, and while they are eating they just seem to burst spontaneously into this and Solidarity Forever, and I am just going to read the first verse and the chorus.

It was on a Saturday night and the moon was shining bright;  
They passed the conscription bill and the people they did say for many miles  
away,

'Twas the President and his boys on Capitol Hill.  
Oh, Franklin Roosevelt told the people how he felt;  
We damned near believed what he said.  
He said "I hate war, and so does Eleanor, but we won't be safe 'till every-  
body's dead."

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we would like to have the entire collection of songs introduced at this point in the record.

MR. STARNES. Yes; they will be introduced in the record and I presume the records have been identified and will be kept as exhibits?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes; I would like to introduce the pamphlet "Songs for John Doe" and one other has already been received.

(The song pamphlet referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 8.")

MISS HUFFMAN. At the Mecca Temple meeting one of the speakers was Esther Cooper, secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, who brought greetings from the Southern Congress. Miss Cooper was followed by Mr. Hunter of the W. P. A. Committee for the Continuation of W. P. A. Then Adolph Heller, of the Philadelphia Civil Liberties Union and former director of the Workers' School in Philadelphia—that is the Communist Party Workers' School in Philadelphia, spoke regarding—

MR. STARNES. Just a moment. Is that the Heller to whom reference has been made in previous hearings?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is Mr. A. A. Heller, the head of the International Publishers.

MR. STARNES. All right.

MISS HUFFMAN. And Mr. Bernard Rush, who spoke regarding the trial of himself and stated that incidentally—he stated incidentally that the bomb that had been planted at the Workers School had been planted by the New York Police Department.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, Adolf Heller and Rush were recently tried in Philadelphia?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. For planting a bomb, or having in their possession a bomb, in the Workers' School?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. In Philadelphia?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; but his statement from that platform at that meeting—

MR. MATTHEWS. Was that the New York police had planted the bomb?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir, that the bomb had been planted by the New York police department and it was the same kind of a ruse that had been used against Tom Mooney, and he requested the A. P. M. delegates to take a stand against that, because he said that the only way they could possibly succeed was if they had the support

of the A. P. M., and that was greeted with applause and apparent approval by the people in that audience.

Reference to Dr. J. B. Matthews, brought lusty hisses from the audience.

Clancy Miller of the International Workers Order, and Roxie Jones were brief speakers at the meeting. Mr. Abraham Eisserman gave a summary of the meeting and the meeting closed with Chester Watson, of Minnesota, singing another one of their songs, not previously mentioned: Not you, Mr. War.

An announcement was made that the Workers' Alliance would hold a special meeting in the registration room. Dr. Annette Rubenstein, who was previously mentioned, was one of the speakers. Mrs. Eileen Davis Hays, wife of John Garfield Hays, was a speaker and stated that the Women's Auxiliary of the National Maritime Union was sending a telegram to Mrs. Roosevelt. Mrs. Katherine Beecher spoke in place of Miss Trice, of the Federal Communications Commission.

She spoke on the need to educate women to positions of union leadership after the men were drafted. Frederick Field then spoke on establishing opposition to war and continuing the struggle for peace.

MR. MATTHEWS. Who is Frederick Field?

MISS HUFFMAN. Frederick Field is the national executive secretary of the American Peace Mobilization.

MR. STARNES. Miss Huffman, this seems to be the first time we have found any speaker or any participant in all these meetings who has ever gotten down to the subject of peace.

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, Congressman Starnes; that is why I mentioned it. He was practically the only speaker who dwelt even lightly on the matter of peace. The entire meeting, just giving a summary of the 2 days, the entire meeting was a strike campaign. All of the speakers merely emphasized the fact that should we become any closer to war, labor is not going to participate, labor was going to strike; that further strikes were needed—that people were to contribute to the strikes and give assistance to the strikers. The entire meeting was a strike meeting.

MR. STARNES. Did they say this was necessary in order to sabotage the defense program or to disrupt production for security in order to keep this country out of an imperialist war, or on what theme did they base the necessity of continued strikes? Was that the theme of it, that they were continuing these strikes so as to disrupt production and keep this country out of war or place this country in a position where it couldn't engage in an imperialist war? Is that the idea?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; and the fact that labor is carrying on these strikes would make it impossible for us to participate in the war and that the thing that must be emphasized was conditions at home and the need for solidarity and the fact that the workers were to get everything that they wanted.

I have a list here of the various organizations that contributed and individuals, where the contributions were announced from the floor. Shall I bring that in, Dr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you want that list, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. It may be a little lengthy to read, but does it show the contribution from Communist sources or subversive sources?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is just a single page.

Mr. STARNES. Let me get this straight—there was an announcement from the floor of those who had made contributions to the support of the meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. The girls passed through the meeting taking up these contributions and as they were taken to the platform the money was held up and an announcement was made that that contribution had been made. A majority of them are Communist organizations.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you read that then, and we will insert it in the record.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

Washington A. P. M. delegates.....	\$100. 00
New York.....	250. 00
American Youth Congress.....	100. 00
Farmers Union of Alabama.....	100. 00
Jonnie Bernard, Minnesota.....	25. 00
Jewish People of America.....	50. 00
Massachusetts Peace Council.....	50. 00
Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade.....	25. 00
National staff, A. P. M.....	25. 00
Maryland.....	25. 00
Local No. 65, Warehouse Employees.....	12. 00
Kansas.....	5. 00
Philadelphia Peace Mobilization.....	50. 00
Joint Board of Furriers Union.....	225. 00
Albany.....	5. 00
I. W. O., branch 32.....	3. 00
Rockaway Council.....	5. 00
Bronx Study Club.....	5. 00
U. A. W. (United Automobile Workers).....	25. 00
Steel Workers Council of Youngstown.....	25. 00
Ford Strikers, Negro and white.....	27. 35
Washington Youth Council.....	5. 00
St. Louis and Kansas City.....	10. 00
Minnesota.....	30. 00
Florida.....	25. 00
North Carolina.....	5. 00
Rhode Island.....	25. 00
California.....	100. 00
North Jersey.....	60. 40
C. I. O. Philadelphia Committee for Peace.....	23. 00
Doctors of Crown Heights Hospital.....	2. 50

Mr. VOORHIS. Nobody thinks the Farmers' Union is a Communist organization; do they?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, the list simply includes the name of Farmers Union of Alabama.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand, but it was introduced with that improper observation.

Miss HUFFMAN. That a majority were, Congressman Voorhis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't know whether we have the same organization in mind.

Mr. STARNES. There is one that is definitely so.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Farmers' Union of the United States is one of the three major farm organizations of the country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is a Farmers' Union, about which there is a good deal of testimony that has been presented to this committee for a period of years, to which I think this refers.

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Miss HUFFMAN. There are a few additional names of contributors—may we include these—Two Photographers from Friday, \$18; Peace Council of Connecticut, \$100; and Striking Mine Workers, \$5.

They had taken up a collection for the striking mine workers and then the striking mine workers gave a contribution to the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't happen to know what happened to the contribution for the miners; do you?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have never heard of them making an accounting, Congressman Voorhis, of what they do with the contributions.

Mr. STARNES. Did I understand you to say that they did take up a contribution there for the striking mine workers and then that the striking mine workers made a contribution to the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Which is an excellent example of cooperation.

Miss HUFFMAN. The two committees in which I was particularly interested, that is the two conference committees in which I was particularly interested, were also carried on at Mecca Temple, was the commission on draft and military camps; and Joseph Cadden, president of the American Youth Congress—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Not president but I think executive secretary.

Miss HUFFMAN. Executive secretary of the American Youth Congress, was the keynoter for that meeting.

I had managed to obtain admission to one of the labor committee meetings. I did not have credentials. I talked my way in, and I was in the one; but two people there recognized me so when I tried to gain entrance to the draft and military camp committee I was unsuccessful, but I did see two boys in uniform, one a sergeant and one a private, go into that meeting.

There is an article regarding the talk was given by these two boys from Fort Dix at this conference and it is in the literature that was put out by the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give us that speech or those talks?

Miss HUFFMAN. It was in reference to the condition at camp and the fact that they needed help. We have it right here, Dr. Matthews [reading]:

#### SOLDIER ASKS A. P. M. TO PROTECT DRAFTEES' RIGHTS

A proposal to set up national and local A. P. M. committees to protect the welfare of draftees and their families was unanimously accepted by the commission on draft and military camps after a spirited discussion which was highlighted by the presence of a young man in uniform from Camp Dix.

Louis McCabe, a Philadelphia attorney and vice president of the National Lawyers Guild, chairman of the discussion, led off with proposals for amendments to the Burke-Wadsworth bill that would guarantee free speech and civil liberties in the camp, and to put teeth in the health guaranties for conscripts, protect the right to vote and do away with Negro discrimination in the draft.

For almost an hour the draftee from Fort Dix answered questions about conditions in the camps. He described how draftees at Fort Dix, watching a recent March of Time movie had broken out into hearty applause when Congressman Marcantonio appeared on the screen and denounced the war.

The biggest fear among conscripts is that they are not in the Army just for a year, but as the officers say "for the duration."

The young man reported that cases of meningitis and scarlet fever had proved fatal at the camp and that cases of insanity were frequent.

Emerson Daggett, representative of the San Francisco Industrial Union Council, told of plans to start a recreation center for the boys in the California camps. He proposed that local A. P. M. groups, together with the trade unions and youth groups, establish such centers where conscripts can find educational and recreational activities which are sorely lacking in the camps. Mr. Daggett emphasized the necessity of unions and other groups maintaining contact with their members who were drafted.

Support for the Murray bill which would defer all medical students and internes and place draft doctors only in the Medical Corps was expressed by the members of the commission.

The commission endorsed the Marcantonio bill to repeal the Draft Act and recommended that the A. P. M. work for the passage of this bill at the same time that it carried on campaigns to improve the welfare of draftees.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you concluded with this meeting at Mecca Temple?

Miss HUFFMAN. No. Then the United States Foreign Policy Commission, the chairman for that meeting was Max Yergan of the American Negro or National Negro Congress—I am bringing that out because on both of these there is evidence proving that they are Communists who headed these various committees—these various groups which were in charge of the meeting.

Then under labor they had one general conference, the chairman of which was Donald Henderson, and Morris Watson was the secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before we leave that point, Mr. Chairman, perhaps it should be observed here if the witness knows the fact, that Donald Henderson was the first executive secretary of the American League Against War and Fascism, and then later the American League for Peace and Democracy; that he is publicly an avowed member of the Communist Party and he is also head or president of one of the C. I. O. unions.

Mr. STARNES. He was present at this meeting?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He presided.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. He presided at the labor conference that was held there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; the general conference, the big general conference at which their new group was set up.

The others who appeared on that—there are 10 in all, half of them appear on the list in the congressional record of the Communists in C. I. O. organizations. They were C. J. Edelen—I am reading all 10—Bob Travis, Daniel Allen, and Courtney Ward. They were the chairmen. The keynoters were Red Robinson, Al Stonkus, Elmer Felhaber, Morris Watson, and Louis Merrill.

Those were the 10 and 5 of those appear on that other list.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which other list?

Miss HUFFMAN. On the list that appears in the congressional record of the C. I. O.—Communists in C. I. O. organizations.

At this general conference there was set up a National Labor Committee Against War of the American Peace Mobilization, of which Morris Watson was made provisional secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Morris Watson is the vice president of the American Newspaper Guild, is he not?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have the history of Morris Watson. Shall I go into it?



Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, do you want an account of Morris Watson in the record at this point?

Mr. STARNES. Was he present at this meeting, taking an active part in the meeting?

Mr. MATTHEWS. He was the keynoter.

Miss HUFFMAN. And made provisional secretary of the big group they set up since—

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is secretary of the National Labor Committee of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. You have his record there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MASON. Let us have his record.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Miss HUFFMAN. Morris Watson, chairman of the National—provisional secretary of the National Labor Committee Against War of the American Peace Mobilization. He is a vice president of the American Newspaper Guild. He was a signer of the "Free Browder" petitions that were signed at the American Peace Mobilization meeting, and a list of the names appear in the Daily Worker for May 2. He is active head of the left-wing division of the American Labor Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Dr. Matthews. He is a member of the executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. Literature of that organization was also distributed at the A. P. M. meeting, one of them being "Witch Hunt, 1941, Hits Government Workers," and another one "Investigating Committees and Civil Rights." Morris Watson's name appears on their call for action not on this original.

Mr. STARNES. Those can be attached to the record as exhibits.

(The pamphlets referred to were marked "Huffman Exhibits Nos. 9 and 10.")

Miss HUFFMAN. These are both attacks on investigating committees and tell how not to accept a subpoena, to a large extent. Then the "Call for National Action Conference for Civil Rights" that was held in the Hotel Hamilton in Washington, D. C. This was distributed—these were sold and this was distributed at that meeting and a list of the officers and sponsors that appear on the back page, 41 of them are either officers, national officers, not local, or sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have that list?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Including Morris Watson?

Miss HUFFMAN. Including Morris Watson; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have the rest of Morris Watson's record there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; I have Morris Watson. He is editor of Release, a new publication published by the Jewish People's Committee, for which circulars were distributed at that meeting. And he was a national member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy. That appears on their letterhead for March 24, 1939. Morris Watson was also a speaker at a meeting

in April of 1940, at which Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party was a speaker, and Dr. Ned Dearborn, of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom. Their literature was distributed at the meeting. Morris Watson was a former—the unit manager of the Living Newspaper Unit of the Federal Theater Project, W. P. A.

I have here three articles that were written by Morris Watson for the New Theater Magazine. The first article is a description of the Living Newspaper Unit of the Federal Theater Project, in which it states:

As long as it is part of the W. P. A. it will be subject to petty and unfair attacks from those revolutionary forces which see red in every letter of relief.

The second article has to do with a mass meeting, held in New York City for W. P. A. employees and supervisors. The third article which appears in the April 1937 issue of the New Theater Magazine, called Sit-down Strikes, is about a play directed by Mr. Watson for the General Motors strikers. The play was a play using General Motors strikers to be presented before the strikers at the Union Hall in Flint, Mich. Mention is also made of the speech by Mr. Watson in Lansing, Mich., that he was to make 2 days after this play was given, for the League for Industrial Democracy. Incidentally, at that time, and I verified that a few years back, Mr. Watson was a Federal Theater Project administrative employee, supervisor at the time that he staged this play—this sit-down strike play in Flint, Mich., where Mr. Watson, of course, will be recalled as a former vice president of the Associated Press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you say he gave a play for the League for Industrial Democracy?

Miss HUFFMAN. He made a speech for them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you sure about that name?

Miss HUFFMAN. I will read what the magazine says:

When I arrived in Flint to lecture before the League for Industrial Democracy on the Monday before the General Motors strike settlement I found Mary Heaton and Joseph Herme industriously preparing a living newspaper script on the strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all—did you say he was vice president of the Associated Press?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, Congressman Voorhis; I started to read something. He was vice president of the Newspaper Guild and a member of the—a speaker for the International Workers' Order. He was conference chairman at the national conference of the Workers' Alliance of America, speaker at the conference of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, and a signer of an open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union, and a sponsor of the Consumers' National Federation, a speaker for the American Student Union, a speaker for the Committee for Peoples' Rights, a member of the Advisory Board of Frontier Films, on the council of the United States Veterans, Inc., a member of the advisory board—and his name appears on their letterhead—a speaker at the Greenwich Village mass meeting for peace of the New York Peace Association. And Morris Watson is head of this group that has been set up—announcement has been made at the Building Trades Peace Council, which is a branch of

this National Labor Committee Against War. This group has been set up to form peace groups from 16 different trades.

The executive board of that Building Trades Peace Council has Tim Murphy as president of the executive board. He is a member of the Compressed Air and Tunnel Workers' Local 147; Joe Margolin, secretary of the Electrical Workers Union Local No. 3; and then there are 15 members on the executive board.

At the Building Workers Peace Council meeting among the speakers were Gino Bardi, the editor of L'Unita del Popolo, that was mentioned this morning; Oscar Schellner, administrative secretary; Frank Weddell, president of Local 840 of the Painters' Union. They took action supporting the transport workers House Resolution 3994, which is called the Marcantonio bill, the struggle of Ireland, support of the Teachers' Union, the Tobey resolution to prohibit an increase in the Federal appropriation for the unemployed, a larger housing program, and union rights.

I put those in, Congressman Starnes, because that is the active rather than the peace activities that are carried on by all of the so-called peace organizations.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, you put in here their so-called legislative program or the conference agenda that they had at the meeting at Mecca Temple, plus the local meeting that they had?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. To show that the true character of it is not a peace group, but merely a political group whose antecedents are now subject to question, and whose relation to the Communist Party and controlled by the Communist Party, you have given testimony here today?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; and the principal activities appear to be to organize a gigantic strike movement.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, just a minute. I think you misspoke yourself a moment ago. You said that these were the activities of all peace movements. You don't mean to say that, do you?

Miss HUFFMAN. Of the American branches of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. And in the second place I would like to ask you this: You don't mean, do you, to imply that an interest in unemployment, for instance, or some of the other things that you mentioned in that list is an indication that anyone who is interested in those things is pursuing a Communist course, do you?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, Congressman Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't mean to put words in your mouth.

Miss HUFFMAN. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. But rather to show that this organization setting itself up as being an American Peace Mobilization has as a matter of fact undertaken a great wide range of activities, covering many different things and presumably with the idea—under Communist leadership—of penetrating into a lot of different movements, using this as a focal point, is that right?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Although many of those enterprises and aims may be fundamentally sound and just and right?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is important to make that point.

Mr. MASON. I would like if we can have the official reporter state exactly what the lady said. I didn't get it as you interpreted it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not criticising her at all.

Mr. MASON. You stated she made a certain remark which I am quite sure she didn't make in the way you said it and on that basis you are questioning the testimony. I am sure that the stenographer can give us the exact statement.

Mr. STARNES. Will you read the statement, Mr. Reporter?

(Statement read.)

Miss HUFFMAN. The latest activity of this National Labor Committee Against War has been the signing of a call by 25 union leaders, for a conference to be held on May 26, of which Morris Watson will be the head, and notices have been sent, according to their announcement, to all labor unions in New York City.

Mr. VOORHIS. When you say "25 union leaders," I am inclined to think you ought to explain what you mean by that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you the list of the signers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Not of that list, but on the union leaders I thought I had the file here on the labor unions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman Voorhis, the announcement of the American Peace Mobilization simply states "signed by 25 of the city's outstanding trade-union leaders."

Mr. VOORHIS. Let us make it plain that when that announcement says that that the probabilities are there are not 25 outstanding trade-union leaders as ordinarily understood in the labor movement in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, at this point we would like to recall Miss Spargo.

Mr. STARNES. Do you want to insert in the record at this point that call with reference to the 25 prominent trade-union leaders?

M. MATTHEWS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

(The document referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 11.")

#### TESTIMONY OF MARY SPARGO—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give an account of what you found to be the situation in the Bituminous Coal Commission, as it bears upon the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. On March 18 of this year, this throw-away or flyer advertising a meeting of the American Peace—or the Washington Peace Mobilization rally at Turner's Arena, was found on every desk on the eleventh and twelfth floors of the Bituminous Coal Commission. The speakers at this Turner's Arena rally were to be Anna Louise Strong; Eugene P. Connolly, chairman of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party; George U. Murphy, administrative secretary of the National Negro Conference or Congress; and Sarah V. Montgomery, secretary-treasurer of the Washington Peace Mobilization.

I have certain information concerning how these came to be distributed. I am very glad to give you the names of my informants in executive session and some of the people are willing to appear be-

fore the committee in executive session, but I will omit at this time the names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state the reasons you are not naming the individuals when you give an account of this incident?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; these individuals have told me that they are afraid to testify concerning the activities of the American Peace Mobilization, for fear of losing their jobs. Some of them have said that they are afraid of physical violence from the Communists.

Mr. STARNES. Who told you that, Miss Spargo, your informants?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Are you willing to give the committee the names of the informants in executive session?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are they employees of the Bituminous Coal Commission?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; they are employees of the Bituminous Coal Commission.

Mr. STARNES. You know that of your own personal knowledge?

Miss SPARGO. Oh, yes; I talked to them. I will read you this report, leaving the names out.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Miss SPARGO. I had information that these notices had been found on the desks. I went to an administrative officer of the Bituminous Coal Commission. When I presented my credentials he said: "I am glad indeed, to see a Dies investigator here; this place is loaded from top to bottom with Communists; I have thought several times of going to see Mr. Starnes and tell him what the situation is, but this Communist influence is so heavy and comes from the very top I felt it would be unwise for me to be seen at Mr. Starnes' office, because I might lose my job."

The official said that he knew about the distribution of the Peace Mobilization literature at the Bituminous Coal. In fact this came from him.

Mr. STARNES. I want that made a part of the record, the call or throw-away you have there.

**(The document referred to was marked "Spargo Exhibit No. 2.")**

Miss SPARGO. He said that an investigator from the Interior Department had spent very considerable time trying to learn who had distributed the literature. I had been informed that the night before the papers appeared on every desk, that they were in the desk of Harry Rand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. R-a-n-d?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; an attorney in the Bituminous Coal Division. I then questioned—after conferring with this official—I then questioned a girl employee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you question her at the office of the Bituminous Coal Commission?

Miss SPARGO. I did. I went into Mr. Rand's office. I went into the Legal Division and I spoke to this girl in the hall privately. I took out the pink paper and handed it to her and I said: "Were these the papers—was this paper in Harry Rand's desk the night before they were found on every desk in your Division," and she

replied, "Yes, those were the papers—they were the ones Mr. Rand had in his desk."

I thereupon said: "We are very anxious to get at the bottom of this Communist influence in this Division. I wonder if you would be willing to appear before an executive session of the Dies committee and tell what you know of these papers—we would not ask you to appear at a public hearing, we would ask you to speak only to the Congressmen on the committee?" She looked straight at me and she said: "But I know nothing about those papers," after being asked to testify. She said: "I didn't see them in Mr. Rand's desk; I know nothing about Mr. Rand; there is nothing that I can tell the committee."

Now, I may insert here that I have another witness who is employed in the Bituminous Coal Division who had precisely the same experience before the Interior Department sent its investigator over there. This same girl had informed my witness that she had seen these in Mr. Rand's desk, but there had then been no investigation started. After the investigation started she came upstairs and denied flatly to this same witness that she had ever seen the papers.

My witness will also say that everybody is terrified about testifying concerning these communistic activities in that Department. After she said, "There is nothing that I can tell the committee," I said, "Didn't you just tell me that those were the papers in Mr. Rand's desk?"

She said: "No; I did not."

I said: "Do you mean to say that you never at any time told a girl in your department that you had seen those papers in Mr. Rand's desk?"

She said: "I could not have said that, because I never saw them—the papers—in his desk."

I said: "I can't understand the conflict in your statements."

She said: "There is no conflict in my statements, I didn't tell you or anybody else that I saw the papers."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go back and discuss this matter with the official in the Bituminous Coal Commission, to whom you made reference in your statement?

Miss SPARGO. I had previously discussed it and he had previously told me, "You will not pin her or anyone else down in this division—I would not appear myself."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you why he would not appear?

Miss SPARGO. I think I have covered that. He said: "The Communist influence is so heavy and comes from the very top I feel it would be unwise for me to be seen at Mr. Starnes' office."

Mr. VOORHIS. What did he mean by "the very top"?

Miss SPARGO. I didn't ask him, sir. I am merely giving as nearly as I can—I mean, immediately upon coming back I wrote out my notes. Now, what he meant by the "very top," I assumed he meant the very top of the Coal Division, but that I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. That is an assumption merely on your part following his statement to you?

Miss SPARGO. That was merely his statement to me. I didn't ask him anything further.

Mr. STARNES. But he said he was fearful to come to talk to Members of Congress or a congressional committee even in executive session?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. I may say also that it was some time previous to that that I first began hearing these stories that these Government people were terrified about testifying against the Communists in the Government. I had heard it repeatedly from many different people employed in the Government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you heard that in the course of your investigations?

Miss SPARGO. In the course of my investigations I heard it many times.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where had you heard that?

Miss SPARGO. From various Government employees, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is most important—I mean if we are going to have testimony like this where we just kind of blanket in whole divisions, then it seems to me it is absolutely incumbent on the committee thereafter to be very specific because otherwise you have implicated a whole organization and I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, if we cannot be specific about these matters I think that this type of testimony is extremely unfair. I have every desire to try to get rid of this influence wherever it exists, but it isn't any good to put out a public statement to the effect that this thing comes "from the very top" or something like that, without saying who is who and who isn't who.

Mr. STARNES. You are willing, of course, and will gladly give to the committee in executive session the name of your informant?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And any departments involved?

Miss SPARGO. Certainly, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. It isn't the informants I am worried about.

Mr. STARNES. And you will give to us the division in which this occurred—I mean in which these people were employed?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir. You understand, Mr. Voorhis, I am merely repeating a conversation.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand.

Miss SPARGO. I am not personally bringing any charge.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand perfectly well what you are doing, Miss Spargo. The thing that I am concerned about is that right at this moment the United States is in an extremely difficult and critical period, and it seems to me important that no committee and no agency anywhere should, without the greatest care and specification, make charges which are likely to lead to a lack of confidence on the part of the people in their Government. Now, if we are going to say things like that, then we have got to pin them down, and we can't let it go that just all over the Government people said they were afraid of physical violence if they testified.

Mr. STARNES. Let us get this specific without giving any names except in executive session in order to protect these people, but you can give us the names of the departments for the record specifically. If you talked to anyone in any particular department, you can give us that information.

Miss SPARGO. I talked to people in the Bituminous Coal Commission and in the Civil Service Commission. I am afraid to give you any more than that, because my notes with reference to it are not here.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have the notes with you—are they available here?

Miss SPARGO. They are not here; no, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You will produce those for us?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say that you were told this at the Bituminous Coal Commission and also in the Civil Service Commission?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these responsible executives in administrative positions who told you?

Miss SPARGO. Well, this one statement which I here introduced was a responsible executive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In an administrative position?

Miss SPARGO. Certainly. Now, I may say also and again I would prefer to give you this in executive session, that I was very much shocked, and I did not believe that in this Government were people who were afraid to testify against the Communists when I first heard it. So I thought that the logical thing to do was to take it to investigators in Government departments whom I had run into in the course of my work. I did so, and I was told by them that their fear is justified; that it has been known—"we know that people who have informed against the Communists have lost their jobs in the Government."

Mr. STARNES. That came from an investigator in another governmental agency with whom you were working in cooperation?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct, and I will be glad to give you the name of the investigator who said that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the orderly procedure in a matter of this kind is, where there are things which Miss Spargo or any of the rest of us feel should be taken up in executive session that the entire story should be taken up in executive session until such time as the committee is ready to make a release on it. We shouldn't have half of the story here which makes a kind of general accusation and then say we are going to have the other part of it, which becomes specific, in executive session. I think it ought to be all one way or the other.

Mr. STARNES. Suppose you proceed with your testimony and be as specific as you can in the instances where you can be specific, Miss Spargo. You may proceed and we will take this other testimony in executive session.

Miss SPARGO. I know of nothing further to go into on that, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. I can see the justice, of course, in the position stated by Mr. Voorhis, that we should proceed with precaution; that there shouldn't be a blanket indictment and there is no blanket indictment. I want to say for the record, that neither this committee nor any other committee that I know of is making any charges. We are simply hearing testimony. We haven't even filed a charge. We are merely hearing testimony and as to what our verdict will be, only time and time alone can tell.



I want the record straight so there will be no quotation that the committee is charging anything. We are merely hearing testimony under oath of a competent witness with reference to certain matters of public importance, that the public ought to know about if it is true and exists. I don't know of anything that is of more vital importance to the Nation in this critical hour than that we should know who in responsible positions, either administrative or executive, whose loyalty to the American democracy is in doubt. That is of prime importance and I don't know of anything that transcends it in importance—whether or not the people who are working for this Government are loyal to America and its institutions.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say it is my personal opinion that the overwhelming majority of such people are loyal. I think the job of the committee is to get very accurate information about things of that kind. I think it is more important for the people to get accurate information, that is the point I make.

Mr. STARNES. I quite agree with the gentleman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Spargo, did you make an investigation of the activities of the American Peace Mobilization in the Washington Navy Yard?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make such an investigation?

Miss SPARGO. I did, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a report on that investigation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. STARNES. Just a minute, Dr. Matthews. The chair will make the following statement:

At the beginning of the session this morning the chair called the names of Mr. Hersey and Miss Koenigsberg for the express purpose of determining whether or not they were in the committee room in answer to subpoenas directing them to be present today and to bring their records.

It was not the thought of the committee to investigate or to receive evidence concerning these parties and the organizations or individuals whom they might represent, but merely to determine whether they had responded to the call of the subpoenas and were present with their records.

The committee is glad to state they are present and have brought the records called for, and have agreed to cooperate fully with us and the committee appreciates that fact.

Whether or not these parties testify in the future depends, of course, upon the result of our conferences with those two witnesses who were subpoenaed, and an examination of their records. If so, due notice will be given them and if they want counsel, should a hearing be held, they are entitled to it.

At the time they appeared this morning it seems that counsel from the national headquarters of the organization to which they belong was present in the room and attempted to make a statement. He apparently was under a misapprehension because he had just arrived, so he states, in the city and knew nothing of the facts and was merely pleading for time to have an opportunity to examine the record.

The Chair is glad to make this announcement and to say that so far as we are concerned the incident is closed and hope no unpleasant

inferences may be drawn from what occurred at the time. It was merely a misunderstanding on the part of this attorney as to why this lady and this gentleman were called.

The committee had no intention of examining them today nor examining into the records, but just merely to ascertain, as a matter of record, whether or not they had appeared and had brought their records with them; and with that the incident is closed.

Now the Chair wishes to call the committee into executive session. There will be no further public hearings today. Our hearings will be resumed tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 3 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Thursday, May 22, 1941.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, research director.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its session.

Who is your first witness, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Spargo.

## TESTIMONY OF MARY SPARGO—Recalled

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Spargo, you met Julia Marcus in your investigation of the American Peace Mobilization, did you not?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Julia Marcus is one of the very active participants in the work of the American Peace Mobilization in Washington?

Miss SPARGO. She is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is she a Government employee?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; she is. She is employed in Employment Security.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the Employment Security?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Miss Marcus ever talk with you about the progress of the American Peace Mobilization in the navy yard in Washington?

Miss SPARGO. She did. She said they were making considerable progress in organizing in the navy yard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you in your investigation find that one Charles T. Gift was active in the American Peace Mobilization in Washington?

Miss SPARGO. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same Charles T. Gift that the committee heard in executive session with reference to his activities in the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. He is the same man who gave us testimony with reference to Communist activities in the navy yard in an executive session? That is the same Charles T. Gift?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

And the information which you obtained in your investigations is to the effect that Charles T. Gift is still employed at the navy yard, is that correct?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Spargo, did you attend a meeting of the Washington delegation to the American People's Meeting which was held at the Roumanian Inn, or was that here in Washington?

Miss SPARGO. I think the meeting to which you are referring is a meeting of the Washington delegation in New York City on Sunday, April 6.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was that held at the Roumanian Inn?

Miss SPARGO. No; the Roumanian Inn is here in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did attend a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization in Washington at the Roumanian Inn, did you not?

Miss SPARGO. No, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not?

Miss SPARGO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The meeting which you attended of the Washington delegation in New York was held where?

Miss SPARGO. It was held in Mecca Temple.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Helen Miller—

Miss SPARGO. The one—this particular one to which I have reference was held in Mecca Temple.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Helen Miller participate in that meeting?

Miss SPARGO. She did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she make a speech?

Miss SPARGO. She did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you tell us what Helen Miller had to say at that meeting of the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. I am referring to Helen Schnatzler Miller, the wife of Hugh B. Miller, chairman of the grievance committee of Local 12, Labor Department U. F. W. A. Her husband has been active in the American Peace Mobilization and is secretary of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action. He is an attorney in the Bituminous Coal.

Miss Miller at the Washington delegation in New York City, was speaking of the necessity of pay raises for Government employees. In the course of that speech she called this a Fascist Government. She said that America was "an imperialist nation which wanted to engage upon an imperialist war for world conquest." She said that in the meantime this Government underpaid, overworked, and poorly housed its workers.

She also of course, scored the investigations of Government workers. I may say in regard to this term "Fascist" it is in very general use among members of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. They refer to America as a "Fascist State"?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And she particularly on this occasion scored this Government as being a "Fascist Government"?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Bent upon engaging in an imperialist war for world conquest?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And criticized it for overworking, underpaying, and giving poor housing or affording poor housing for its own employees?

Miss SPARGO. She described the treatment by this Government of its workers as shameful.

Mr. STARNES. She is a Government employee herself?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And you described her as such?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And have given us the agency with which she works?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And did I understand you to say that this was a somewhat general indictment or a general charge that was being made by members of the American Peace Mobilization, to the effect that America was a "Fascist State" and about to "engage upon an imperialist war"?

Miss SPARGO. Many of the members of the group particularly mentioned the President and Mrs. Roosevelt and Mr. Dies as being the three chief Fascists in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Did you hear any of these Government employees making statements to that effect?

Miss SPARGO. I did.

Mr. STARNES. You did?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name those?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; some of them. I wonder if you want me to name just one or two. I mean when there are so many who said that.

Mr. STARNES. I would rather you would give us a complete list—if you will furnish the committee with a complete list of those engaging in activities such as those or making statements such as those.

Miss SPARGO. It was such a widespread thing, Mr. Starnes. There was so much said. It would be difficult to give you a complete list. I mean it was so general. It was the general tenor of the conversations.

Mr. STARNES. If you will furnish us as complete a list as you are able to.

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. For the record. You may proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In looking over issues of the Daily Worker and other Communist publications during your investigation, have you found that that is also the Communist Party line with respect to the United States Government?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever at any time in talking with the people who are at work in the American Peace Mobilization, detect

any deviation from the Communist Party line on the part of those individuals?

Miss SPARGO. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say that the Communist Party line as you are acquainted with it, completely coincides with the line of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. It does completely coincide with the line of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph, Miss Spargo, and ask you if you can identify Helen Miller, about whom you have spoken, as one of the persons in that photograph? [Handing photograph to the witness.]

Miss SPARGO. Reading from left to right is Nellie Schafer, Matilda Katz, and Helen Miller.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Helen Miller is at the right?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe what that is a picture of?

Miss SPARGO. That is a picture of part of the Washington delegation leaving for the American Peace Mobilization at the Chicago Stadium on August 31. It is a picture of the three young ladies standing on the platform of the car—I mean on the rear of the train.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that that photograph be received as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The photograph was marked as "Spargo Exhibit No. 1, May 22, 1941.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you complete your account of Miss Miller's speech at the meeting of the Washington delegation?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. At the meeting of the Washington delegation—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever attend any meetings of the American Peace Mobilization where the subject of the Glenn Martin airplane plant was discussed?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give the committee an account of what was said at that meeting or those meetings?

Miss SPARGO. The subject of the 7,000 jobs for Negroes at Glenn L. Martin was discussed at every meeting which I attended, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Glenn Martin airplane plant at Baltimore, is it not?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct; and buttons like this were sold at some of the meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Buttons like this were sold at the meetings of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; that particular button was sold at a meeting of the Washington Peace Mobilization at 1633 U Street NW.—Majestic Studio, April 18.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please read what the button says?

Miss SPARGO (reading). "7,000 jobs for Negroes at Glenn L. Martin, National Negro Congress."

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that that be received as an exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

MR. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The button referred to was marked "Spargo Exhibit No. 2, May 22, 1941.")

MR. STARNES. This particular item was the subject matter of discussion at a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS SPARGO. Yes.

MR. STARNES. The employment of 7,000 Negroes in the Glenn Martin plant?

MISS SPARGO. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. And was it a subject matter of discussion before the Washington chapter here or the Washington group?

MISS SPARGO. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Of the American Peace Mobilization?

MISS SPARGO. Yes, sir; in fact it is—in fact the Washington Peace Mobilization group made posters for the rally that was to have been held or was held in Baltimore.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you describe what the discussion amounted to?

MR. STARNES. What is that?

MR. MATTHEWS. I am asking about the nature of the discussion about the employment of the 7,000 Negroes in the Glenn Martin plant.

MR. STARNES. Finish that and then I have some questions I want to ask about another item.

MISS SPARGO. Reading from a report of a meeting at the Majestic Studio at 1633 U Street NW., on April 16—

MR. MATTHEWS. Is this your own report?

MISS SPARGO. Yes, sir. Dr. Matthews.

MR. MATTHEWS. Your own notes on what was said at that meeting?

MISS SPARGO. That is correct. Mrs. Dorothy Strange urged attendance at the rally in Baltimore on April 27 to get jobs for 7,000 Negroes at the Glenn L. Martin plant. She and others sold these buttons. Jack Zucker, vice president of the Washington American Peace Mobilization and a representative of the Shoe Workers' Union, added to her report which concerned the necessity of these 7,000 jobs. He urged that every A. P. M. member support this drive on Glenn L. Martin and said:

You must realize that it is not only a question of getting justice for Negro brothers, but if we achieve this victory and actually get jobs for 7,000 Negroes down there we have got 7,000 new members of our union. Think what that will mean to us.

Henry Thomas, a Negro leader of the southwest branch of the Communist Party—that is how he is listed in the police records—reporting on the view of the Negro—Mr. Thomas was asked what success he had had in encouraging the Negroes to apply for those jobs, and he said: "Well, in view," he said, "Negroes in general are too lukewarm to our peace movement." He said: "They hope that the war will bring them jobs that they have not been able to get before."

He also said that the trouble was, the difficulty was in organizing among the Negroes that they couldn't understand why the American Peace Mobilization should be interested in getting them into Glenn L. Martin to manufacture war goods.

He said that many Negroes suggested that a peace movement should take just the opposite stand. He said that many Negroes

with whom he had talked said that in their view if this was a peace movement they should be urging people to take no part whatever in any defense industry.

This comment met with a general laugh. You understand that Mr. Thomas was reporting on the attitude of Negroes whom he had tried to organize—that was not his point of view.

Mr. STARNES. Their simple logic was they couldn't understand why a peace movement, if it was a peace movement, was interested in obtaining jobs for Negroes in a war industry?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. They couldn't follow that logic?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that was met with general laughter?

Miss SPARGO. That comment was met with very general laughter. One man whom I would recognize but whose name I do not have, said: "Well, certainly, in some cases it could be explained to the Negroes or to certain of our brothers, what they could do if they could get a job in a defense industry."

Mr. STARNES. The implication being, of course, they would be in a position to sabotage the defense program?

Miss SPARGO. I so took it.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a couple of questions, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you get the impression that the Peace Mobilization organization was interested in getting jobs for Negroes as such and because they were Negroes, or was it just because they were Negroes that they wanted to see them get good jobs and be able to make a living? Was that why they were interested in it?

Miss SPARGO. No. Of course it is a very complicated picture.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't think it is complicated at all. Let me ask you another question: Weren't they interested in getting a particular group of persons who were sympathetic to their point of view, who might be willing to cooperate with the Communist leadership of this organization no matter who they were, but that they believed that by raising this issue it might be possible for Mr. Thomas and others to see that the particularly right ones would get in? Isn't that actually the case?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; that is correct. And also they made it very plain they didn't want them all to go at once. They had a plan that every day from 30 to 100 Negroes would apply at Glenn L. Martin. That was discussed on several occasions. They planned to send out press releases each day when they said those applicants would be turned down. They said when the applicants would be turned down: "We will send to every newspaper a statement that 'today 30 Negroes were refused jobs at this Jim Crow plant,'" but they said: "We must see to it that those Negroes who apply are Negroes with whom we have come in contact."

In other words, they did not want just any Negro—they wanted Negroes who had been influenced to their point of view.

Mr. VOORHIS. It seems to me that is important.

Mr. STARNES. I think that is highly important and very significant.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would just like to make this observation with regard to these hearings: Speaking for myself and



I believe the committee would agree, I know that there are a great many people in the United States that sincerely are working for peace; that what these hearings have to do is to show the degree to which one organization that is controlled by a foreign government is attempting to utilize this sincere desire to serve its own ends, and to show that although an organization may be called a "peace organization" that in fact it may not be that at all; that these hearings are not intended in any slightest degree to cast any discredit on any sincere peace movement in the United States which is an expression of sincere conviction on the part of the American people with regard to our foreign policy.

That isn't a matter, of course, that the committee would, obviously, go into.

Mr. STARNES. You may resume your questioning.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Spargo, following up the statement by Mr. Voorhis, was it not also your distinct impression that the American Peace Mobilization was out to exploit the question of racial justice for ends which did not have particularly to do with the bettering of conditions of Negro people?

Miss SPARGO. That is absolutely correct. I felt very strongly that they really didn't care one particle what actually happened to the Negroes as a whole, or to any individual Negro, provided he could serve the ends of Soviet Russia.

Mr. STARNES. In all of the meetings that you attended of the American Peace Mobilization, either here or elsewhere, when you considered the program or the agenda which was under discussion and the general tenor and type of meetings, did it give you an impression that here was a group of people genuinely interested in peace who were disciples of peace, or did you obtain an impression that here was a group who were following the political line which is being forced on this country by a foreign government?

Miss SPARGO. I certainly was convinced that they were following the political line of a foreign government. They talked about strikes continuously. Strikers came to the rally in New York who were right off the picket lines, and people were wearing these buttons, Ford buttons and Chief Steward, United Automobile Workers, and the International Harvester strikers.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see anyone there who purported to be from the Allis-Chalmers plant?

Miss SPARGO. Oh, yes; Allis-Chalmers plant, and they contributed money to this American Peace Mobilization, all of them, and they were wildly cheered when they did so.

Mr. STARNES. Was the question of strikes in national-defense industries constantly under discussion and consideration at these various meetings?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; they were.

Mr. STARNES. What was the purport of the discussions? Was it to support strikes of that type and nature in order to hinder and hamstring the United States of America?

Miss SPARGO. That is it.

Mr. STARNES. In its effort to speed up its security program and provide a defense for this country?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. They said they were out to get General Motors and talked about Big Steel and Little Steel—I mean the whole tenor of the thing was definitely fomenting strikes in order to hamper the national defense.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't that a part of the Communist Party line in this country, to impede the efforts of the United States to defend itself if it is about to engage in an "imperialist war"?

Miss SPARGO. That is so.

Mr. STARNES. I think, of course, the members of the committee have knowledge of the fact that the one-time leader of the Communist Party, who has been offered for the Presidency on more than one occasion, stated before this committee, if I remember correctly, in 1939, that that was a part of their program and it would be carried forward to such an extent that they would not only promote strikes in national-defense industries and strife, but they would attempt to bring about civil war in this country if necessary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder said he would attempt to precipitate civil war.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Dr. Matthews, you may proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that conclude your statement of the account of the discussion of the Glenn Martin plant and the question of the employment of Negroes at that plant?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I think I did say that the members worked on posters and all that sort of thing. I mean there was a very great deal of work done by the A. P. M. in connection with the Glenn L. Martin rally.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to get a matter straight in my mind, Dr. Matthews, about some previous testimony given by the witness.

This Helen Miller you spoke of a moment ago, you stated was the wife of Hugh Miller?

Miss SPARGO. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And Hugh Miller is an attorney for this Washington Committee on Democratic Action—is that the name of the committee?

Miss SPARGO. I have him listed as a secretary, but I may be in error on that.

Mr. MASON. He is counsel for the Bituminous Coal Division.

Mr. STARNES. You stated she is a Government employee?

Miss SPARGO. That is so. She was representing her local as a delegate.

Mr. STARNES. Where is she employed?

Miss SPARGO. I believe in the Labor Department.

Mr. STARNES. Where was this speech made that she made that you refer to?

Miss SPARGO. At the American People's Meeting in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall whether or not in her own speech she referred to these "three leading Fascists in this Government"?

Miss SPARGO. I don't recall that.

Mr. STARNES. But others present who spoke did refer to the President, his wife, and Mr. Dies as "being three of the leading Fascists in the country"?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. But Helen Miller repeatedly made the statement that—

Miss SPARGO. "This is a Fascist Government"—that "America is a Fascist Government."

Mr. STARNES. And it was about to engage in an imperialist war for world conquest?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Did you obtain the general impression at these meetings, or were you instructed yourself, as a member of this organization, that you should constantly exploit the racial question?

Miss SPARGO. That is so.

Mr. STARNES. Was that among the instructions that you received, that you should in every manner possible exploit racial discrimination and racial justice and hatred?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you, in your investigation, encounter a man named Greenberg?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Greenberg's full name?

Miss SPARGO. Robert N. Greenberg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. G-r-e-e-n-b-e-r-g?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not Robert N. Greenberg is a Government employee?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; he is. He works, I believe it is, with the Labor Department. I don't happen to have that particular list here, Dr. Matthews, but I am quite sure that that is the fact. In any event, he is a Government employee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find that Greenberg had any police record in the District of Columbia?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. He was arrested June 9, 1938, for distributing literature at the navy yard without a permit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was anyone else arrested with him?

Miss SPARGO. Matilda Katz, one of those in that picture.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Arrested with him on that occasion?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which one is Matilda Katz?

Miss SPARGO. She is in the middle.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The person in the middle of this exhibit 1?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. She was another member of the American Peace Mobilization. She was arrested with Mr. Greenberg on the same occasion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And are they both active in the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss SPARGO. They are.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They were arrested by the Washington Police Department?

Miss SPARGO. According to the records; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For illegal distribution of literature at the navy-yard gates?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Spargo, was there any discussion at these meetings or elsewhere among the members of the American

Peace Mobilization about what the American Peace Mobilization should attempt to do among draftees?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give the committee a full account of the discussion that took place about what the American Peace Mobilization should do with reference to draftees?

Miss SPARGO. In the first place there was at their headquarters a good-sized bookcase full of literature. It concerned the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, it concerned the Aid to China, it concerned Spanish Loyalists and all that sort of literature. There was a separate section of that same bookcase set aside for literature on the draft.

Here in one piece issued by the Washington Youth Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, NW.

Mr. STARNES. Washington Youth Council?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct. That was on the shelf.

Mr. STARNES. What is the general tenor of that? It deals with the draft, does it? I will read it:

Young people of Washington, democracy works, save it by using it. Take your pick. The numbers are up. Has yours been called? Your brothers, your friends, your sons, your boy friends, your husbands.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please read this line which is the slogan?

Miss SPARGO. "Democracy or conscription."

Mr. STARNES. "Democracy or conscription?"

Miss SPARGO. That is so.

Mr. STARNES. What is the general tenor of that literature? Is it an attack upon the draft? Is that the general tenor of this literature, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The literature as I have read it—the witness may speak for herself, does not come out overtly and attack the draft act but calls for very wide and drastic amendments to the act.

Will you have this in evidence, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

**(The pamphlet referred to was marked as "Spargo Exhibit No. 3, May 22, 1941.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I ask you if the Washington Youth Council is an affiliate of the American Youth Congress?

Miss SPARGO. That is so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you wish to modify in any way the statement which I made about the attitude of this literature toward the draft?

Miss SPARGO. No; you stated it correctly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this piece of literature?

Miss SPARGO. This is a piece of literature published by—which was also on the shelf, published in the Washington American Peace Mobilization headquarters, published by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the title of this piece of literature?

Miss SPARGO. The Draft Act and Your Rights, Your Right to Criticize. Advocate Change or Repeal.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that is the tenor of the discussion throughout this piece of literature, is it?

Miss SPARGO. That is the tenor of the discussion; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you receive this in evidence as an exhibit?

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The paper referred to was marked "Spargo Exhibit No. 4, May 22, 1941.")

Miss SPARGO. And this piece of literature is a piece of literature put out by the American Peace Mobilization, 1116 Vermont Avenue, N.W., Recommendations for Making the Burke-Wadsworth Act and its Administration as Truly Democratic as Possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you receive this in evidence, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Spargo Exhibit No. 5, May 22, 1941.")

Mr. STARNES. Was all of this literature that you have here on display, being distributed there at this meeting in New York City?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. This was certainly distributed, this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and much of the other material of the same kind. I do not recall this American Peace Mobilization—

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not literature of that type or character could be obtained from the Washington Bookshop?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. It could?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now did you find in their discussions at meetings and elsewhere that they made much more explicit their purposes with reference to draftees than they did in this printed literature?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now will you please outline what it is they had to say in their conversations or speeches about work among draftees?

Miss SPARGO. For part of the slant I go back to the part of the speech of Annette Rubinstein at the American People's Meeting in New York City. To the best of my recollection she said that since a draft of labor is not only possible but probable, that women would have to take a more militant point of view in the trade-union work; that women were going to have to be more militant and it was repeatedly said by other speakers—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was that speaker?

Miss SPARGO. Annette Rubinstein. You recall we have considerable material on that, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Miss SPARGO. "Employers"—I am quoting her from this six-page mimeographed folder:

Statistics on local draft boards already show that they are composed overwhelmingly of business and professional men and that the representation of labor thereon is almost negligible.

Since there are no group deferments and only individuals can be deferred, a draft of labor is possible and probable. Employers hostile to labor unions will certify that nonunion employes are necessary and union members not necessary.

Local draft boards without labor representation may with impunity cooperate in such discriminatory practices unless the act is amended to safeguard labor's rights.

Then another slant, of course, which is taken is the reiteration of elimination of Jim Crowism from the Army, which also follows—

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they were advocating the Draft

Act be so amended that some representatives of organized labor would have to serve on all local draft boards—is that the general tenor of their discussion?

Miss SPARGO. I would say so; yes, sir. Those are exact quotes I was reading you.

Mr. STARNES. You may go ahead now with your Jim Crowism statement.

Miss SPARGO. On the Negro shelf is a four-page mimeographed sheet under the heading: "Did the Last World War Bring Democracy to the Negro People? Let Us Look at a Few of the Facts"; and it refers to a special, secret order sent out by the high command of the American Expeditionary Forces in France, stating that Negro soldiers were not to be given any treatment that might be interpreted as social equality.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend meetings where the matter of draftees was discussed?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember any of the conversations that took place at those meetings?

Miss SPARGO. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please outline what they were?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who made the remarks.

Miss SPARGO. On the bulletin boards at the headquarters are posted all articles which might possibly tend in any way to criticize the draft, with particular things underlined.

There was one article, for example, said that letters from home complaining of home conditions made boys homesick. That was underscored, and it said: "It undermines their morale." That was heavily underscored. Then at a meeting of the northwest peace group on April 22, at the home of Bob Austin and Lou Bibberman, 2023 O Street Northwest—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please spell that name?

Miss SPARGO. Bob A-u-s-t-i-n and Lou B-i-b-b-e-r-m-a-n.

The chairman said:

We have a big job cut out for us. The A. P. M. has asked each branch to set up its own draft committee. We find that very few people know the draft regulations and we must study them to find out just what exemptions are allowed.

Many conscripts are being drafted who could be deferred if they knew the law. It is up to us to help them. We must fight any extension of that year of service and see to it that the Government keeps its promise to let the boys out at the end of a year.

Then again right here in Washington we are surrounded by camps. It is up to us, it is up to each one of you as an individual, to meet the boys when they come in for weekends, and we must give them a good time. We must let them see that the A. P. M. is working for true American democracy. We must let them see that we have something to offer in the way of protection of their rights to work and live free lives away from the Fascist domination of this Government.

Attention was called to the fact that the Government was discouraging—the charge was made that the Government was discouraging letters from home to the boys because letters undermine their morale.

The chairman said:

That brings up another point. It is up to us to see that the boys get plenty of those homesick letters. We must fight the Fascists on all fronts.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, it would be a part of the program of the American Peace Mobilization to undermine the morale of the soldiers of the United States Army?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And that was to be accomplished by having homesick letters written to them and by other devious methods?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your investigation you found out about this meeting at the Roumanian Inn?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you describe what took place there?

Miss SPARGO. On April 26—

Mr. STARNES. This is a meeting on April 26 at the Roumanian Inn?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; of the Washington Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. All right—this year?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. Susan B. Anthony declared at this meeting:

We must go right into the camps and see what is going on; we must be sure we do get into the camps.

Miss Anthony read a letter purported to be from a soldier at Camp Dix stating that in a recent forest fire five boys had been killed, but she said:

The kept capitalistic press has suppressed that news at the request of this capitalistic Government.

She said that her informant had told her that the food at Camp Dix was very poor indeed. I believe that the informant also said that on certain days the draftees had nothing to eat but bologna sandwiches.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there anything else that took place at the Roumanian Inn?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; Mrs. Montgomery—

Mr. STARNES. Who is this Susan B. Anthony you are referring to?

Miss SPARGO. She is a young Government employee.

Mr. STARNES. A young Government employee?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. That is not the great suffragist leader that you are referring to?

Miss SPARGO. No; I believe she is a descendent. I haven't fully checked on that.

Mr. STARNES. I just want to make it clear that you are not testifying with regard to her.

Now the letters you referred to awhile ago, Miss Spargo, about homesickness, those letters were a type of letters that they wanted written to the boys which would tend to develop homesickness on the part of the young fellows?

Miss SPARGO. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Make them discontented with camp life and so forth?

Miss SPARGO. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Now do you know what Government agency this Susan B. Anthony, this young Susan B. Anthony works in?

Miss SPARGO. I don't know unless Dr. Matthews has it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The record in our file shows she is with the National Youth Administration.

Do you have some more material on this question of the draft?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. In New York at the Youth Workshop there was a play presented which was as powerful a piece of antiwar propaganda as I think I have ever seen. It was Johnny Got His Gun. It shows a soldier of the last World War ending up as a blind, deaf, immobile hunk of flesh. All these people at the Youth Workshop, it was freely admitted, were Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The play Johnny Got His Gun was written by Dalton Trumbo?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that the story that was run serially in the Daily Worker?

Miss SPARGO. That is it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have any discussions at that Youth Workshop in New York about this play with any of the people who were there?

Miss SPARGO. Yes; we discussed it at great length as a very effective piece of antiwar propaganda—very effective.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go to that Youth Workshop in company among others, with Ted Ozmun?

Miss SPARGO. That is so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was it at that Youth Workshop that Ted Ozmun told you about how close the Communist Party was to the American Peace Mobilization—how completely it controlled it?

Miss SPARGO. Yes. It was there and in other subsequent conversations.

Mr. STARNES. What is the difference, if any, between the American People's Meeting and this Youth Workshop? Is there any tie-up or connection or correlation or cooperation between the two groups?

Miss SPARGO. The Youth Workshop gave a party for the delegates to the American People's Meeting—for some of them.

Mr. STARNES. Was there any expression of sympathy with the aims of the American Peace Mobilization or did there seem to be an identity of program?

Miss SPARGO. There was a complete identity of program.

Mr. STARNES. Complete identity of program?

Miss SPARGO. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And concerted action?

Miss SPARGO. That is it.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Miss SPARGO. I would also like to refer to the attitude toward men in uniform, which was displayed on all sorts of occasions.

At first at the American People's Meeting when there was a conscript, or a man in uniform, a soldier, who was attending the meeting—there were several soldiers in attendance at that American People's Meeting, and the delegates sitting around had a tendency to whisper about "here is a man in uniform" and someone else would make the reply—some other member would say: "We have got a conscript army now. Don't you realize that these are conscripts—these aren't professional soldiers—these aren't slaves of the capitalists. These men don't necessarily want to be in the Army. You must make friends with the soldiers and not make fun of them"; and I repeatedly observed that program put into action. That is



they would go up to a man in uniform and approach him in a friendly manner.

Mr. STARNES. We will take a short recess at this time.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to call Miss Huffman again.

Mr. STARNES. Very well.

### TESTIMONY OF HAZEL HUFFMAN—Recalled

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Huffman, I show you a copy of a telegram and ask you if you have seen a copy of that?

(Handing telegram to the witness.)

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe the telegram and read it?

Miss HUFFMAN. The telegram is from Marian Briggs of the American Peace Mobilization. It is a day letter and sent to a series of addresses. The telegram reads as follows:

Peace vigil at White House approaching 340th hour. Still going strong. Urgently need money to keep line going. Vigil costs \$100 per day. Please air mail special any funds you can.

The telegram is addressed to eight people: George Marshall, 38 East Fifty-seventh Street, New York City; Mrs. Guggenheimer, Ansonia Hotel, New York City—that is Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer because of the address; Anna Rochester, 85 Bedford Street, New York City; Mrs. Ellen Brandstetter, 637 Arlington Place, Chicago, Ill.; Harvey O'Connor, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Alfred K. Stern, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City; Lionel Stander, care of Native Son, St. James Theater, West Forty-fourth Street, New York City, and Herbert Biberman, 603 Delta Building, 426 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. STARNES. Is that a copy of a telegram or the original telegram that was obtained from the Postal Telegraph Co. by proper subpoena from this committee, and is this the information which was furnished the committee in response to the subpoena, by the Postal Telegraph Co.?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Miss HUFFMAN. The markings would so indicate.

Mr. STARNES. That will be a part of the record.

(The telegram referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 1, May 22, 1941.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Huffman, have you investigated the records of the individuals to whom that telegram was sent, with respect to their affiliations with front organizations of the Communist Party?

Miss HUFFMAN. I have, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, these cards indicate the original material which is in the files of the committee, showing the connections of the individuals to whom this telegram was addressed, and I suggest that instead of taking the hours that would be necessary to go over all of this material, that the tabulation be made at this point a part of the record, or do you have some other procedure in mind?

Mr. STARNES. Will that show the record of organizations, some of which undoubtedly are Communist-front organizations and so found by this committee, to which these people belong? That is the important part of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. You might read the record of one or two of the parties so the committee will have an idea of the general tenor of the organizations they belong to and their connections, and the others can then be inserted in the record along with the names of the people to whom the telegrams were sent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Marshall was a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy. He is a member of the executive committee of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, whose literature has just been introduced into evidence. He is a member of the National Council of the American Peace Mobilization. He was a sponsor of a meeting of the Friends of the Soviet Union at Mecca Temple on March 22, 1938. He is a sponsor of the Conference on Pan-American Democracy. He is a writer for the magazine Soviet Russia Today, the magazine of the Friends of the Soviet Union. He is on the editorial council of the magazine Soviet Russia Today. He is a member of the National Committee for People's Rights; a sponsor of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; a signer of an open letter in the New Masses—in the Soviet Russia Today magazine, calling for closer cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

He is the signer of a letter in Soviet Russia Today, defending the Moscow purge trials. He is a member of the executive committee of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party, the organization of which Morris Watson is head, as was testified by one of the witnesses yesterday.

He is a sponsor of the United American Spanish Aid Committee; a member of the American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom; the signer of a telegram to the President of the United States on March 5, 1941, defending the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Now, he is one of the great peace advocates who are responsible for the program of the American Peace Mobilization, and this is an appeal to him for funds to maintain the vigil around the White House now being kept by the American Peace Mobilization; is that right?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; Congressman Starnes. That is correct in essence but at any of the meetings that I have attended that Morris Watkins has spoken at, I have not heard Morris Watson advocate peace.

Mr. STARNES. I am not talking about Morris Watson, I am talking about George Marshall.

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes; that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is Anna Rochester, another of the persons to whom the telegram was addressed. She is a contributing editor of the New Masses; a frequent writer for the New Masses.

She is a member of the League of American Writers and a sponsor of the Mother Bloor Banquet; publisher of numerous volumes published by the International Publishers. She is author of numerous pamphlets published by the Workers' Library, both of which pub-

lishing concerns have been identified as Communist Party auxiliaries.

She is a writer for the Communist International; a member of the Communist Party and so designated in the Daily Worker of May 17, 1940.

She is a writer for the Daily Worker, a writer for the official publication of the Communist Party, the monthly magazine, The Communist; a signer of the statement defending the purge trials in Moscow.

She is a member of the League of American Writers and a member of the campaign committee for election of Browder and Ford.

MR. STARNES. Now, I renew my question: This lady and George Marshall are two of the parties to whom the peace vigil maintained around the White House, at the present time so-called by the American Peace Mobilization, addressed a telegram appealing for funds to maintain the vigil?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes; Congressman Starnes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Those are two of the eight.

MR. STARNES. Do you have other telegrams with reference to an appeal for aid for funds or other support, Dr. Matthews, for the peace vigil?

MR. MATTHEWS. On the same date Marian Briggs sent the following telegram to Herman Shumlin at 229 West Forty-second Street, New York. The telegram reads:

Peace vigil still going, approaching three hundred and sixty-eighth hour, still going strong. Urgent need for money to keep vigil going. Costs \$100 a day. Please send air-mail special any funds available, care A. P. M.

And that telegram is signed, "Marian Briggs."

MR. STARNES. Who is Herman Shumlin?

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you please give a résumé of what you know about Herman Shumlin?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. I have known Herman Shumlin personally since late in 1929. Herman Shumlin was the Broadway producer of the play Grand Hotel. That was his outstanding success—one of his first outstanding successes, and then a series of Broadway productions. He has been the producer of a major number of the plays put out by Lillian Hellman.

Herman Shumlin is an endorser of the drive to bring veterans back to America—the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade veterans. He is chairman of the United American Spanish Aid Committee; a sponsor of the send-off dinner for the ambulance corps of the American Artists and Writers Committee; their division was the Medical Bureau, American Friends of the Spanish Democracy of the American Artists and Writers Committee.

Herman Shumlin is a signer of an open letter for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union which appeared in Soviet Russia Today in September 1939.

He is a member of the theater arts committee, medical bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy; and incidentally was particularly active with the theater arts committee.

He was a signer of the statement to the President defending the Communist Party. It appeared in the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941.

He is a signer of an appeal on behalf of Communist Darcy for the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Sam Darcy, of California?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. Executive committee member of the China Aid Council. His name appears in a pamphlet *Relighting the Lamps of China*; chairman of the North American Spanish Aid Committee.

He is a sponsor for the conference on constitutional liberties in America; a member of the executive committee of the Progressive Committee to Rebuild the American Labor Party.

He is a member of the executive board of the theater arts committee; a member of the executive board of the American League for Peace and Democracy, of the national office; a signer of the petition to discontinue the Dies committee, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

He is a sponsor of the refugee scholarship and peace campaign. That is not a complete list.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to ask you this question, and it is addressed to either Miss Huffman or Dr. Matthews:

In checking the case records of the parties to whom this telegram appealing for funds was directed, did you find that each and every one of those parties are known members of the Communist Party or have been affiliated at some time or another with Communist organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is only one exception, Congressman Starnes, to an affirmative answer to your question, and that exception is Mrs. Ellen Brandstetter, of Chicago, about whom—at least the committee at this time does not have information which would indicate that she has been a fellow traveler.

Mr. STARNES. But we do have documentary evidence implemented by sworn testimony before this committee to the effect that each and every one of the others have been members of the Communist Party or have been members of Communist-front organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Congressman Starnes; each one of these cards refers to an original document in the files of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. And with that sole exception, the appeal for funds to maintain the peace vigil around the White House was addressed to these Communists or to Communist-front members?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir, Congressman Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Now that was addressed on behalf of the American Peace Mobilization, of course?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; at this point may I have a photograph introduced into the record? It is one of the many photographs in the possession of the committee of the peace vigil in front of the White House.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph of the peace vigil in front of the white House, Miss Huffman, and ask you if you can identify a gentleman in the middle of the front line of marchers?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; the gentleman in the middle is Morris Watson, and on his right is Sarah V. Montgomery and on his left is Joseph Cadden, of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received in evidence.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit No. 2, May 22, 1941.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Miss Huffman has testimony that has to do with the same question about which Miss Spargo has testified; namely, the work of the American Peace Mobilization among the draftees or with respect to the draftees.

Mr. STARNES. The chair is of the opinion that testimony of that type and nature is of such vital importance to the welfare of the country at the present time, unless there is objection from the other members of the committee, we should hear what Miss Huffman has to say about that matter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you proceed with your statement, Miss Huffman?

Miss HUFFMAN. As a result of an investigation I found that the aims of these groups can be divided into four particular parts. One of them is to recruit converts to left-wing programs in radical organizations; second, to engender hatred or at least definite distrust of the United States and its officials, both military and nonmilitary; third, to instill fear; and, fourth, to cause unrest and chaos.

I found in checking that all of the front organizations of the American Peace Mobilization that are listed by the American Peace Mobilization as their sponsors, are also engaging in this program which is being advanced by the American Peace Mobilization. They have a set plan of campaign which I will go into later.

Of these groups I found that the most active, other than the American Peace Mobilization as a central organization, is the American Youth Congress, the American Negro Congress, and the International Workers' Order. Possibly I should have mentioned the International Workers' Order first but it was very difficult to tell just which group was the most active. It would depend upon the size of its membership to tell which was carrying on the most active campaign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean the National Negro Congress?

Miss HUFFMAN. The National Negro Congress; yes, sir.

The locals of the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. that participated in the American Peace Mobilization are also, we find, carrying out this same program.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, just a minute. Do you mean that locals participated or do you mean that persons came to the meeting and said they were members of such and such a local, but came on their own hook?

Miss HUFFMAN. Congressman Voorhis, in talking to men from the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, in talking to some of the delegates from that local, I found that their local had voted them in as delegates. I am referring to as far as the program is concerned.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which local is that? Can you give us the name of the local?

Mr. STARNES. It is in the record.

Miss HUFFMAN. The numbers of the eight locals that are in the record from the testimony yesterday, that voted delegates to the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. VOORHIS. And it wasn't a case of where a single individual stated he represented a local?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I can give you the numbers if you want them.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't care so much about that. I want to be sure the record is specific about whether or not the locals were claimed to be represented by a single member or whether it was action taken by the local itself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is the official program of the American Peace Mobilization, signed by the Electrical—United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union of America, Local 36, and also Local 1225.

Mr. VOORHIS. What Miss Huffman was talking about was the locals that are listed there?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. As having been on that list?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And presumably if there is any mistake about it we will hear about that. But I mean their official statement is to the effect that these locals by their own action went on record about this matter, is that right?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it is important to be sure that some individuals don't attempt to commit organizations against the will of the organization. That is what I have in mind.

Miss HUFFMAN. No; Congressman Voorhis. In this particular investigation concerning the activities of un-American groups and how they affect the United States Army, I took that into special consideration, that some individual was not representing himself as representing the group. In fact, I spent several weeks trying to get a line of demarcation between who the people were who were individual members or even officers of an organization, but without the authorized authority to represent that organization.

When I mention the "locals" I am talking of locals who designated official delegates and where that local itself affiliated itself with the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you in a position to answer as to whether in the case of this electrical workers union that you mentioned, you do not mean the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers?

Miss HUFFMAN. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. But the C. I. O. affiliate. Can you answer whether in the case of one or two of those locals, at least, whether the locals merely voted power to their executive board to decide the question and then the executive board voted to affiliate with the American Peace Mobilization—do you know whether that was the case?

Miss HUFFMAN. Jack Marshall, of Local 1225, I believe, told me that it was a membership—a local membership meeting that had voted him as a delegate and had voted Mr. Fahy, and that they were covering the expenses of the 30 delegates and that they had to go back and make a report to the local because the local itself was going to follow out the program.

As a matter of fact, he asked me to cover part of the labor conference for him and part of the meeting on the floor because he would be unable to be present so he could take a report back to his local. It was one means I used of obtaining entrance on the delegates floor.

Mr. STARNES. Proceed with your statement.

Miss HUFFMAN. We also find among these groups officers of the Y. M. C. A., Y. M. H. A., Y. W. C. A., and Y. W. H. A. I will mention those names later as I come to them in the group.

School leaders and representatives of church groups or individuals from church groups.

Their method of contact is to divide their approach into a direct and indirect approach. The direct method of contact comes through the fact that there are members of these organizations being inducted into the Army under the conscription act.

According to reports, Woodie Guthrie, known as "Woodie," is a conscriptee and is now at Camp Dix.

Now, Woodie Guthrie, a Communist, is a guitar-playing, ballad-singing entertainer, brought to New York by Will Greer, also a Communist, and incidentally the grandson-in-law of Ella May Bloor, known as "Mother Bloor," Pennsylvania State secretary of the Communist Party.

Woodie Guthrie was brought by Will Greer from Oklahoma and advertised as one of the "Joats," or migratory workers.

During the past 3 or 4 years Woodie Guthrie has become one of the outstanding entertainers in the Communist Party, Communist Party fronts, and other left-wing organization meetings.

Now, at a recent American Peace Mobilization meeting, in fact I might say that at the upper Manhattan meeting, the midtown meeting, one of the large Harlem meetings, a meeting in Queens, and a meeting in Brooklyn, people in the audience, before the meeting had started, did a great deal of rejoicing over the amount of good that Woodie Guthrie could do now that he was in the camp.

He is an entertainer of the droll, homespun variety that tells tales and plays his guitar. And I have heard him on numerous occasions and it is always with this definite Communist Party tinge, and in his singing and in his talk he has never tried to attempt to conceal the fact that he was the columnist for the Daily Worker or that he was a member of the Communist Party and represented it as such.

Besides mentioning that one particularly, for the boys who are attending the Peace—who are attending these American Peace meetings and have their registration cards or have just been called for their examination, there is always a great deal of, I would say, almost joy over the fact that they are going to get in—not that the boys particularly want to go but they are going to get "work done there in the camp."

The second method of contact is through the families of the boys. Now, in the American Peace Volunteer publication for May 17, 1941, on page 2—may I correct that, please, on page 4 we find an item that: "Staten Island visits families of conscriptees last week. The members of the American Peace Mobilization Council on Staten Island visited the families of 30 draftees. During the course of these visits more than 20 bought A. P. M. literature and promised to come to council meetings."

Now, the fact is that contacting the families of the conscriptees has been discussed not so frequently from the platform at public American Peace Mobilization meetings as it has been discussed by the people who were later the speakers and discussed before the meetings started.

The next form of contact is through club and recreational facilities set up by these groups in areas surrounding the camps.

We have again a copy of the A. P. M. memo which covered the draft in military camp conferences, in which Emerson Daggett, the representative of the San Francisco Industrial Union Council, told of plans to start a recreation center for the boys in the California camps. He proposed that local A. P. M. groups, together with the trade-union and youth groups, establish such centers where conscripts can find educational and recreational activities "which are sorely lacking in the camps."

Also at this conference one woman from South Carolina and another woman from North Carolina, a woman who stated that she had lived within a few miles of Camp Meade, told of the action that had already gone forward—that it was set up, that it wasn't something that was just proposed, and inasmuch as the individual from near Camp Meade, inasmuch as they had not raised enough funds to hire a hall or a big meeting place where they could hold dances, three different people, and she designated at the time they were all from the International Workers' Order, were using their homes to entertain the boys and put literature there for the boys to read in their homes.

The next method of contact is through the so-called conscription committees or People's Rights Committees.

I wish I could leave that there and then go back to those committees because their entire program is an important phase, one of which is corresponding with the boys in camps and visiting the boys in camps.

The next method of contact is through literature sent directly to the boys or sent by the families of the boys. And then the next item, activities in areas surrounding the camps.

Now, at the cultural division meeting that was held at the fraternal clubhouse—that is the cultural division of the A. P. M., which Lloyd Gough was the chairman of, they played a series of records, some of which were introduced in testimony yesterday, and another record that tells of the colored soldier boy from the World War that came back and was finally hanged down South in his uniform, and it is a particularly gruesome song, a very disheartening one, I would say, at least as far as the boys were concerned; and they had stacked that day on the platform what they said were 2,000 of those recordings that were being put in the restaurants and recreational points in the areas surrounding the camps, and they were all addressed. I went up to look at them before I was stopped by someone who knew me from the Federal Theater Project, and found that the top group were being sent to restaurants in and around Trenton, N. J., which is not far from Camp Dix.

Then, of course, the indirect method of contact is through the general entertainment. I am not going into the entertainment method of contact; but on these committees that are set up the various names are being used. To date there are the Conscript's Welfare Committee, People's Rights Committee, Conscriptee Committees, Draft Aid Committees.

At one A. P. M. meeting that I attended Miss Kneiper and Dr. Annette Rubinstein brought out the fact that the branches of these committees should be given community or folksy sounding names like "Committee for Aid to Our Sons In Camp," or "Washington Heights Committee To Assist The Boys In Camps."



Mr. STARNES. In other words, get up names, camouflaging names; is that the idea?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. The program of the committee—of these committees, which is currently called “the eight-point program of the American Peace Mobilization, the seven-point program, the three-point,” was adopted at the American Peace Mobilization meeting. Shall I read the eight points of that program? I believe it is pertinent, Congressman Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Miss HUFFMAN, (reading) :

Guard against discriminatory conscription aimed at labor, peace, and progressive organizations.

Fight increases in prices and rent, and general wartime profiteering.

Protect rights of conscripts to vote, campaign on political issues, participate in trade unions, receive uncensored mail.

Fight Jim Crowism in conscripted and Regular armed forces, protest segregation of Negroes in separate regiments, discriminatory assignments to menial tasks, and so forth.

See that conscripts have adequate housing, health protection and furlough rights 1 week every 3 months.

Prevent evictions, foreclosures on installment buying, and so forth.

Work to guarantee unconditional reemployment of conscripts, not dependent, as now, on prevailing conditions.

Campaign for increase in conscript pay to \$40 a month, continuation of social-security rights, adequate compensation for disability, injury, or death.

The seven-point program varies only slightly from the eight-point program. In fact, the one point that is missing being actually incorporated in the seven-point program though a slight difference in wording.

The three-point program which incidentally appeared in the Daily Worker, is really a method of operation. I would call it, although they refer to it as “the three-point action program.”

Draftees will be given advice in answering questionnaires from draft boards and will get legal service in preparing appeals from board decisions.

Draftees will be helped to save their property from loan sharks while in the Army. Families of draftees will be given help and eviction cases will be fought.

The committee will maintain contact with the draftees and will maintain their union consciousness by correspondence and union literature.

Now the organization of these committees which have already been set up and have been approved by the National Negro Congress and the National Negro Youth Congress, and have these points in their program :

Organize correspondence with draftees from their respective organizations.

Organize large delegations of parents, trade-union brothers, church members and so forth to visit the nearby camps to investigate conditions.

Organize delegations to make demands upon the camp commanders and the State defense boards for immediate redress of all grievances uncovered.

Give wide publicity to all action taken to further the welfare of the conscripts through the press and mass meetings.

In talking with the various people and in checking the literature we find that these groups will not act as representatives of these committees or the committees that we have given you a few of the names, but that the plan is to appear as spontaneous individual complaints made by relatives or friends in the interests of their loved ones.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, an organized campaign to make it appear that protests are spontaneous affairs; as if the complaints were based on facts rather than just a campaign of propaganda.

Miss HUFFMAN. It is exactly similar to the situation in the Federal theater project. It is the same type and pattern—turmoil, creating distrust, agitation—nobody knows who is who by the time they get through.

We find that line of attack is as follows: The help the boys—the unsanitary camp conditions—vermin-infested quarters—quarters are too hot—they are too cold—too wet and they are too dry. There is bad food. There is insufficient food. There is improper housing. There is lack of sanitary facilities. There is poor medical attention. Fascist-minded officers.

In fact, in literature already put out along this line General Marshall has been referred to a number of times—I have some of it here—as “a Fascist-minded individual in charge of the Army.” Abuse of men by officers, particularly Negroes; I think we have four cases on that.

Mr. STARNES. You will insert those at their proper place in your testimony and they will be either incorporated in the record or attached as exhibits.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. I have one item that appears in the publication called *Cavalcade of the National Negro Congress*. In it is stated: “Brutal treatment of Negro conscripts in the camps at the hands of prejudiced white officers;” and Jim Crowism in the camps. I feel that that should have been possibly a little higher on the list because it is one of the things that they are using which causes a great deal of turmoil.

The inadequate pay, longer furloughs, the distance the boys are from home; the conditions at home and the condition of the family; the fear stories of the horrors of war; the fact that this is a capitalist war. In fact, the slogan I quote: “Refuse to Die for Wall Street” has already been adopted by some of these groups that have been set up.

The one group that has been set up in upper Manhattan have adopted that as their slogan: “Refuse to Die for Wall Street.” Another point they are using in their campaign is censorship of mail—the treatment of the draftees, and their treatment after the war—the fact that the soldiers had no jobs, and so forth, and so forth, and so forth; the possible extension of the 1-year limit.

Another point that they are using is the fact that this Government wants war and the Soviet wants peace. And then the possibility of death on a foreign shore.

The entire line of attack is being directed toward installing a self-pity that can be turned to militant action, hatred, and fear.

Besides the amount of material that we found in the publications that were put out by the American Peace Mobilization or groups whose material was distributed at the American Peace Mobilization, one of which is this regarding the censorship of mail, which has at the top of it a drawing of a letter starting: “Dear Mom.” And you can’t see the rest of the letter for the censor stamp across it, and then underneath it is a memorandum signed by Lt. Col. John H. Ahrens,

Adjutant General, Forty-fourth Division, Fort Dix, which appeared in the World Telegram, November 4, 1940, and reads as follows:

It is the desire of the commanding general that enlisted men be encouraged to write home and that, so far as is reasonable, they be influenced to present a favorable impression of conditions in their units.

Following that are the words "Is this peacetime censorship a forerunner of wartime gag rule?"

Then it says:

Questions on the conscription law will be discussed at the community forum.

Now, that meeting was sponsored by the Upper Manhattan Peace Council of the American People's Mobilization.

Besides that literature we checked a number of the publications that are put out by the camps, and found that there are items which appear, items that—possibly the same and in some instances the same items appear in more than one issue which would follow that particular line of campaign.

Now, we took great care and caution in analyzing that. A boy who is writing home because he is homesick may really be genuinely homesick, so we tried not to split hairs but only take those instances of material there would appear to be a definite question of why that material would appear in a camp paper.

For instance, following the line of attack there were other items as they would affect the camps that appeared in the papers that would have nothing to do with the activities of that campaign. For instance, this appears in the Fort Dix Gazette of May 7, 1941. Under one of the columns it states:

J. Philips Waring, E's Gazette correspondent, is a 1940 A. B. from the West Virginia State College. He was successful in achieving wonderful success in the organization work with the youth section of the N. A. A. C. P., and the Southern Youth Congress. He was elected to the Who's Who in Negro American colleges.

Phil's experience of several years in recreation and community leader has met the same results under his hand since coming into the Army. He has successfully organized the B. O. Davis Service Forum.

I mention that because in the publications of the Southern Negro Congress and the Southern Youth Congress we find this seven-point plan, this eight-point plan, and this three-point plan mentioned, and here we have one of their organizers setting up what is known as a B. O. Davis Service Forum at Fort Dix.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify "B. O. Davis"—you know who he is?

Miss HUFFMAN. I do not, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. STARNES. Can you?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Editor of the Daily Worker.

Mr. STARNES. He is editor of the Daily Worker?

Mr. MATTHEWS. One of the editors of the Daily Worker.

Miss HUFFMAN. Another point that they are stressing in their fear campaign is the number of noncitizens that are in the American Army, and we find in these publications of the camps several references—in fact, in this particular edition there is reference to one boy who is not a citizen, who was a member of the Hitler youth movement.

In this publication, which is also from Fort Dix, we have three items on conditions in the camp pertaining to health.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say this man is a member of the Hitler youth movement?

Miss HUFFMAN. This one boy is referred to as having been a member of the Hitler youth movement.

Then in 1934 was inducted into the Hitler youth movement. It was compulsory to join at that time. If you did not join, you were looked upon as a slacker and shunned by your friends.

Saturday was designated as the meeting day—supposed to be a fresh-air movement, hikes—and it goes on about the military aspects of the Hitler youth movement.

This publication, as I said, carried an item regarding the sanitary conditions of the camp—the fact that the camp was too hot and the health and food were all dwelt on in this publication.

This publication, also from Fort Dix, has a repeat on a letter which appears in another publication regarding the conditions at home, bearing out that point. That had appeared in two of those. And in this publication there was a poem that I had first seen at an American Peace Mobilization meeting. There were two poems, one bringing out the point of a capitalist war and the letter, incidentally, regarding home conditions is reproduced in this magazine from the Boston area.

Mr. STARNES. In checking the testimony, Dr. Matthews, you will have to have the witness identify the various documents to which she has referred, because they have not been properly identified in the record. She refers to "this publication" or that publication. Let them be properly identified and numbered and attached as exhibits to her testimony.

Miss Huffman, in the course of your investigations of the efforts of the American Peace Mobilization and other organizations to create a feeling of unrest and disaffection among the armed forces of the United States, did you find them attempting to use theaters—I mean using places or services or organizations of that type and character?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you find that to be true?

Miss HUFFMAN. We found that the entertainment in the camps was being carried on in a variety of ways, both by individual entertainers from outside the camp, entertainers from the personnel of the camp with civilian directors—civilian directors coming in to direct the boys in their plays, and we had one instance of a man who had—I have the material here regarding this man—in fact, this entire package is with reference to him, from a group that has been left wing over a long period of time. He is director in the Trenton area of the Theater League. He has gone into Camp Dix directing a number of the plays there. That is Max Glandvard. An article which appeared in the Theater magazine by him, also appeared in the Daily Worker and is entitled "The Progressive Theater in War-time." It pertained to the civilian activities in the camp.

Mr. STARNES. Then you have found in the course of your investigations a definite attempt on the part of the American Peace Mobilization and of the Communist Party to attempt to influence the type of entertainment being given by civilian agencies in the camps?

Miss HUFFMAN. I would say very definitely, Congressman Starnes. We have one instance here at Fort Bragg where a play was written by one of the privates at the camp and directed by him and put on

in the camp. That script—I don't see it here in this package but I have that script and that script is definitely left-wing propaganda.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any evidence at all to the effect that there has been any attempt to bring pressure upon or to get into the organizations that are headed by Mr. Charles Taft?

Miss HUFFMAN. The Joint Army and Navy Committee on Recreation and Welfare?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes. Numerous attempts have been made and prior to the setting up of that committee Paul Green, Barrett H. Clark, and Charles Leacham made a number of trips to Washington here to obtain the contracts. Paul Green has been a left-wing writer and is now head of the National Theater Conference, a group of community theaters, but we have a complete history on him and his left-wing activities in the organizations he belongs to.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask a question: Do you think left wing is synonymous with communism?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; I do.

Mr. VOORHIS. You do?

Miss HUFFMAN. Oh, yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say that I don't.

Miss HUFFMAN. I am using it as synonymous with communism merely because I was keeping away from Communist Party membership, but when I say "left wing" I mean individuals who couldn't possibly be so stupid that they wouldn't know they were following the Communist Party line.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is a different matter.

Miss HUFFMAN. I am not talking about genuinely sincere liberals.

Mr. STARNES. Who are too stupid to know they are being used by the Communists.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask one more question.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. The important thing would be whether any of these people had been successful in getting into Mr. Taft's organization. Of course, they are going to try to influence it, but have they been successful in doing so?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, Robert Sherwood was the president of the Playwrights Co. in New York City. I don't feel that the Playwrights Co. could be designated, which was a producing organization, as a left-wing organization, using my definition of left wing, but at the same time very prominent in the Playwrights Co. in New York, along with Robert Sherwood, was Elmer Rice, about whose radicalism there can be little question, and Maxwell Anderson. A history of Maxwell Anderson is here.

Mr. VOORHIS. What does that have to do with Mr. Taft's committee?

Miss HUFFMAN. Robert Sherwood is the chairman of the subcommittee on entertainment of Mr. Taft's committee, and I feel, I really feel, that a great deal more—

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, is there any case record of any of these parties here that Miss Huffman is referring to in her testimony, which indicates that they are members of any Communist organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If she meant to say before she finished her sentence that Maxwell Anderson was included in that group—did you mean to say that?

Miss HUFFMAN. I said Maxwell Anderson was associated with Robert Sherwood in the new Playwrights Theater.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There is a case record on Elmer Rice.

Mr. STARNES. Will you have that inserted in the record in connection with Miss Huffman's testimony, the case record showing the groups with whom Robert Sherwood has been identified or affiliated with as a member?

Miss HUFFMAN. And he was also a speaker on various occasions with Representative Vito Marcantonio before groups—this is some years back, classified as left-wing organizations. I haven't the history of those organizations here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mean groups that have been classified as left-wing organizations? You mean they are progressive organizations?

Mr. MASON. Or Communist organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Communist organizations.

Miss HUFFMAN. I will avoid the use of the words "left wing." I meant Communist-front organizations, organizations we have listed as being affiliated with and active with the American Peace Mobilization.

I will carefully avoid the use of the words "left wing."

Mr. STARNES. Be very careful about that.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't mind that. All I want to do is make my own position plain.

Mr. STARNES. Be very careful, because in the use of the words "left wing," it has such a wide variety of meanings, and it affects so many different people and in so many different ways. If you can find a better phrase, I prefer you use it.

Miss HUFFMAN. Then, a subcommittee has been set up, the Citizens' Committee for the Army and Navy—that is a committee of the subcommittee of the joint committee.

Thomas J. Watson is chairman of that committee. The committee consists of Edward Arnold, John Benson, Irving Berlin, Gene Buck, George M. Cohan, Bette Davis, Y. Frank Freedman, Helen Hayes, Emily Holt—while Helen Hayes is one of our leading actresses, she was head of the milk fund for the North American-Spanish Committee, and was very active with the Theater Arts Committee.

Mr. STARNES. Miss Huffman, does that cover the story?

Miss HUFFMAN. Well, the activities on the camps, and then, too, we have some information to the effect that three different groups—we have specific evidence, testimony—I haven't gone beyond that—they are having classes in writing particular skits and scripts for the camps, to be put on, and these particular groups are groups that are connected with front organizations.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, if you will produce these documents and identify some of them for the record we will appreciate it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't know just where we left Mr. Taft on this proposition.

Mr. STARNES. I merely asked Miss Huffman if she found any evidence of the fact that the American Peace Mobilization or the Communist Party had made an attempt to obtain a position in that organization, or if they had attempted to get the type of plays suitable for propaganda purposes used by that group. Nobody is attacking Mr. Taft and nobody is attacking anything. It was a question of whether or not they found such attempt had been made and she said there had been such an attempt.

Miss HUFFMAN. There have been a series of attempts. As a matter of fact, Paul Green did put on some plays down in some of these southern camps and there have been a series of attempts by a number of people with material being provided the committee, some of which was successful, some of which was not successful in putting entertainers into the camps.

The committee set up with Mr. Taft in charge of it to correlate this activity should be one means of correcting it instead of putting the responsibility on busy camp commanders to have to figure out the subtleties and the fitness of some of these plays that are going in, and someone who really is informed on it should be in charge of it.

Mr. STARNES. You have not heard anybody say that Mr. Taft was a Communist or a bad man or anything like that at all?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Nobody said that at all, nobody intimated that to you at any time, have they?

Miss HUFFMAN. No; they have not. But that is as far as we have gone into the program concerning the camp activities—to agitate them through their families by direct contact and the usual “boy meets girl” technique, and the activities surrounding the camps.

I find that with the American Peace Mobilization at the present time they are concerning themselves—in talks I have had with various people who belong to the International Workers Order and other groups, that they are very much concerning themselves with the possibilities of carrying on the activities in the areas, such as Trenton and various others closely surrounding the camps, because of the lack of entertainment facilities and their difficulty in getting it in the camps. They are still preparing their material to go into the camps under this other committee. There is never a day they are not trying to get in.

Mr. STARNES. I want this testimony for the record because I happen to know the Army is very much interested in studying and checking upon the same subject matter.

Now Dr. Matthews, I would like to have introduced in the record at this point the names of the national officers and the executive council or by whatever name their governing body or advisory body is called, of the American Peace Mobilization. And while it may be too lengthy to give verbal testimony concerning it, I wish you would attach or insert after the names of each one in the record, whether or not there is any Communist Party affiliation or any membership in any Communist front organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have several lists that I would like to have placed in the record in compliance with your request.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to have the parent one first, if I may. I think you mentioned a sort of chart or graph yesterday.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the list of the officers of the American Peace Mobilization from the Daily Worker of September 3, 1940. These are the permanent officers elected to date to lead the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. And that was obtained from the Daily Worker?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; this was the first published list after the Chicago conference. There have been subsequent lists with additions.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not, Doctor, that is the first list that was published in any newspaper?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I could not say, Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. But it was the first list that has been brought to your attention—the first you have any record of?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first we were able to obtain: yes.

Miss HUFFMAN, you are familiar with this document?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe it for the record?

Miss HUFFMAN. This is a document of the American Peace Mobilization that was sold at the time of the American People's Meeting at the Mecca Temple, entitled "The Story of A. P. M." The pictures and a thumbnail sketch of the history of these officers—Rev. John B. Thompson—

Mr. STARNES. By the way, who is this John B. Thompson, Dr. Matthews?

Miss HUFFMAN. He is dean of the Presbyterian Foundation of the University of Oklahoma and pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Norman, near Oklahoma City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He is also chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, according to the original documents in the committee's files.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Miss HUFFMAN. Reid Robinson, who is a vice chairman; Dr. Max Yergan, a vice chairman; Hon. Vito Marcantonio, a vice chairman; Captain Terrell, a vice chairman; Theodore Dreiser, a vice chairman; Jack McMichael, a vice chairman; Frederick V. Field, executive secretary; Morris Watson, labor representative, and he has since been made the provisional secretary of the National Labor Committee Against War; Marian Briggs, administrative secretary.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Marian Briggs, I assume, who sent this telegram?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This program also contains a list of the sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization; does it not?

Miss HUFFMAN. It contains a list that is designated as sponsors. It is a partial list of the committee list of sponsors and the program of the meetings. Then it includes for the New York City Council: Aline Davis Hays, C. H. Van Tyne, Walter Scott Neff, and Oscar Schneller, and a description of the activities. Then the songs of the American Peace Mobilization: "Billy Boy," and "Franklin, Oh Franklin," and "The Farmer is the Man That Feeds Them All," and "Jim Crow," and "Get Out and Stay Out of War," and "Ballad of October 16," "The Strange Death of John Doe," and "Plow Under." That is the one that ends "Plow Under Every Fourth American Boy."



Mr. STARNES. That particular publication contains the purported list of national officials and sponsors of the American Peace Mobilization at that time?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, Congressman Starnes, and in addition a list of the sponsoring organizations. The list is headed by the American Student Union and American Youth Congress, Armour Local Packing House Workers, C. I. O., Blount County, Ala., Farmers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now I show you a letterhead of the Washington Peace Mobilization which contains the names of the Washington officers and committee members.

Miss HUFFMAN. The president is Hudson Wells, the vice president is Myrtle Powell, Rev. A. Joseph Edwards, Lucy Hancock, James Harris—

Mr. STARNES. Did you say Lucy Hancock?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes; James Harris, Louis Stedman, Costas Alexiou, Dr. Alpheus Hunton, and Jack Zucker. The secretary-treasurer is Sarah V. Montgomery, and the organizer is Mary Richardson.

Mr. STARNES. Each of those documents will be incorporated in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have a supplementary list from the Daily Worker for January 14, 1941, contained in an article entitled "Sixteen Top Union Leaders Back Peace Parley." This is a meeting of the American Peace Mobilization to be held in Washington January 25 to 27, and the individuals named among the 16 are Reid Robinson, president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers of America; Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union; George C. Peacock, president of the National Association of Die Casters; Louis Allen Berne, president of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians; E. F. Burke, secretary, National Marine Cooks and Stewards Association; Abram Flaxer, president of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America; Ben Gold, president, International Fur and Leather Workers Union; Donald Henderson, president, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America; J. F. Jurich, president, International Union of Fishermen and Allied Workers of America; Mat Meehan, secretary, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Lewis Merrill, president, United Office and Professional Workers of America; Frederick N. Myers, general organizer, National Maritime Union; Grant W. Oakes, chairman Farm Equipment Organizing Committee; O. M. Orton, president, International Wood Workers of America; Joseph Selly, president of the American Communications Association; and Louis Weinstock, secretary, District 9 of the American Federation of Labor, Affiliated Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America.

I may point out that in the list of 16 only 1 of the union leaders named is in the American Federation of Labor. The Daily Worker seems to have taken special pains to point that out. The other 15 are heads of C. I. O. unions, even if those unions are not so designated here.

We have a list of persons who were present or participated in some manner in the American People's Meeting in New York.

Miss Huffman, I will ask you if a petition to free Earl Browder was circulated and signed at the American People's Meeting in New York?

Miss HUFFMAN. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this issue of the Daily Worker for May 2, 1941, has an article entitled "Signers of Petition to Free Browder." The following is the list of 688 persons who signed the petition demanding the freedom of Earl Browder, while attending the American Peace Mobilization meeting, held here last April 6.

I ask that that be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The article referred to was marked "Matthews' Exhibit 1.")**

Miss HUFFMAN. Incidentally, Dr. Matthews, this list is the list that was signed at the A. P. M. meeting. There was also a petition to free Browder that was being signed at the Tallentire June Celebration.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Congressman, would you like to have any of these national officers' records read as samples at this time or not?

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any that are of particular interest?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They are rather bulky. These are on each of the individuals, one set of cards for each individual.

Mr. STARNES. That deals, of course, with their affiliations in Communist front organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Or with the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; this is the record of Langston Hughes, a member of the national council of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. STARNES. They seem to be quite bulky, so it will probably serve the purpose by having them inserted in the record along with their names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A number of these individuals are members of the Communist Party of public record. Langston Hughes, for example, has run for office on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have others that have public records of being Communists?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Donald Henderson is a member of the Communist Party of public record. His reports to the central committee of the Communist Party are published in the press of the Communist Party itself.

I have here a copy of Soviet Russia Today for August 1936, which contains an interview by Ben Davis with Paul Robeson, in which Robeson, while he does not declare that he is a member of the Communist Party, states that he has made his choice for communism. Robeson is one of the vice chairmen of the American Peace Mobilization, and I ask that this copy of the Soviet Russia Today, with this interview, be made a part of the record.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The magazine, Soviet Russia Today, was marked "Matthews Exhibit 2, May 22, 1941.")**

Mr. STARNES. How many are on the executive committee; do you know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The national executive committee is a list of about 60.

Mr. STARNES. Will you check and furnish us the proportionate number of who are actual Communist members and those who are in front organizations so that we may have that in succinct form?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right; is there anything else at this point?

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have a collection of the literature that was distributed at the American Peace Mobilization meeting in New York. The significance of this, if I may take the liberty of interpreting it, is that every piece of literature which these investigators were able to obtain at the meeting, is literature which comes from an organization which has been designated by this committee as a Communist front organization, or by rather voluminous evidence in the records of the committee, showing a rather complete interlocking of the various front organizations of the Communist Party, including the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't mean that they all come from one organization, do you? What I mean is, they came from a number of different organizations?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. All of which have some connection with the Communist front organizations or party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It would appear from the literature that was distributed at the American Peace Mobilization and brought to the committee by these two investigators, that no organization which is not connected with the Communist Party took the occasion to distribute its literature at that meeting.

Mr. STARNES. I want to bring that point out: There was no other type of literature being distributed there?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Either free or being sold there?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Other than that sponsored by the Communist Party or its front organizations; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. That is correct, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. Was that correct insofar as you found, Miss Spargo?

Miss SPARGO. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. We will ask the investigators to identify the literature as being collected at the meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You prepared this collection of literature yourself; did you not?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; every bit of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This collection of literature you did prepare; is that correct?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is this literature which was distributed at the meeting?

Miss HUFFMAN. Distributed or sold.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Distributed or sold at the meeting of the American Peace Mobilization?

Miss HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In New York?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; not all at the Mecca Temple but at various American Peace Mobilization meetings.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you receive this in evidence?

MR. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The material referred to was marked "Huffman Exhibit 3, May 22, 1941.")**

MR. STARNES. Anything else now, Dr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. We have a complete collection of photographs taken of the peace vigil in front of the White House, Mr. Chairman, which I offer in evidence as exhibits.

MR. STARNES. Will you have somebody identify any particular parties of interest there who have any connection with the Communist Party or any other subversive group?

MISS HUFFMAN. This is a picture—the party on the right hand side is Dr. Walter Scott Neff.

MR. MATTHEWS. I think you mean on the left of the picture.

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, on the left.

MR. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the National Maritime Union has any delegates in this picket line?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir. Yesterday I came by the picket line and one of the delegates from the National Maritime Union was one of the delegates who had been at the Mecca Temple meeting and who was later up at Randall's Island, and at Randall's Island he was, besides having the cap that they wore with the sign on and the pin on, was over at the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—

MR. STARNES. Do you know whether or not any delegates from the American Communications Association is in the picket line?

MISS HUFFMAN. I did not see her in the picket line but Josephine Timms, who was a speaker at the mother's meeting on the Monday following Mother's Day, had stated from the platform that she was going and she was taking a number of people with her to go down on the picket line.

MR. STARNES. That is T-i-m-m-s?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. She is secretary of the American Communications Association?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir; she is also an officer—

MR. STARNES. And Walter Scott Neff, who was identified in this picture, was identified yesterday as one of the professors at the City College of New York who was recently ousted as a result of the investigation of the Coudre committee?

MISS HUFFMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Those photographs having been identified, Dr. Matthews, may be attached as exhibits for the record.

**(The photographs, 43 in number, were marked "Huffman Exhibit 4, May 22, 1941.")**

MR. STARNES. Have you anything further at this time, Dr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. Nothing further at this time; no, sir.

MR. STARNES. There will be no meeting of the committee this afternoon. The committee will adjourn until 10 o'clock Monday. When we convene Monday morning we will hear the testimony of Richard Krebs, but this phase of the hearing has not been concluded.

The committee is in possession of numerous documents, membership lists, and so forth, that it is checking in a careful and painstaking manner. These are records and documents which have been brought to the committee under subpoena.

The Chairman, and I assume I am speaking for the members of the committee, was very much impressed yesterday by a statement made by an investigator of this committee that there were Government employees who are terrified at the prospect of being called before this committee as witnesses in order to give testimony to any subversive activities which they might have cognizance of in governmental departments and agencies, this terror or fear being based upon the fact that it might endanger their positions.

Of course, this committee has no power to guarantee anyone's security of tenure in either public or private employment, but it seems to me to be a sad commentary that any Government employee of the United States of America should at any time have any fear of appearing before any congressional committee to give testimony concerning un-American and subversive activities, or even wrongdoing that is not attached to un-American and subversive activities, to a group who are elected as representatives of the people of the United States. That, in my judgment, is a very sad commentary on existing conditions in certain agencies.

Now, there has been, of course, a great deal of alarm and of fear by numbers of good people who may have belonged or may belong to the Washington Bookshop and other organizations, whose membership lists the committee now has in its possession. These people are expressing a fear that they may be tarred with the Communist brush simply because they might have been members of a certain organization. It is true that the Communist Party has secured positions of control and power in a number of organizations which were wholly worthy in their inception and wholly worth while if properly administered. That is in addition to the fact, of course, that they have set up a number of organizations with beautifully camouflaged names which camouflage their real purpose and intent. Every American citizen can be assured that this subcommittee will take no action which will bring discredit or will tend to reflect discredit upon any innocent American citizen. We do feel as a subcommittee, however, it is important that intelligent people who may be what they term themselves as "Progressive" or "Radicals" or "Liberals," or whatever name they want to designate themselves by, we do think that the time is here and the time is overdue when people of that type and character, who are genuinely sincere, should stop permitting themselves to be made dupes of. Certainly some of them should have enough intelligence to stay out of these organizations. We don't know whether there are any repeated offenders in this particular respect or not. The committee is not passing on that matter at this time and will not until we have had an opportunity to carefully check these lists. Whatever names may be made public in the future with reference to these organizations, the country and the people and the innocent people who may be members of these organizations can rest assured that the names will be made public only after careful checking and that every safeguard will be thrown around innocent people, but at the same time this sub-

committee will not be deterred in its investigations by the fact that there are innocent people in these groups and where we find that there are Communists or others—Nazis or Fascists or by whatever name called—they are all brothers or sisters under the skin, because they have a common intent and common purpose at this time, and that is to destroy our democratic way of life.

I want to say we intend to expose those people wherever they are—we don't care whether it is in some private organization or governmental agency. The people of the United States should know where they are and who they are.

The committee will stand adjourned until Monday at 10 o'clock. (Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Monday, May 26, 1941.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MAY 26, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its sessions. Whom will you have this morning, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Richard Krebs.

Mr. STARNES. Come around, Mr. Krebs.

## TESTIMONY OF RICHARD KREBS

Mr. STARNES. Please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are going to give in this investigation will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KREBS. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Have a seat and you may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name?

Mr. KREBS. Richard Julius Krebs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born, Mr. Krebs?

Mr. KREBS. In Hessa, Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. KREBS. December 17, 1905.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you used the pen name "Jan Valtin"?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are the author of the book *Out of the Night*?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you first come to the United States?

Mr. KREBS. I came to the United States for the first time in 1921.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how many trips or visits did you make to the United States subsequently?

Mr. KREBS. I have been in and out of the United States four times, except the last entry, which makes it five times that I entered this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And when did you last enter the United States?

Mr. KREBS. In March 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Krebs, are you acquainted in general with the newspaper the Daily Worker?

Mr. KREBS. I have been very well acquainted with it; not in recent years, though.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the Daily Worker for March 15, 1938. Have you seen this particular issue of the Daily Worker?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 1 of this issue of the Daily Worker there is a photograph reproduced called Passport Photo of Richard Krebs. Is that a photograph of yourself?

Mr. KREBS. It was an old picture of myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state what that picture was, where it was used, or what its significance is?

Mr. KREBS. It was a picture used on a document of the German Gestapo at the time when I worked inside the Gestapo for the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, this is a bona fide reproduction of a part of your Gestapo credentials?

Mr. KREBS. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Did I understand you to say when you were working for the Communist International—

Mr. MASON. With the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have read the article which accompanies this photograph, have you not?

Mr. KREBS. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this article in the Daily Worker is there any mention of your ever having been in the Communist International or the Communist movement?

Mr. KREBS. No; the article was written to hide that fact.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The only charge made in the article is the one to the effect that you were a Gestapo agent, is that correct?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; it is the same charge made against practically all of Lenin's friends who have since been shot under just that accusation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Krebs, I show you some recent issues of the Daily Worker, one for January 21, 1941. On page 7 of this issue of the Daily Worker there is a column over the name of Sender Garlin. I will ask you first if you know who Sender Garlin is?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; Sender Garlin was for years the correspondent of the Daily Worker in Moscow. He was sent especially to Moscow to report on the Stalin purge trials through the American press.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this particular column, Garlin is writing a review of your book, Out of The Night. Have you read that review?

Mr. KREBS. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state briefly the purport of the review in this issue of the Daily Worker?



Mr. KREBS. The purport of this review is an effort to tell Daily Worker readers that I don't exist at all, but that *Out of The Night* has been written collectively by Isaac Don Levine, General Krivitsky, Freda Utley, and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This review contains the definite statement that there was no such person as Jan Valtin?

Mr. KREBS. It contains the statement that Jan Valtin is Isaac Don Levine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now in the Daily Worker for January 24, 1941, there is a continuation of the discussion of the book, *Out of The Night*, also by Sender Garlin. Have you read this article?

Mr. KREBS. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the purport of this article?

Mr. KREBS. Reviews of the book written by Isaac Don Levine are quoted but they are used in such a way as to give the readers of this paper the false impression that Isaac Don Levine had written the book, and repeat the statement that Valtin did not exist, in order to discredit the book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the Daily Worker for February 21, 1941, which has another article by Sender Garlin, beginning on the first page. Have you read that article?

Mr. KREBS. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the time this article was written, had the Daily Worker changed its position from that of your nonexistence to a position that you did in reality exist as a Gestapo agent?

Mr. KREBS. It is one of their usual somersaults in policy and tactics after they saw that the book could not be silenced to death and received the wide circulation that it did, then they realized that he argument "Valtin did not exist" was not believed by anyone, so they changed their tactics and now state that Valtin did exist but that he was a Nazi agent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I will ask you this question: Does the book *Out of The Night* contain sufficient detailed information or facts to identify the author of the book in Communist circles, even though no name at all appeared on the book?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. Many American Communists of prominence are mentioned in the book. Some of them were guests at my home in Hamburg and the book contained enough material for instant identification by those Communist functionaries in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the issue of the Daily Worker in March 1938—March 15, 1938—where the Daily Worker through Sender Garlin said that it had obtained your Gestapo credentials—

Mr. KREBS. The Daily Worker said this photograph was brought to them by German seamen. The truth is that this photograph has been, since the spring of 1937, in the files of the G. P. U. in Moscow.

The publication of this picture by the Daily Worker and by other Communist papers appearing in the United States, shows that this material was sent to them straight from Moscow. It appeared 3 months after my break with the Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was your break with the Communist International?

Mr. KREBS. December 1937 and beginning of January 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So in 1938 the Daily Worker stated that it got its information concerning you from German seamen?

Mr. KREBS. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then in 1941, 3 years later, where did the Daily Worker say that it got its information concerning you?

Mr. KREBS. It is stated here they got the information from Scandinavian seamen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the source of this information was German seamen in 1938 and Scandinavian seamen in 1941?

Mr. KREBS. The reason for that is the Comintern's attitude toward Hitler has since changed and it would not do to give German anti-Fascists as the source since they had actually an alliance with German Fascists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what were your exact relationships with the Gestapo—will you please state those briefly?

Mr. KREBS. I first came in contact with the Gestapo while doing underground work against Hitler in Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About what year was that?

Mr. KREBS. I was sent to Germany in the fall of 1933, the year Hitler came to power, to reorganize the seamen, dock workers, and river workers against Hitler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who sent you?

Mr. KREBS. After some time of underground work I was betrayed into the hands of the Gestapo by a Nazi spy in the Communist organizations. I was arrested in November 1933 and after 8 or 9 months in concentration camps I was sentenced to 13 years for high treason by Nazi courts.

My first contact with the Gestapo came about during weeks of questioning in Gestapo headquarters in Hamburg and Berlin.

During the 3½ years of my imprisonment in various Nazi prisons I was often called to Gestapo headquarters for further questioning. Later, at the end of 1936, I received through a G. P. U. man working in the Gestapo—his name was Rudolph Heitman, the order that the Communist International Bureau in Copenhagen had singled me out for an attempt to work inside the Gestapo in favor of the Communist International—that is the Soviet Government. As a loyal comrade I accepted this order and did my best to carry it out.

I began with asking the Nazi guards for Nazi literature. I asked for the book, Mein Kampf. I made notations on the margin of Mein Kampf, knowing that these would be read later by Gestapo agents. I wrote pro-Nazi notes and dropped them as if by mistake in the prison yard. The guards would pick them up and read them. I did everything in general to try to convince the Gestapo that I had broken with communism and was moving toward the Hitler faith.

All this was in line with Communist policy of placing its own men in the police departments of non-Soviet nations.

After 4 or 5 months of such maneuvering I was called again to Gestapo headquarters, this time not to be questioned but in order to be tested. The Gestapo wanted to find how far my break with communism and my drifting toward the Nazi movement was sincere. I passed a great number of their tests. Some of them were quite tricky. I convinced them finally through the collaboration of

one of the leading men in Copenhagen—this man's name was Richard Jensen. Richard Jensen was the leading treasurer of the Comintern headquarters for the west with its offices in Copenhagen. He knew of my assignment to worm my way into the Gestapo—in the headquarters of the Gestapo under the eyes of one of the leaders of the Gestapo's foreign divisions.

This Gestapo leader was an inspector whose name was Paul Kraus. I wrote a letter to Jensen. The text of the letter made it seem that I had been released from a Nazi prison and was hiding in Germany and I asked Jensen to send money. This letter was sent off by the Gestapo while I was still kept in prison. Jensen knew what game was being played and he promptly sent American money, several hundred dollars, to a fictitious address in Germany. The fact that a simple letter from me could draw a considerable sum of money from Communist headquarters convinced the Gestapo that my contact with the Comintern was still good and that my break with the Comintern was sincere.

After that I was drawn into the active work of the foreign division of the Gestapo. I remained there for about a total of 5 months doing all I could to find out secrets and the working methods of the Gestapo in order to surrender this information to the Comintern and the G. P. U., which at that time were still fighting the Nazi organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During these months of your imprisonment in Germany, how frequently were you in the Gestapo headquarters in Berlin and Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. During the first 6 or 7 months of my imprisonment I was at least twice and sometimes three times a week in the Gestapo offices for questioning. In the following 3½ years my calls to the Gestapo office slowed down to about one a month or so. But later on in 1936 and 1937, I spent weeks in the headquarters of the Gestapo's foreign division, day after day from morning until evening.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have an opportunity to learn the methods of work and the objectives of the foreign division of the Gestapo during these periods which you spent there?

Mr. KREBS. I had that opportunity, yes; particularly since I entered the Gestapo offices from the first to the last with the intention of collecting all possible information in order to make it available for the fight against Hitler and against Hitler's Gestapo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You had been trained for years to make such observations and to gather such information, had you not?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are the foreign offices of the Gestapo located?

Mr. KREBS. The national offices were located at Berlin in a palace called the Prinz Albrecht, located on a short street in Berlin's Government district, known as the Prinz Albrecht Strasse. The executive offices, that is the action offices of the foreign division of the Gestapo, however, were located in Hamburg in a building known as the Stadthaus, in the center of Hamburg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why are the offices of the Gestapo located in Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. For the same reason which all foreign divisions of Nazi organizations were centered in Hamburg; namely, because Ham-

burg was the largest port of the European continent. From Hamburg sailed an average of a thousand German ships each month to all parts of the world, so communications to other countries were much easier, much more direct from Hamburg than from Berlin. For the same reason the Communist International has its maritime and communication headquarters for over 10 years also in Hamburg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state in general what the work of the foreign division of the Gestapo is as carried on in these executive offices in Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. The foreign division of the Gestapo is that part which does espionage and police work in favor of the German Government of the German frontiers. It cooperates with the foreign division of a great number of official Nazi organizations—foreign divisions of the Nazi Party.

It cooperates with the Military Intelligence of the German High Command, and it also cooperates with the political police systems in Japan, Italy, and General Franco's Spain.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, is it the work of the foreign division of the Gestapo to compile the most elaborate information concerning every country in the world?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. In watching the officials of the foreign division at work in the Hamburg offices, I learned first, that the aim of the Hitler movement was really world domination because there was not a single country on the map which did not interest the foreign division of the Gestapo.

The Gestapo charted every item of every phase of life of every country in the world. I can give you a few examples.

There was one large room solely reserved for card files containing names of citizens of foreign countries, classified as "enemies," "friends," and "residents," and in the different classes each card contained the personal history of the individual, his political affiliations, his prominence in certain business or certain organizations, or his prominence in cultural life. It included Government officials, police officials, teachers, newspapermen, trade-union men. And the purpose of these card files was to have a constant barometer on the strength of the morale in other nations, and of weaknesses among the population of another nation; of elements which could, in case of emergency, in case of war or intense political campaigns of another nature, be brought into the harness for the Nazi movement; and a list of those which should at once be seized by the Gestapo and interned in case of a German invasion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there such an elaborate card-file system on Americans?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; there was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In these offices of the foreign division of the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; there was. It concentrated on the American citizens of the eastern and western seaboard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, in a document obtained by this committee from the personal effects of G. Wilhelm Kunze, which has already been released to the public, there appears the following instructions of the German-American Bund:

Record cards containing personal information about friends, enemies, merchants, politicians, associations, association officers, and similar information

about those whom we should know, to be made out in duplicate exactly as those for members, patrons, and youth commander members and submitted monthly.

One card is to be retained by the unit or branch directorate and the other is to be sent to the national executive committee.

Yellow cards bearing the letter "F" are intended for enemies; where they are German a "D" is to be inserted at the top. They are not to be used for Jews.

Light-blue cards bearing the letter "J" are for Jews.

Mr. Krebs, was it just such a card-index system which was kept by the foreign division of the Gestapo in Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know of the existence of these instructions to the German-American Bund before yesterday?

Mr. KREBS. No; I did not; but I knew that Nazi organizations in all countries are harnessed to this Gestapo machine; that the Gestapo utilizes any form of German organization—German business houses, steamship lines, air lines, and so forth—as a news-gathering and espionage auxiliary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Could there be any doubt in your mind that such information compiled by the German-American Bund in the United States would eventually find its way to this card file in the Gestapo headquarters in Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. Not "eventually," but immediately as it is gathered. I should add there is a special list kept by the Gestapo's foreign division of Americans who traveled abroad, particularly Americans traveling on the European Continent.

Mr. STARNES. Was there any particular reason for that, Mr. Krebs?

Mr. KREBS. The compiling of names of Americans?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; traveling abroad.

Mr. KREBS. The theory is that a large percentage or large proportion of Americans traveling abroad are naturalized citizens of America who have originally come from Germany or some of the countries bordering on Germany, and also the theory is that these people on returning to the Continent as tourists for vacations will logically look up their friends and relatives in the old country.

The Gestapo also compiles a complete register of citizens of European countries who have contacts in America, which is then utilized for the sending of propaganda to this country, not in large packages, but in millions of small pieces of propaganda which is to be passed from family to family and friend to friend.

That list is also utilized to put, if necessary, friends and relatives of naturalized Americans under duress if Germany when the time comes when the Nazis and the Gestapo will try to force these American citizens to do something in Hitler's favor, and also will prevent German-Americans who are naturalized American citizens in doing active work against Hitler in this country, since it is always brought to their memory, "You have friends and relatives in Germany so keep quiet or work with us."

Mr. STARNES. Might not those names and those contacts also be utilized to obtain information about the industrial life of America, her capacity to organize and to produce for defense, and might not also those contacts be used as a form of espionage in that connection in order to check upon the defense efforts of America and the defense secrets of America?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. There is a special subdepartment in the foreign division dealing with what is called in Germany "Industrial Reports

Department." This department has its special schools and concentrates on Germans in America and Americans of German origin, who are trained mechanics, engineers, draftsmen; also newspapermen and teachers—that is, any likely person working in one of the vital industrial or cultural establishments in the United States.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Krebs, I show you a photostatic copy of a cablegram which was dispatched from Berlin to the Transocean News in the United States. This cablegram is in German. Will you please give a translation of that cablegram?

MR. KREBS. This cablegram from Berlin to the Nazi news agency in this country has the following text:

Urgently require details about the personality of Curran and the role played by his seamen's union. Please verify.

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you another cablegram from Berlin to Transocean News in this country, which text is also in German and I will ask you to translate that.

MR. KREBS. "Urgently require details on Curran's latest declaration."

MR. STARNES. Now, Dr. Matthews, were those cablegrams among the records that the committee obtained possession of from Transocean News?

MR. MATTHEWS. From the files of Transocean News itself.

MR. STARNES. I see. You might identify those by dates.

MR. MATTHEWS. There are identified in a previous publication of the committee by dates.

MR. STARNES. All right.

MR. MATTHEWS. I would like to ask the witness if such organizations having headquarters in Germany, such organizations as the Transocean News, have any relationship to the Gestapo.

MR. KREBS. Yes; the Transocean News was formed to supply the people of North, Central, and South America with the Nazi version of the world's news. In other words, with propaganda, not readily recognized as such, which is the sign of good propaganda. The Transocean News was enabled to compete successfully with American news services by the simple method of being completely subsidized by the Nazi Government and supplying the news free of charge to the American press.

The officers of the Transocean News are used by the Gestapo not as a Gestapo organization as such, but in a manner that each office, as in each other German office of a business, of a consulate or German organization—there are at least one or two Gestapo men on the job seeing that instructions from Berlin are carried out and keeping watch on unreliable elements in these organizations.

MR. MATTHEWS. Would there be any doubt whatever in your mind about Transocean News being a front for the Gestapo?

MR. KREBS. Absolutely none.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, in line with the questions which the chairman suggested, is that true of all other organizations which have their headquarters in Germany today under the Nazi regime and function abroad?

MR. KREBS. Any organization of Germans existing abroad which does not accept complete Nazi Party and Gestapo domination is smashed.

Mr. STARNES. Is that true with reference to German-owned or German-controlled air lines?

Mr. KREBS. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. Regardless of whatever country they are located in?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Or operate in?

Mr. KREBS. That is true. Any employee sent out from Germany to take a position in any German business house or transportation system abroad, must pass the Gestapo headquarters and have the okay of the Gestapo before he is allowed to take that position.

Mr. STARNES. And that would apply particularly to German-owned and operated air lines in South America?

Mr. KREBS. Exactly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it correct to say that when Transocean News is required to send information to Berlin on the personality of Joe Curran and his role in the National Maritime Union, and to send information on a speech which he made, that such information is desired by the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. The significance of this to me is that the Gestapo considers Joseph Curran, of the National Maritime Union of America, as a valuable instrument in its campaign to obstruct aid to Britain, and also in the campaign to spread the spirit of defeatism in this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Krebs, is there a division or a section in the foreign office of the Gestapo which has the task of carefully reading foreign publications?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; there is a large hall on the sixth floor of the foreign division building in Hamburg, where about 100 people, who are trained in languages, Gestapo agents, do nothing but scan every page and every item in every important foreign newspaper. And I have heard it said by important officials of the department, including Inspector Kraus, that much valuable information about conditions and doings in foreign nations, which Germany or Russia would guard as military secrets, are culled by the Gestapo right from the American press in regard to the location of new Army training camps, the sailing of warships for maneuvers, the establishment of new defense factories or the transformation of factories from consumer goods to defense products. All of these items are clipped out by the Gestapo press information bureau and pieced together and forms a very valuable portion of the sum total of their information about other countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When, for example, a magazine of a scientific or technical character in the United States publishes elaborate data on military equipment, would such information be considered of great value to the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Of course it would be at once picked up by one of the thousands of Gestapo agents in this country and either sent to the nearest German Consulate or Embassy, or be directly sent to Germany by some communication route.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would the publication of such military information be considered treasonable in Germany?

Mr. KREBS. Well, for example, yesterday in the New York Times I saw an item that two American panzer divisions had been com-

pletely organized and equipped and that these new panzer divisions were going to have maneuvers somewhere in Tennessee. The date was given, the place of the maneuvers, was given, the numerical strength of these new panzer divisions was given right on the front page of the Times.

I believe if a German editor did this his head would be off within 3 days for high treason.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, that point I am getting at is, one, as to the usefulness which the Gestapo finds in the freedom of the press of this country. Have you heard remarks among Gestapo people, high executives concerning the ease with which they obtain such information in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. Once I heard the remark by Inspector Kraus in German—I will translate it: "The lack of discipline of the democratic press is fodder for us"—free food for us.

I might mention that the Gestapo did not get one-tenth from British newspapers in the form of military and industrial information as they could get from American newspapers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is that also true of American magazines as well as newspapers, is such information obtained from magazines?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; from your very popular magazines such as Life Magazine, as Time Magazine. They are collected in complete files at Gestapo headquarters.

Every photograph of a new Army bomber, of a new warship, of a training camp, of a new factory is carefully analyzed. The Gestapo has apparatus where they have a full-page photograph in Life and they will cut that full page photograph into 10 or 12 sections and each section is enlarged to twice the size of this newspaper and then these enlarged sections are pieced together again and handed over to the engineering department of the military intelligence or of the central industrial council of the Nazi Party, to be checked on its usefulness for any of the German services.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated a moment ago that the headquarters of the foreign division of the Gestapo was located in Hamburg, that is the executive offices, because that was a port out of which radiated—

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The agents of the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the guise of German seamen?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please elaborate on that statement?

Mr. KREBS. Years before Hitler actually came to power, beginning in 1930 and 1931, the Nazi Party made tremendous efforts at the complete Nazi domination of the crews of German ships. I know this phase of the Nazi fight for power in great detail, since I was in the leadership of the Communist organizations in shipping.

By 1923 already, practically all the crews of the large German liners were organized within the Nazi Party and the Storm Troops. They organized a special marine section of the Storm Troops organization which is called the Marine Storm.

After Hitler came to power any German seaman who had the slightest political blemish from the Nazi point of view on his record,



was not permitted to go to sea on board German ships. The men permitted to sail on German ships had to be 100 percent trustworthy, and even among these 100 percent Nazi crews were special Nazi units called in English "points of support," and also in an inner organization or nucleus of trained Nazis working for the Gestapo direct.

By 1935 the foreign division of the Gestapo, that is, the marine department of the foreign division of the Gestapo, moved into a large building of its own which is called the Stellahauss, right on the waterfront of Hamburg—a modern 10-story building devoted solely for the maritime—the communications end of the foreign division of the Gestapo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. May I interrupt you there at that point?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the seamen's organization at that time taken out from under the control of the Labor Front in Germany and placed directly under the control of the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. That is right. In 1935, a few months after the formation of the foreign division, the former trade union of German seamen, which maintained the name of "trade union," after the Nazis took over and smashed the old Socialist trade unions in Germany which had been under the jurisdiction of Dr. Robert Ley of the German Labor Front, in July or August of 1935, this whole seamen's section of the German Labor Front was taken out of Dr. Ley's jurisdiction and placed under the direct jurisdiction of the Gestapo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, would you say that prior to the outbreak of the present war the principal contacts of the Gestapo with the United States were through the organized German seamen under the direction of the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. It was through German seamen a large part of coastal espionage was carried on by trained Nazis serving on German ships.

In the fall of 1935 there was not a single overseas ship in the German-American marine which did not have in its crew Nazi photographic specialists whose sole task was to carry on photographic surveys of the coast lines of foreign nations, photograph harbor entrances, case docks, shore fortifications, shipyards and so forth.

There was a special department of the Gestapo devoted to the analysis of this material. The results were astonishing. There was practically no port in the whole world which was not in the Gestapo offices in the form of complete photographic surveys brought in by thousands of Nazi seamen-photographers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Gestapo attempt to place Nazi seamen on non-German-owned boats?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; that was systematically done as well as on American ships.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether that attempt was successful in any measure or not?

Mr. KREBS. It was successful in some measure, particularly where the Nazis detailed to this work succeeded in entering this country as quota immigrants and obtained first citizenship papers, and where they were then in a position to enter one of the American dockers' or seamen's unions and become crew members aboard American ships.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not some Gestapo agents were sent to the United States in the guise of political refugees?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; this group forms a very large group of people used by the Gestapo. Some are trained Nazis posing as political refugees, but many are actually former political prisoners from Germany whose families are kept as hostages and who were sent out to work for the Gestapo in foreign countries, including America, under the threat that they write monthly reports and if the reports do not come in, "your family will be arrested; if our checking shows that your reports contain misleading information your family will also be arrested."

These people, who being in some measure professional anti-Nazis, find it particularly easy to be accepted by the public of democratic countries, since they have really an anti-Nazi record and act not as Nazis but out of deadly fear of the Nazis throwing their wives and children into concentration camps or murdered.

Mr. STARNES. In other words the German Government, acting in conjunction with the Gestapo, sends political refugees, so-called, into the various countries who have something of an anti-Nazi record—

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Because the state of public opinion throughout the world generally, is against Germany and they feel by that means they will get favorable entree?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And they use them for that purpose?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. It has gone so far that to my experience it was impossible for anyone to be released from a Nazi concentration camp unless he signed a pledge that he would serve the Gestapo. The great majority were given jobs in German industries to spy on anti-Nazis in German industries.

They had to write weekly reports, but anyone who had any sort of experience in travel or had a family or friends in outside nations, he was used for foreign work provided he had a family or some sort of financial reserve which could be kept in Germany as a guaranty for his loyalty.

Mr. STARNES. As a usual rule no one was let out of a concentration camp or out of prison without first the Nazis obtaining from that person a pledge that he would serve the Gestapo when released wherever sent?

Mr. KREBS. Anyone who would not sign the pledge had no chance of being released at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Had you yourself spent a good deal of your early childhood traveling throughout the world?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I was sent by the Gestapo to Denmark and had contacts with Gestapo couriers in Belgium and in Holland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it a fact, that you had had much experience in world travel?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I traveled much before and the Gestapo knew it and I was a seaman by profession.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was the reason you were then permitted to go outside of Germany for the work that you did?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; but they had my wife and child in Germany as hostages.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the German seamen's homes in the United States in such cities as New Orleans, Philadelphia, San Francisco, and New York?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. There were from Republican times in Germany a number of German seamen's homes in American ports, in North American ports and also in Latin American ports. The best known were in New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires.

These German seamen's homes served as shipping centers for German seamen. When a German captain needed a crew he went to the consul and the consul went to the manager of the German sailor's home and he supplied the men. They were usually in charge of a seamen's chaplain—seamen missionaries.

After Hitler came to power all these managers of German seamen's homes were recalled to Germany and trained Nazis were sent out to take charge of these seamen's homes and were in control of the shipping out of German sailors to foreign ports.

The result was that anyone who was known as an anti-Nazi or who was not willing to work with the Nazis had no chance of obtaining a berth through these German shipping offices.

On the other hand, the Nazi managers took care that trained Nazis were put on ships which were regarded to be on strategic runs—that is, sailing to strategic ports.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were many German citizens sent abroad by the Gestapo and particularly to the United States, with instructions to obtain their first papers as soon as possible?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. Whenever the Gestapo could find someone who showed enthusiasm for this sort of task, they usually sent him out and in their own words it was "kinderspeil"—it was child's play to get Germans who came to America as quota immigrants to take out first papers and then they were eligible for work in any of the key industries, in shipping, and also could easily enter the United States Army as volunteers, could enter the United States Coast Guard as a means of obtaining citizenship in 3 years instead of 5 years, which was just incidental, but important work aside from their general work for the Nazis in the Gestapo.

Mr. STARNES. You said it was easy for them to do that. What I want to know is whether you know whether or not they were sent here with instructions to do that?

Mr. KREBS. Oh, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have heard discussions along those lines?

Mr. KREBS. I was personally questioned by Gestapo inspectors on the possibility of getting men into the Coast Guard.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean that a German coming into this country, coming over here and taking out his first papers, could get into the United States Army and then could obtain full citizenship in 3 years because he was in the Army?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Instead of the customary 5 years?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; that was the custom.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that situation was utilized by the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; utilized ever since 1935.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the same was true of the Coast Guard; is that correct?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The same relations?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How did these seamen's homes operate in this connection where unions had been established in these union halls?

Mr. KREBS. The Nazi seamen coming to this country?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. KREBS. They usually managed to become crew members of non-American ships sailing from American ports, particularly the Scandinavian merchant fleets were well penetrated. Many Dutch ships had Nazis in their crews and some Belgian ships—some of the largest Belgian ships were manned by, oh, I would say, over 20 percent by German Nazis. Many of them joined the American seamen's union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean the National Maritime Union?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; the National Maritime Union and also the west-coast union, but the easiest mark was the National Maritime Union, since it was only necessary for them to act as Communists in order to be readily accepted. And the policy of the Gestapo in labor unions, since the fact exists that the Gestapo, the Nazi itself could not operate as a Nazi fraction in a union, is that the Nazis in the American labor unions will propose a Communist policy as long as such Communist policy concurs with the policy followed by the Nazi propaganda machine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Gestapo agents will join the Communist fractions of such a union instead of trying to set up a Nazi fraction?

Mr. KREBS. They will not start by joining a Communist fraction. They will enter the union as simple seamen and by talking radically, by taking part in the little, partial strikes against bad food or for over-time payment, attract the attention of Communist fraction scouts, who are always on the lookout for new recruits, and any young Nazi that obtains a berth aboard an American ship under the pretension that he is becoming an American citizen, and talks radically, will sooner or later be approached by the Communist organizer.

The Gestapo tactics is not to ask to be admitted but to act in a way that will bring the other fellow to come and ask the Gestapo man, "Please come inside and help us."

Mr. STARNES. And you know of your own personal knowledge that Gestapo agents have joined the National Maritime Union for the purpose of obtaining information and for the purpose of creating trouble in the American merchant marine?

Mr. KREBS. I know of two who were sent to this country and actually did this work. One was Kurt Bailich. Kurt Bailich was a seaman, German seaman, active for the Gestapo already since 1933. He was sent over by the Gestapo in 1935 to join the East Coast Seamen's Union, I believe—I don't know if the National Maritime Union existed at that time.

Mr. STARNES. Anyway, the predecessor of the National Maritime Union?

Mr. KREBS. That is right. It was the union before that that he joined. The Gestapo received reports from him as late as 1937. These reports were shown to me by Gestapo inspectors to show me the nature of the work that they expected from me.

These reports were sent from New Orleans. Another man, another Nazi operating from American ships, was a man named August Kastner. Kastner was a former Communist who turned to Gestapo work soon after Hitler came to power. He was one of the Gestapo couriers aboard the German liner *Westernland* to New York. In

1936, or the beginning of 1937, he left the ship in New York to concentrate on work in American seamen's organizations. Usually the Nazi seamen acting for the Gestapo do not jump at once with both feet into the American trade-union work without first having gone through a school of smaller work, serving aboard German ships, serving as couriers, serving as members of the harbor-control stations, and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please describe what the nature and duties of a harbor control bureau are?

Mr. KREBS. The harbor control bureaus of the Gestapo were started during the Spanish civil war. At that time Germany made every effort to prevent the shipment of food and war materials to Loyalist Spain, and in order to check the movement of such shipments, the Gestapo organized observation groups in many important European ports, particularly in the Scandinavian countries, Belgium, Holland, and France.

Nazi seamen were sent to those ports under the guise of seamen, but they did not ship out but remained in that port engaged in nothing else but to check on ship movements, nature of ship cargoes, and so forth.

This work was done in great detail. Each harbor control, possibly, had a couple of men running around the docks photographing labels and the inscriptions on packing cases to determine the factories which had sent out these goods.

They walked aboard ships during the lunch hour in the guise of jobless seamen coming to bum a meal, and in conversation with the crew tried to find out the destination of the ship, the composition of the crew; and wherever possible, attempts were made to contact the wireless operators of the ship.

All this information was forwarded to the Gestapo, and the Gestapo used it in counteractions to prevent such shipment.

This mode of harbor supervision was so successful during the Spanish civil war that it became a world-wide feature of the maritime service of the Gestapo, particularly where the press of the country does not report in detail on ship movements.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was particular stress laid upon making contact with the radiomen aboard ships?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What would be the usefulness of radiomen aboard ships to the Gestapo? Will you describe that?

Mr. KREBS. Well, from the very beginning the original efforts to control the radio personnel aboard merchant ships, politically, was made by the Communists. They did that with some success, and the Gestapo became interested in this also during 1935. It all started with the marching of the German Army into the Rhineland. It coincided with the organization of the foreign division of the Gestapo.

Gestapo inspectors singled out Communist prisoners in German concentration camps who had had maritime experience and questioned them as to organization methods, lines of approach, program of demand, and so forth, for radio personnel aboard the ships of various nations.

Aboard the German merchant marine there was not one radio operator who was not a member of the Nazi Party, and radio opera-

tors aboard German ships were used to relay radio messages of confidential material gathered in a foreign country by Nazi spies.

For example, material gathered by Gestapo people in this country in New York, would not be relayed directly by short-wave station from American territory to Germany.

Before the war broke out information was given to the radio operators of German ships, and that information was radioed to Germany shortly after the ship left port. In this way mobile communication stations, which could not be traced, were available for that work.

Considerable efforts have been made to penetrate—to harness—radio operators on foreign ships to the Gestapo apparatus, with only minor success.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know where the foreign offices of the Gestapo were located in some of the countries outside of Germany?

Mr. KREBS. Well, I know the address for Denmark, and I know the address for Belgium.

Mr. STARNES. You know those two?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You did not know it for Italy?

Mr. KREBS. The Danish interests—

Mr. STARNES. For Italy—the Gestapo address in Italy?

Mr. KREBS. No; I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Or Spain?

Mr. KREBS. I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. Well, they need no direct addresses there, because there is police union, political police union, between the political police of Germany, Italy, and Japan and the members of the original comintern pact. They interchange officials. Italian officials of the Italian Ovla are active in German Gestapo headquarters, and German Gestapo officials are active in Italian political police headquarters—the same thing with Japan.

I have known of cases where German anti-Nazi seamen sailed on British ships, and these British ships came to Italy and Gestapo people came aboard to take these German anti-Nazis off who were later spirited from Italy to Germany, which showed me that the political police of Italy and Japan and Germany keep lists of people wanted by the German Gestapo, and checks on the identity of people coming in on Italian or foreign ships in the hope of finding a wanted man once in awhile.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether any such working relationship exists now between Germany and Russia, since the pact of 1939?

Mr. KREBS. I don't know if such a corporation exists now, but I wouldn't risk going aboard a ship to Vladivostok.

Mr. MATHEWS. Do you know, Mr. Krebs, to what extent the courier system of communications has been supplanted by this short-wave radio method of communications, since the outbreak of the war?

Mr. KREBS. In the Gestapo schools, which exist in every large German city, a special course is devoted to the training of future Gestapo agents in methods of communication.

The usual method used before the war broke out was the courier method, which was taken over by the Nazis in whole from the Com-

munists. It was the placing of Nazis on German or foreign ships as crew members who, in foreign ports, received their material.

As soon as the ship left port the agent who had given them the material notified by a short message the home port, and as soon as that ship entered the German port, a man from the Gestapo office was aboard to take care of that material so that the seamen carrying such illegal material would not have a chance to do anything wrong with it except throw it overboard on the high seas.

But in cases where information is very urgent and cannot wait for courier service, or where courier service is interrupted, the radio way of communication is used.

One important item in the communication sources is a warning to Gestapo agents to beware of using fixed short wave sending stations—not to establish short-wave senders in one department, in one house, and leave it there, but to make everything mobile and portable—change it from day to day.

One of the methods advocated for seaport cities was to get possession of a number of small yachts, motor launches, fishing craft ostensibly under private ownership of Germans who are not open Nazis, and that such short-wave messages are best sent, not from ashore but a few miles out from shore at sea, since then a detection of the station is impossible, since the boat or the yacht or the launch after sending the message comes back into port.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, I didn't understand you thoroughly a moment ago about the method of the Gestapo operating in this country where they had clearing houses, general clearing houses of information, and so forth and so on. What city or cities do they operate from chiefly here in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. Before the outbreak of the war it was New York, because New York offered the best communications with Germany.

Mr. STARNES. More contacts with the German Nation were made through the port of New York than elsewhere?

Mr. KREBS. That is correct; but since the outbreak of the war, since the disruption of the North Atlantic communications lines, there is every indication that the clearing house has been moved to San Francisco, since the communications mostly go over Russia and there is comparatively no disturbance in shipping and mails from the West.

Mr. STARNES. From the West to Russia?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; when, for example, I read or heard that a man like Captain Wiedemann was appointed to the German consul general in San Francisco, a post which was before him taken in by a very minor Nazi official, and San Francisco was not important from the point of view of the German Empire, but when suddenly Wiedemann, one of the best-trained and most-trusted men in the German diplomatic service, is given such a seemingly small post as consul in San Francisco, it means something.

Mr. STARNES. Is it your experience and your information, based on your past life and your contacts with both organizations, and knowing the situation as you do here, that now, since the war has broken out, the more effective, or the most effective part of their operations have been along the west coast?

I am speaking now both of the Nazi and Communist Parties.

MR. KREBS. I heard in the foreign division of the Gestapo, toward the end of 1937, repeated conversations on this country. It started when Hitler mentioned America—it started with Hitler's paragraphs on America in the book *Mein Kampf*.

The Gestapo people regarded America already in 1937 as a hostile country and an enemy country.

MR. STARNES. As far back as 1937 they referred to America as being a hostile country or an enemy country?

MR. KREBS. That is right. The same as they regarded France, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia as enemy countries, and from their conversations that I heard I had the impression that in the Gestapo brains the idea was alive that in case of a war it would be less a question of open military clash between America and Germany but it would be between Japan and America and that, therefore, a large part of the Nazi effort and Gestapo effort in this country would be concentrated on the west coast; also because the largest naval bases are there.

The bulk of the Navy is kept on the west coast. Particular interest was shown by the foreign division for the Hawaiian Islands, particularly Pearl Harbor and Honolulu.

MR. STARNES. That was, of course, because they regarded Hawaii as the key to the Pacific Ocean and the key to the American defense system on the west coast?

MR. KREBS. Yes. It was felt that any long-distance operation of the American Navy would not start out from San Pedro or San Diego, but would have their last American base in Hawaii for action toward Japan.

MR. MATTHEWS. In the Gestapo or Nazi conception of war, does the war begin only when shots are fired or territory is actually invaded?

MR. KREBS. No; that is the democratic conception of war.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is their conception?

MR. KREBS. The democratic nations define war as a war which starts when soldiers start marching, but not in the totalitarian mind, and particularly the Gestapo mind. With them the war starts when they send their first agent across another country's frontier with a secret mission.

MR. STARNES. Let me ask you this question, Mr. Krebs: Based upon your experience and your contacts with the Gestapo and Nazi regimes, is it your opinion that a great deal of their work is carried on, their propaganda work and their subversive work is carried on through the consular agencies in this country?

MR. KREBS. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. They make use of their consular agents for propaganda purposes and for the acquisition and accumulation and forwarding or transmission of information vital to the Nazi Government?

MR. KREBS. You see, the Nazi movement is, as the Communist movement, divided in two, I would say, lines of progress. One is comparatively open and legal and the other is completely underground and illegal.

The distribution of propaganda and agitation, anything which tends to influence public opinion, belongs to the so-called legal portion of their work and is carried on largely through the consulates



and through such organizations as Fritz Kuhn's bund and other German organizations, which also have their headquarters in Hamburg and specializes in Nazi propaganda.

The underground part operates, to my knowledge, independent of the consulates. For example, when I was sent to Denmark in 1936, the Gestapo thought that I was actually carrying out their instructions. I was warned never to approach a German consulate. They had the theory that German consulates are being watched by members of enemy organizations or by police and that anyone entering or leaving a consulate would sooner or later become identified or associated with the Nazi cause.

Mr. STARNES. While that may be true, was it your experience that a portion of the financial burden of carrying on this campaign of propaganda came through the consular agents?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That was a means of transmitting money?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. From Nazi Germany?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Even to the undercover agents of the departments?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wouldn't this be true, too, that in each one of these organizations that were open and known and carrying on propaganda work, there would be placed police representatives to see how things were going within that organization?

Mr. KREBS. I did not quite get the question, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say there are two things conducted entirely different from each other—two divisions of the work?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. One is the propaganda work, which is open?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And largely legal and carried on by organizations that people in the United States know exist?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the other is an underground working of espionage and secret police work?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. My question was whether the organizations that were carrying on the propaganda work didn't always have placed in them people from the secret police?

Mr. KREBS. (No answer.)

Mr. VOORHIS. So as to watch what was happening?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. And wouldn't it also be true that each consulate would probably have such a man?

Mr. KREBS. Well, the organizations carrying on propaganda work usually have a much larger membership than the underground operations and there are constantly scouts of the underground apparatus in the open or half-open mass organizations, first, to control the leadership of these organizations, but chiefly to look for new material for underground work.

Anyone who has been active in the Communist Party or in Fascist organizations will have the experience that when a marked new talent

pops up in some lower unit in the mass organization, this young talent suddenly disappears from the scene. No one sees him any more. That means he is recruited for the underground section and has completely severed relations, official relations with the propaganda organization.

The agencies of the North German Lloyd Line, the Hamburg American Line in New York, for example, had much more to do with the underground organizations of the Gestapo, in my opinion, than the German Consulate in New York.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask this question: Can you be any more specific about such success as may be achieved by the Gestapo or by the Nazis of any kind, or by the Communists, in getting personnel into positions as radio operators on American ships?

You said the attempt was made and the committee has had testimony to that effect previously, but I wonder whether you have any specific knowledge about the degree of the success of such efforts?

Mr. KREBS. Well, offhand I know of one—I can give you his name. His name is Aage Moeller—M-o-e-l-l-e-r with a Scandinavian “o.” He is third officer aboard the Standard Oil Co. tanker, the *Calliope*, and also a member of the G. P. U. for some years, in contact with Jensen and another G. P. U. chief who is in New York now, George Hegner.

He has an office in Whitehall Street and his number is in the telephone book.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is this fellow on this boat now, as far as you know—is he on the Standard Oil tanker still as far as you know?

Mr. KREBS. Well, my information is less than 6 weeks old on this man.

Mr. VOORHIS. What would you estimate has been the degree of success in getting these people into positions as radio operators?

Mr. KREBS. As radio operators the Nazis will have very great difficulties.

Mr. STARNES. What about the Communists? Would they have as much difficulty?

Mr. KREBS. I don't think so, not so great. If the Nazis have men among the radio personnel today on American ships, then they are usually men of German origin, but the Communists find it much easier because the Nazis have a more or less straight political approach and appeal to pride and national institutions, but the Communists with their economic approach talk of better living, of anything except G. P. U. and world revolutions.

Mr. VOORHIS. More contacts?

Mr. STARNES. But the sum total of the effect at the present time is the same—it doesn't make any difference whether it is a Communist or a Nazi aboard the ship, the information and the assistance is given to Hitler and Germany just the same?

Mr. KREBS. My opinion is that the Communist control of the National Maritime Union plays today exactly the game Hitler and Goebbels would want the American trade-unions to play with no concessions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With no “concessions,” you mean, “with no qualifications”?

Mr. KREBS. I mean 100 percent. Mr. Goebbels himself—if Mr. Goebbels himself were in charge of the National Maritime Union,

Messrs. CURRAN, RAY, and so forth, could not act differently than they act now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that connection who was the man who for many years headed the maritime work of the Communist International?

Mr. KREBS. The general secretary of the maritime division of the Communist International was, from 1923 to the end of 1939, Albert Walter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. W-a-l-t-e-r?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With his headquarters in Hamburg?

Mr. KREBS. His headquarters were, during those 10 years, in Hamburg at the address on Rothesood Strasse, No. 8.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is for more than 10 years Albert Walter was the head of the work of the International among the seamen of the world; is that right?

Mr. KREBS. Among the seamen of all countries, including America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Albert Walter?

Mr. KREBS. I knew him very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you work under his direction or in his apparatus?

Mr. KREBS. I saw him for many years almost every—for years I was in his office most every day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a page from Look Magazine for May 20, 1941, which has a photograph reproduced. Is that a genuine photograph?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the occasion on which that photograph was made?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. It was an international mass meeting in Hamburg, I believe in 1932, made on the occasion when—on the occasion of the political exploitation of the Scottsboro trial. There were two Americans, Mr. Louis Engdahl and Ada Wright, supposedly the mother of one of the condemned Negroes of Scottsboro. They traveled all over Europe and when there was a congress or a mass meeting of Communist leaders, those two popped up to make their speech. This was a meeting of seamen of various nationalities in a large hall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the man in the left of the photograph, the man standing?

Mr. KREBS. Albert Walter, the head of the maritime division of the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is the person seated next to him?

Mr. KREBS. Johnson, a Negro Communist from America, who served as an American delegate in Hamburg for a while.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is the person in the middle?

Mr. KREBS. That is myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is on your right?

Mr. KREBS. That is another American Communist who was in charge of work on American ships in continental ports, particularly Hamburg. His party name was Mike Pell and his real name is Morris Appelman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is the man on the end?

Mr. KREBS. That is Gundelack, head of the German section of the—

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to this account in Look Magazine, who supplied this photograph to the magazine?

Mr. KREBS. Well, I suppose Mike Pell did, who was present at the meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Morris Appelman signs the statement submitting the photograph, stating his party name was Mike Pell. That is information from the Communist Party itself that you were a real person, really existent and at least had some association with Albert Walter?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I show you a book entitled "The S. S. Utah," by Mike Pell, published by International Publishers in 1933. Did you know anything about that book at the time of its preparation?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I know it very well. Mike Pell wrote it while he worked under my direction in Hamburg in 1932, a year before its publication.

He received the instructions to—he was writing a book trying to show how an American ship should be organized in the Communist sense, and he received instructions through the maritime secretary out of the Comintern, through Walter, to go ahead. He received a salary. The writing was financed by the Comintern, and the purpose of the book was to bring out in popular fiction form, the technique and theory of organizing a strike and mutiny aboard a ship on the high seas.

It is the story of a lone Communist coming aboard a ship with a non-Communist crew and ends with the whole crew becoming Communists, putting on a mutiny, shooting by police and things like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where Albert Walter is today or has been in recent months?

Mr. KREBS. Albert Walter is one of the prominent advisers of the Gestapo in maritime matters. He works for the foreign division in Hamburg.

Mr. VOORHIS. He is one of what?

Mr. KREBS. Albert Walter is one of the chief advisers of the foreign division of the Gestapo in maritime matters today.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, this man, who for years you worked with when he was the head of the international Communist organization of seamen, is now, you say, the principal adviser of the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. On maritime matters?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; it happened in very many cases.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you know that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you met him since he became an adviser to the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had personal conversations with him?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give us the details?

Mr. KREBS. I can give a short history of his turn-over. Walter was arrested shortly after I was in 1933 and was kept 10 or 11 months in the Hamburg concentration camp, and after 10 months he made a

deal with the Gestapo in order to save his mother. He was very devoted to his mother, a woman over 70 years old, and the Gestapo knowing that Walter knew all the secrets without exception of Communist organizations in the merchant marine fleet and navies of the world, threatened that they would imprison or kill his mother if he wouldn't come to their side.

That broke him completely and he came to the side of the Nazis very early in 1934.

When I was released in 1937 from a Nazi prison, Inspector Kraus of the Gestapo, gave me Walter's address and asked me to go to Walter and have a talk with him and report on the impression Walter had made on me. He wanted to use me to test Walter's loyalty as a Nazi.

I went to Walter's apartment and it was one of the greatest shocks of my life when the man who had been my boss in the Communist International for many years, tried for 2 hours to convince me of the correctness of the Nazi policy, and from that I gathered, that is from his own talk, that he was well paid by the Gestapo but that he was inside himself a beaten man, but that he served him with his wide knowledge of maritime matters, and I accept it that he still does so today. He is the best man they have in maritime questions.

Walter knows America well. He has been in this country during the World War as a German war prisoner and it was he who first organized Lenin's circles in prison camps among the German war prisoners here and after his release went directly to Russia where Lenin appointed him as the maritime chief of the Comintern.

MR. MATTHEWS. Would you say that the case of Walter's conversion to nazi-ism, under duress, as you have described it, is a typical instance of the use of former anti-Nazis by the Gestapo?

MR. KREBS. Yes; it is a typical instance, but most of them are not as important as Walter to them.

MR. STARNES. I was interested particularly about your reference to that picture. You say that was at a time when they were making a political exploitation of the *Scottsboro case*?

MR. KREBS. Yes.

MR. STARNES. Was that a subject of debate and exploitation and of wide use throughout the Communist circles in Europe?

MR. KREBS. Yes; in every country in Europe the *Scottsboro case* was used by the Communist International to stir up general hatred among the European workers against the economic and political system of America, by inciting the German workers, the French workers, the Swedish workers, to terrible hatreds against American conditions, by telling them: "See, that is the way proletarians are treated in America."

MR. STARNES. In other words, they were using that as an example of how the capitalistic system in America exploited the proletariat, or the peasants, or the working classes?

MR. KREBS. Well, the exploitation of the *Scottsboro case* was that "Eight Negroes had been condemned to death under framed charges because they were simply workers who rode on a freight train."

MR. STARNES. My interest in it is somewhat personal because I was called out of a moving picture show on a March evening in 1931 to

take charge of troops going to the scene of action and was present throughout the first trial of the case.

Mr. KREBS. It was just through such campaigns that they gained thousands of new members.

Mr. STARNES. It was my first experience in riot or mob duty from a military standpoint, therefore, I have some personal interest.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you say one of the American speakers at that mass meeting was J. Louis Engdahl?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; that is right, from Chicago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he was head of the International Labor Defense at the time he made this tour in Europe?

Mr. KREBS. He was nominally the head. The real head was a Russian, but Engdahl was nominally the leader of the International because that would carry a stronger appeal for the workers than to have someone with a Russian name on the list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who the actual head of the International Labor Defense was?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; the first general secretary of the maritime division, a man named Atchkanov.

Mr. STARNES. And they intervened in this first trial by sending telegrams of a very threatening nature to the presiding judge at the Scottsboro trial?

Mr. KREBS. It was organized all over the world.

Mr. STARNES. Those telegrams were delivered personally by me to the presiding judge at the time and they were very threatening in their nature.

Mr. KREBS. I have been in Communist cell meetings in Germany where each member of the cell was given 10 or 15 Scottsboro pamphlets with instructions "Now you go and sell them for 10 pennies and with the proceeds you send a telegram to the President in America or the judge in Scottsboro."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you mean by your reference to Ada Wright, that there was some doubt about her being the real mother of some of the Scottsboro defendants?

Mr. KREBS. No; Communist believed she was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In party circles; is that the idea?

Mr. KREBS. Well, the party members didn't believe she was the mother of one of the Negroes. She was some Communist woman taken up in Moscow in some way and carried around the world for that purpose, but the impression given out to the audience in the mass meetings was that she was the mother of one of the condemned Negro boys.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Krebs, you stated a moment ago that in the Nazi concept of war, hostilities begin when the first "fifth columnists" are sent across the border into a non-Nazi country?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give us some of the ways in which the Gestapo, working for the Nazi movement, is now directing its attack upon the United States? What are some of the methods of attack upon America? You stated that Germany today considers that the United States is an enemy country and has been since 1937?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. The chief Gestapo attack against the United States today is only in part directed against the United States. A

larger portion of Gestapo work to undermine the United States strength at the present time is directed toward Latin America.

The Gestapo leaders of the foreign division regard any Gestapo thrust, any Gestapo success in Latin America not so important because it brings nearer the domination of Latin America, but it is a victory in the struggle to create bases and is against the United States on the theory that with the United States undermined and torn up by civil strife, distrust between nations, the whole of America would fall under their economic and even political control.

Mr. STARNES. You would say, then, the chief method of penetration and the chief attack directed against this hemisphere is in Latin America?

Mr. KREBS. In Latin America; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Rather than directly against the United States of America?

Mr. KREBS. That is right. The Gestapo follows the policy of not openly antagonizing public opinion in the United States, but the German-speaking portions of the population of some South American countries—there are millions of them living in German towns in Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and even in Guatemala, with German schools, where the language is German and not Spanish, but who are citizens of that Latin-American country.

That is ideal recruiting ground for them. The Germans in America have to some extent been assimilated and are scattered, but the Germans in South America are completely separate. Their cultural life and their traditions are completely separate from the Spanish culture and traditions, and also the resistance with which Nazi and Gestapo campaigns would meet in Latin America would be much weaker in Latin America—in South America than in North America.

Mr. STARNES. Do the Germans appreciate the fact that following the World War and the ascension of power in Germany of Hitler, that no movement in the United States carried on under a German brand would be very popular? Do they appreciate that fact? Do they realize that fact?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; it is very extensively used, but also the economic motive—I have seen in Hamburg in the office of propaganda, leaflets for South America. The text in a nutshell was this—it was directed toward Argentina:

What have you to sell? Your economy depends on the sale of wheat and the sale of beef. Does America buy beef? No; it exports beef. Does America buy wheat? No; it exports wheat. Argentinians, your market is Europe and not America, and the biggest market in Europe is Germany. Therefore, it is logical for you to work with us instead of with a country in the north which would like to sell you things, but will not buy from you.

Such arguments are used very extensively in conjunction with the idealistic arguments about German strength.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of what value are German business houses in the United States to the Nazi movement, and what is their relationship to the Gestapo?

Mr. KREBS. The Gestapo, in sending agents abroad, sends the bulk of its agents quite legally under the guise of employees to German business firms abroad.

Any German firm in North and South America doing business with Germany, being run by Germans or being in some way dependent

economically in its public relations with German organizations or in its public relations with German organizations or German institutions, is used by the Gestapo for its own purposes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what would those purposes include?

Mr. KREBS. These purposes would include, first, to make every German business firm a potential fortress in future campaigns, with German business firms located throughout American countries. These firms are considered as ideal concentration points in case of sudden emergencies, in case of sudden Nazi call to action. Second, it is usually that business firms have a very large range of contacts with other non-German business houses; that the business and commercial contacts of German firms are used for industrial and transport espionage; that well-established German business houses are used for the purpose of placing Gestapo men in the non-German business houses in American countries.

They are sent over as clerks, as accountants, as typists, and what not. They work, and wherever it is possible these people are recommended to other firms.

German businesses which take the form of air lines in Latin America are of first-rate strategic importance in connection with espionage, the mapping of countries from the air, monopolizing the pilot staffs of that country; monopolizing the air fields and landing bases of that country.

There is not a single German business house in America or branch of German business houses in America, which have not on their staff at least one man of the Gestapo. It is this world of business houses which form the strongest points of the Gestapo as the trade-unions form the strong basis for Communist and G. P. U. work.

Mr. STARNES. I want you to repeat that. The German or Nazi Government is using the Gestapo which is working through German business concerns in this country—

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. To obtain information about our security program and to produce choke points or to sabotage our efforts?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Just as the Communists are using the trade-unions for the same identical purpose in sabotaging strikes and slowing down of production?

Mr. KREBS. It is a Nazi division of work. The Communists could not penetrate business if they tried.

Mr. STARNES. And neither could the Nazis penetrate the trade-unions?

Mr. KREBS. Neither could the Nazis penetrate the trade-unions if they tried to.

Mr. MASON. But you wouldn't say that now since the Communists and the Nazis have combined, that they haven't the influence of both of these organizations—trade-unions and business houses and therefore are doubly dangerous from our standpoint?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; doubly dangerous, especially since their general policy today as to world affairs is the same.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is a more accurate way to put it than to say they are in one organization. In other words, as I understand you, your statement was to the effect that you didn't know of specific



instances where there was an actual merging of the Communist and the Nazi organizations, but the fact is that their policies today are the same policies and that therefore the work done by either one or the other was of benefit to the other, is that right?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, they have merged their objectives and their objectives are the same?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In that their objective is to destroy a democracy such as this or as we know it—that is, to destroy democratic government and substitute for it some form of state socialism?

Mr. KREBS. That has been the common aim from the very beginning but under different methods.

Mr. STARNES. Now, they find by using their different methods they are approaching the same objective?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You spoke about German business houses?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to be clear what we mean by "German business houses." Do you mean by that a commercial or industrial organization whose ownership is in Germany.

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Or do you mean a business in America that is run by people of German extraction? Which of those two things do you mean?

Mr. KREBS. Both. At first this line of action was started with large German companies based in Germany but with branch offices in this country.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. KREBS. It began with the North German Lloyd and Hamburg-American Lines, particularly with the North German Lloyd. The Nazis as soon as they came to power forced a fusion of these companies and the North German Lloyd offices in New York were considered by the foreign division of the Gestapo in Hamburg, as their office, as a Gestapo office.

Next the branch offices of the German steel and dye trusts, and from there on down to very small German-American or American-German enterprises. For example, before my book was published and I lived in New York for about 2 years as a man—general laborer—I tried at various times for jobs, small jobs, such as elevator man or porter in hotels and apartment houses. I was astonished to find right in New York and in Brooklyn in modern apartment houses, maybe owned by a Jewish firm but the superintendent is a German and a Nazi, and the whole personnel of that apartment house were Nazi members—were members of the Nazi Party, yet it was a modern apartment block in which members of the Nazi Party were in possession of passkeys to every apartment.

In all such cases I refused to take this work, but particularly among the apartment house superintendents in New York City—and I know New York especially because I worked there, there is a very large number of Nazi Germans even in such districts as Washington Heights, up in the Bronx and Chelsea and so forth.

Wherever a Nazi holds the position even of a minor foreman he will employ only Nazis. When he hears of another job being opened up somewhere in a factory or in an office, wherever it may be, he will do his utmost to place a Nazi in that position.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, one thing that I want to try to be clear and careful about is, we know there are a great number of people in the United States have German names or are of German descent who are thoroughly loyal to the United States.

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, we want to be clear that just because the name of a company happens to be a German name that that doesn't mean that that company is sympathetic to the Nazis necessarily, does it?

Mr. KREBS. If there is a German business house—even if the chiefs of that business house are not Nazis, but this German business house has some sort of dealings with Germany which would enable the Gestapo to put this business house under economic pressure, this business house would be utilized by the Gestapo.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then we will say that any American business that has extensive dealings in Germany is likely to be utilized in the manner that you have described, is that right?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is the German name for the Dye Trust?

Mr. KREBS. The German name?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. KREBS. I. G. Farbenindustrie.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know anything about the relationship of the I. G. Farbenindustrie in Germany, which you formerly referred to as the Dye Trust; do you know whether or not that company controls any patents for the manufacture of certain important metals in the United States as well as elsewhere?

Mr. KREBS. The I. G. Farbenindustrie, I know from first-hand experience, was already in 1934 completely in the hands of the Gestapo. They went so far as to have their own Gestapo prison on the factory grounds of their large works at Leuna, and that the I. G. Farbenindustrie began, particularly after Hitler's ascent to power, to branch out in the foreign field through subsidiary factories, and go far beyond their original scope of production.

I. G. Farbenindustrie means paints, factory production of aniline paints. But in Germany the I. G. Farbenindustrie includes explosives. It is the greatest poison-gas industry of the world concentrated under the title of I. G. Farbenindustrie, and anything connected with the chemical side of warfare.

Mr. VOORHIS. They control patents for the manufacture of magnesium, do they not?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not they control the patents for any particular mechanical devices that are essential—like jigs and dies and that sort of thing that are used in ordnance manufacture and that sort of thing? The sort of jigs and dies we have used here on educational orders and that have been used here for producing certain pieces of ordnance? Do you know whether they have control over anything like that or patents covering such tools?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I don't believe Mr. Krebs understood the question.

Mr. KREBS. I understand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman Starnes wants to know if the I. G. Farbenindustrie controls patents on such mechanical devices?

Mr. KREBS. Not to my knowledge. That belongs to the metal industry.

Mr. STARNES. Any further questions, gentlemen?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all for today.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will stand adjourned until 10 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Tuesday, May 27, 1941.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MAY 27, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, Thomas, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings.

Whom do you have, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Richard Krebs.

Mr. STARNES. Come around, Mr. Krebs.

## RICHARD KREBS—Recalled

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Krebs, were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state the dates of your membership in the Communist Party and describe briefly the periods of Communist Party strategy which your membership covered?

Mr. KREBS. I became a member of the Communist Party in the spring of 1933 and remained a member until December 1937. The period of membership covered first the period defined by the Communists themselves as the period of relative stabilization. That is the period following the post-war troubles, which is also the period of the first 5-year plan, ending about '33-'34.

Following that, in 1937, the so-called period of popular-front policy of the Comintern, a period which is also described as the people's front—known as the people's front and also the Trojan horse policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What, exactly were your functions as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KREBS. I began as an active rank-and-file member of the Communist water-front organizations in Hamburg and was later sent as a traveling maritime organizer to various countries—Holland, Belgium, United States.

In 1930 I became a member of the secretariat of the maritime division of the Comintern in the function of international political in-

structor, traveling as such in Belgium, Holland, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, France, and Germany.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Krebs, I am a little doubtful as to what you gave as the period of joining the Communist Party. Did you say 1933 or 1923?

Mr. KREBS. 1923, I meant to say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you name all of the countries in which you had assignments in the list which you just now gave?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; all the countries; my travels to the countries I mentioned were following orders to go to these countries—orders from my superiors in the movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the reason for the special attention which the Communists, the Communist International and the Communist Party, give to the maritime industry?

Mr. KREBS. From the very beginning the maritime industry was considered by Communist leaders as the most strategic of all industries from the point of view of the interests and safety of the Soviet Union.

The underlying theory of intense Communist efforts to control the maritime industry of other countries was, first, that whoever controls the ports and the shipping of a nation controls also that nation's exports and imports; that is, has an economic strangle hold on the life of that nation.

Second, that Communist control of shipping and harbors would enable the Soviet Union to obstruct effectively any attempts at overseas war campaigns carried on by some country without the assent of the Soviet government.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what way were the Communist organizations in the United States shipping industry affiliated with or directed from Communist centers in the Soviet Union or elsewhere?

Mr. KREBS. As early as 1923 there were no Communist waterfront organizations to speak of. The first beginnings of Communist shipping organizations in this country were the result of the sending over to American waters of a number of scores of traveling organizers, serving as members in ships' crews, coming from Europe and doing organizing work in every port of call.

Originally these men were supplied with literature and propaganda material and instructions and a small amount of funds from the European headquarters, which was, from the very beginning, in Hamburg.

Since then the successive Communist-controlled maritime organizations in this country have never acted without being completed in accord and without following instructions from Comintern maritime headquarters abroad. It went so far that even the leaders of the Communist maritime organizations in this country had to be O. K.'d in Moscow and Hamburg before they were permitted to assume their jobs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year did this Communist drive for the control of the maritime industry in other countries begin?

Mr. KREBS. It began in 1923. The immediate reason for this international campaign to control shipping was this: Following the World War the Comintern, then under Lenin himself, harbored the

illusion that the world revolution was coming. There were revolutionary attempts in Hungary, in Finland, in the Baltic countries, and elsewhere. The idea was: "We will have a Soviet Europe within 1 or 2 years."

But as one after another of these revolutionary movements were beaten down and defeated in Europe, it became apparent to the Soviet government that the conception of a soviet world was still very far away from its realization.

This conclusion they arrived at toward the end of 1923, after the decisive defeat of an attempt at an armed insurrection in Germany. They saw there would be no soviet world within a few years. They settled down for a long and hard struggle to prepare for the next revolutionary crisis, and it was with the realization of a long struggle that the decision was made to make every attempt to control the maritime industries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are referring to the attempt to set up a Bavarian-Soviet republic in Germany in 1923?

Mr. KREBS. No; not in Bavaria. The Bavarian attempt was made in 1919. But in 1923, during the peak of the German inflation and the French occupation of industrial Ruhr district, there was prevalent among the German masses a mass despair, and from Moscow through Radek and Zinoviev, then heading the Comintern, the diagnosis that Germany was ripe for revolution.

They sent hundreds of Red Army officers to Germany to organize military organizations of German Communists. A large amount of Russian rifles and ammunition was smuggled into German ports, and the date of the armed rising of the Communists was set repeatedly, but always canceled until Thaelmann, who later became the chief of the Communist Party of Germany, in a rage, gave the order through the couriers to start out and give the signal for the insurrection.

An order from Moscow canceled this, but to Hamburg the order did not reach, and one or two smaller cities, in time. There was an armed insurrection which resulted in defeat. Many hundred lives were lost, and that ended the attempt at German revolution and caused the Comintern to give up the idea of immediate world revolution, and then they settled down for the long campaign of—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was named by Moscow as the leader of the International Propaganda and Action Committee for the marine workers of the world?

Mr. KREBS. The first leader appointed by Moscow to head the International Propaganda and Action Committee for marine workers—the Ipac Transport, was a Russian named Atchkanov, a friend of Lenin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were the successors to Atchkanov?

Mr. KREBS. After 2 or 3 years of Atchkanov's leadership, which did not bring great organizational success, Moscow decided to move the center of the Ipac Transport from Moscow to some European place and appoint a non-Russian as its chief in order to make the world believe that the international revolutionary seamen's movement was not inspired and directed from Moscow but was a spontaneous movement coming from Europe, and so headquarters were moved from Moscow to Hamburg in the beginning of 1923, and appointed as chief was the German, Albert Walter, who had a British and also an American background.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there any Americans in the leadership of the Ipac or the International Propaganda Action Committee?

Mr. KREBS. There were Americans in the leadership of the organization which was a successor of the Ipac Transport.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what was the name of that successor organization?

Mr. KREBS. Ipac Transport was transformed in 1930 into an independent international called the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers, or the I. S. H. W.

The formation of this organization, at an international congress where Americans were appointed to the executive committee of this maritime division of the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the year in which the transformation from the International Propaganda and Action Committee to the International of Seamen and Harbor Workers took place?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; the year was 1930, and the cause was the forcing upon the Russians of the first 5-year plan and industrialization program.

Stalin and the Soviet Government could not afford outside intervention; and to make doubly sure, the Ipac Transport was transformed into an independent international of Communist-dominated trade-unions. Americans entered this central committee first in 1932.

The Americans named were the Negro, James Ford, who repeatedly was a candidate for vice president of the United States; a young American, who at that time came from San Francisco, whose name was Thomas Ray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Ford and Ray or other American leaders in this movement of the Communist International, were present at the conferences in the Soviet Union or elsewhere in Europe? You mean the organizational conference in connection with the formation of the I. S. H. W.?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they attend?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. In 1930 at the conference, at a special conference in Moscow where the organization of the marine international was decided, three or four Americans were present, but the leaders of the American delegation were George Mink and Tommy Ray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph, which is a picture of delegates of transport workers at the Red International Congress. Have you seen this photograph before?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the year in which that congress was held?

Mr. KREBS. That was an advance conference which took place in Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what year, do you recall?

Mr. KREBS. In 1930.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize any of the faces in that picture?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. Way on the right is Walter, Albert Walter, the chief of the Comintern's maritime division.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you identified Walters yesterday as the man who had been converted under duress to a position in the Nazi movement in Germany, did you not?



Mr. KREBS. It is the same man who now is the maritime adviser for the Gestapo.

On Walter's left on the picture is A. D. Lozovsky, whose real name is Abraham Branovitch. Lozovsky is the general secretary of the Red International Labor Unions in Moscow, known as the Profintern. Next to Lozovsky is George Mink, then chief of Communist water-front operations on the east coast——

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the east coast of the United States?

Mr. KREBS. On the east coast of the United States. And next to George Mink is Tommy Ray, who was director of operations on the west coast of the United States at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Tommy Ray personally?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I have met him several times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet George Mink personally?

Mr. KREBS. Whom?

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Mink?

Mr. KREBS. I met George Mink many times personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet James Ford personally?

Mr. KREBS. James Ford worked under my direction in Hamburg for over 1 year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this the same James Ford who was a candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Communist Party ticket in the United States last year?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In how many countries did this maritime division of the Comintern maintain organizations?

Mr. KREBS. By 1932, 2 years after its organization, it had independent trade-unions or trade-union operations in every maritime country of Europe. It had all of the British dominions; a very strong union in China; also another union in the Dutch East Indies; some Negro dockers' unions in Cape Town and Durban; another one at Dakar, French West Africa; an East India seamen's union of British India; and they were the beginning of Communist-dominated trade-unions in Latin-American countries, particularly the Argentine and Uruguay.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did they first gain their first foothold in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. The Comintern got its first foothold in the United States during 1925 and 1926. Mink began work in 1926.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say the Comintern got its first foothold in the United States, do you mean the marine or maritime division of the Comintern?

Mr. KREBS. Maritime division of the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In 1925?

Mr. KREBS. In 1925 and 1926.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And was George Mink the Communist leader for the American water front on behalf of the Comintern?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; George Mink began work in 1926 organizing Communist groups in East coast ports. He attracted Moscow's attention because he seemed a very enthusiastic worker and Mink was subsequently called to Moscow in 1928, together with James Ford, to attend a world congress, either of the Comintern or the Profintern,

I don't know which, and after his return from Moscow in 1928 he was the absolute chief of Communist efforts on the American water front.

The authority given him personally by Lozovsky in Moscow took him out of the jurisdiction of the central committee of the Communist Party of America. Mink operated as a separate leader. Mink was not subjected to orders from the American Party leaders. He had his own budget—that is, his own subsidy from Moscow and operated directly under Moscow's orders.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not George Mink was a seaman?

MR. KREBS. George Mink was a taxicab driver in Philadelphia before he went into the organizing of seamen. I don't believe George Mink has ever gone to sea except for his trips to Moscow.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is he not very frequently known as "the taxicab seaman?"

MR. KREBS. I beg your pardon?

MR. MATTHEWS. Is he not frequently known as "the taxicab seaman?"

MR. KREBS. I don't know. As far as I know the water-front people and sailors described him chiefly as "Mink the pink."

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph and ask you if you can identify that as a picture of George Mink?

MR. KREBS. That is George Mink.

MR. MATTHEWS. And while you are making the identification of Mink, there is another photograph on the same page?

MR. KREBS. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know that man?

MR. KREBS. That is a man who is called in the party "Horse Face," whose real name is Roy Hudson, an organizer for the Communist maritime workers in the United States.

MR. STARNES. Roy Hudson?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes; known in the Communist Party as "Horse Face."

Who appointed George Mink to this very responsible position which you described?

MR. KREBS. George Mink was appointed directly by Lozovsky first, and his leadership was substantiated and prolonged at orders from Albert Walter, with the okay of Lozovsky in Moscow.

MR. MATTHEWS. And you have identified Lozovsky as the head of the Red International unions?

MR. KREBS. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. As long as that organization was in existence?

MR. KREBS. That is correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. An organization known as the Profintern?

MR. KREBS. That is correct.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether Lozovsky is Assistant Commissar of Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Union?

MR. KREBS. Yes, sir. Lozovsky, because of his knowledge of other people's countries, gained while being head of the Profintern, was appointed to the post of Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the Soviet Government.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, will you describe briefly the precise task of the International Seamen's Clubs in American harbors?

MR. KREBS. When the Comintern first began its maritime efforts it had no large organizations to rely on. The idea was advanced

by Lozovsky to create in all important harbors of the world Communist clubs which should give movies, dances, and entertainments to attract the seamen, and once the seamen were there, to draw them into discussions, to supply them with literature, and to use these International Seamen's Clubs mainly as propaganda centers, with the idea that after the seamen's clubs had attracted a number, a large number of seamen, hundreds or thousands, in each harbor or in each large country, that the seamen's clubs should proceed to organize on that basis seamen's unions.

The first seamen's clubs in the United States were started in the end of 1926 and 1927, by George Mink. By 1931 there were, I think there were a dozen, around a dozen seamen's clubs in the United States harbors, and another 40 International Seamen's Clubs scattered in other chief harbors of the world, including the Soviet Union.

All these clubs were financed through budgets which came from Moscow to the I. S. H. W. office in Hamburg, and were then distributed as subsidies to the various clubs by Albert Walter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When and by whom was the Marine Workers' Industrial Union organized in the United States?

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have the witness develop, if you will hold that question for a moment, I would like for the witness to develop where the most active and largest seamen's clubs are located today in the United States.

Mr. KREBS. The seamen's clubs existed in America—the headquarters was in New York, 140 Broad Street.

There were seamen's clubs in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, New Orleans, Houston, Tex., Seattle, San Francisco, San Pedro, that is Los Angeles Harbor; I believe Portland, Oreg., and some smaller clubs scattered over smaller ports. These seamen's clubs were officially liquidated in 1935, when the Comintern decided on its change of policy from the revolutionary policy to the Trojan horse policy, when orders were given for the seamen's club members and the seamen's clubs activities were to join the established trade unions.

The seamen's clubs were by that time held to have fulfilled their purpose—that is attract thousands of seamen through their propaganda activities, and now the forces of the seamen's clubs were told to enter the trade-unions—to conquer these trade-unions. That is the transformation in the words of Lozovsky, from propaganda to action.

A number of seamen's clubs remained in this country but they were only there for work among non-Americans—foreign seamen and they were known and still exist under the name "Scandinavian Seamen's Clubs," in a half dozen American ports.

Mr. STARNES. But that group of clubs was officially liquidated in 1935?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And from that time on they were directed to use Trojan horse tactics and to join existing maritime unions?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were they directed to join any particular union or do you know what particular maritime union they were directed to use their efforts toward?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; they were ordered at that time to join the American Federation of Labor, International Seamen's Union of the west coast, the gulf coast and the east coast.

There was also a firemen's union. Each Communist joined a union to which he—each Communist joined the union to which he belonged on the basis of the work he was doing aboard a ship. Seamen joined the seamen's union, the firemen joined the firemen's union; the east coast sailors joined the east coast union, and the west coast sailors joined the west coast union, forming Communist fractions and starting immediately in these unions the so-called rank and file movement with the objective to overthrow every union leadership which did not follow the party line.

On the east coast they succeeded in taking over the whole union in this manner, and on the west coast they did not succeed and are still working on the camouflaged fraction basis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say the seamen did not succeed on the west coast, to what particular union do you have reference on the west coast—what is the name of the seamen's union on the west coast?

Mr. KREBS. Well, there was at that time—at the time the clubs were liquidated, there was only the International Seamen's Union. Today it is the union directed by Harry Lundberg, and on the east coast it is the National Maritime Union, the direct successor of the old Marine Workers League and the International Seamen's Clubs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in between the Marine Workers League and the National Maritime Union there came the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

Mr. KREBS. That is right; Marine Workers Industrial Union was organized in 1930 on the basis of the International Seamen's Clubs. The order came from Lozovsky. It was relayed by the Hamburg office through Walter and the effect of the order was—the order was in effect, that Communists all over the world should organize independent Communist waterfront unions. They were part and parcel of the set-up to which also the International Seamen's belong.

This Marine Workers Industrial Union, an outright Communist union, was liquidated in 1930 officially, in reality only transferred into a fraction and instructed to enter other unions and take them over.

The Communists felt at that time that they were strong enough to do this and take over older unions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any specific instances in which money was transmitted from Moscow or from the Soviet Union to American Communists for use in the maritime industry?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I know of several instances.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give some of them?

Mr. KREBS. In 1930 the sum of \$40,000 was relayed through the I. S. H. W. offices in Hamburg to George Mink in New York, to the address 140 Broad Street, for an extension of the network of International Seamen's Clubs and also for an enlargement and increase of circulation of the Communist maritime newspaper, The Marine Workers Voice, at that time.

The money was shipped in cash by a Communist courier serving aboard the Hamburg-American Line, Albert Balin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other instances?

MR. KREBS. Yes; in 1933 I sent over a sum of money to the maritime headquarters in New York. The money then went to the address of Roy Hudson, who had succeeded Mink in the leadership of the Marine Workers Industrial Union—Mink had been taken over into G. P. U. work and was in Europe at that time—and had filled Mink's place.

Again in 1937 a sum of money destined for these Scandinavian seamen's clubs and for the publication of the Communist-Scandinavian and German papers for distribution in this country, was shipped from Copenhagen by the maritime division through a courier aboard the American-Scandinavian ship *Scanyork*.

MR. MATTHEWS. In what year?

MR. MASON. May I ask how much money was sent? Did you send much more over here?

MR. KREBS. To Roy Hudson was sent from \$300 to \$400 monthly. It was for the upkeep of the Marine Workers Voice, the Communist newspaper here, but the sums were strictly budgeted, not in America, but were budgeted over in Copenhagen and in Moscow.

The sums were not sent them—they could not receive the whole sum. The budget was worked out so much for the paper and so much for the clubs and so much for traveling organizers, and so much for wages, and in order to make protection, each subbudget was shipped separately across.

MR. MATTHEWS. In what year did George Mink relinquish his leadership of the Marine Workers Industrial Union and enter the G. P. U.?

MR. KREBS. There is no clear demarcation line. George was the head of the Marine Workers Industrial Union until 1932, but he had entered the G. P. U. service already in 1930, but was taken altogether out of the Marine Workers Industrial Union in 1932 to do full time G. P. U. work.

MR. MATTHEWS. Was he then succeeded by Roy Hudson?

MR. KREBS. He was succeeded by a committee of three, which included Roy Hudson, Tommy Ray, and Harry Hynes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Roy Hudson and Harry Hynes and Tommy Ray now occupy positions of leadership in the National Maritime Union?

MR. KREBS. Harry Hynes was killed in Spain during the civil war. He was a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade; Tommy Ray has been until recently the real power in the National Maritime Union.

Joseph Curran, the nominal head of the union, is in reality nothing but a marionette for Tommy Ray, who is the actual dictator of the union, and also the head of the Communist fraction, dominating fraction within the Marine Workers Union.

Roy Hudson is regarded as the — he has become a member of the central committee of the Communist Party of America and is regarded as the representative of the Communist fraction of the Marine Workers Union of the National Maritime Union in the Central Committee of the Communist Party, but has occupied beyond that high trade union functions for other industries, including industries in Detroit and the middle western cities.

Roy Hudson was named for a while as possible successor of Earl Browder when it became apparent that Browder would go to prison. Tommy Ray some months after the outbreak of the present war was

sent by the Comintern to the West Indies for special work there, especially in the creation of Communist bases in the West Indies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you information which indicates where Tommy Ray is presently active?

Mr. KREBS. I understand that Tommy Ray is presently active on the West Indian islands of Jamaica and Haiti and Cuba, and so forth.

Mr. STARNES. Has he been active in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, so far as you know?

Mr. KREBS. Well, I don't know the exact details. I know that he has been sent to the West Indies for a certain Communist job.

Mr. STARNES. What was that job?

Mr. KREBS. The job was to create Communist waterfront bases in the ports of the West Indies.

I found it of special interest at that time because I knew that Nazi organizers at the same time were very active in making bases for themselves in the ports of the West Indian islands.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question: Has Tommy Ray also been active down on the Gulf coast?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; he has been active on the Gulf coast and west coast.

Mr. THOMAS. What has he been doing on the Gulf coast?

Mr. KREBS. National Maritime Union work, Marine Workers Industrial work and organizing. He was constantly traveling, making the rounds, calling meetings of local leaders, pointing out faults, laying down the line for future action, and so forth.

Each of these groups on the Gulf and west coasts were duty bound to send monthly reports to Tommy Ray, and Ray and Hudson then combined these monthly reports and sent each month a total report to the maritime division over in Europe, in Copenhagen and Hamburg.

The headquarters were in Hamburg until Hitler came into power and after Hitler came to power the maritime headquarters for the whole International were moved from Hamburg to Copenhagen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after Hitler took Copenhagen do you know where they were moved to?

Mr. KREBS. There is only two places where they could have moved, one is Leningrad, the chief port of Russia, and the other is some port in the United States either San Francisco or New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall a speech made by Tommy Ray at an international gathering in which the line of the Communist International was laid down for work among the workers of the maritime industry?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; that was during the International World Congress of Marine Workers, which took place in May 1932, in Hamburg. The exact date is May 20 until May 25, 1932.

Communist marine workers delegations from 20 to 30 countries took part at this congress. There was a strong American delegation under the leadership of George Mink, and Tommy Ray was present and Tommy Ray was singled out by the leaders of the maritime division to deliver to this congress the main speech on the task of Communist seamen and dockers in the event of war.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Ray had any collaborators in the preparation of this speech for the sabotage of war activities?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; he had. Before the congress opened, the whole line of the congress and the phases of the speeches were let down by a committee of four or five, which included Albert Walter, myself, George Mink, and a personal delegate of Stalin, whose name was Komissarenko. Komissarenko was the special delegate of the Soviet Government at the headquarters of the marine division.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you able at this time to give a brief summary of the contents of that speech made by Tommy Ray and on which you collaborated?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. In speaking about the task of Communist waterfront workers in case of an outbreak of war, in Communist parlance "imperialist war," Ray outlined the strategic importance of the shipping industry and pointed out that in the event of war it would be the prime and foremost task of the Communist organizers, first, to obstruct the transport of war materials for any country waging war without the consent of the Soviet Government.

War materials are not only defined as munitions, cannon, tanks, and so forth; but oil cargoes, gasoline cargoes, wool cargoes—wool for the making of uniforms, food shipments—everything that is used for the maintenance of an army is considered by the Comintern as war material.

The methods to achieve this obstruction were first and foremost, the method of strikes. The line let down was that the workers should not be called to a general strike in the maritime industry under the slogan "Obstruct war transports," chiefly, but that the workers should be led easily into such an action under economic slogans such as higher wages, free Sunday in port for every day spent out at sea, and so forth, and that only after physical clashes between the striking masses and the police or the military and arrests, not until then should political slogans be advanced—"Down with police brutality, freedom of the arrested," and the central slogan "Down with war," and "Prevent the transport of war materials."

The congress adopted a resolution based on the speech delivered there at this international congress by Tommy Ray.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you have a copy of that resolution, Mr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. We don't have it in full. We have a report of the congress and of the resolution, which I am about to bring to the attention of the witness.

Mr. KREBS, this is an issue of the Daily Worker for May 22, 1932. On the front page is an article entitled "International Congress of Seamen and Harbor Workers Cheers Scottsboro Mother," from Hamburg, Germany. Have you seen that article?

Mr. KREBS. I have seen much longer reports on the congress. This is just a dispatch. I have seen it some time ago, it seems.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you note that the Daily Worker itself calls attention to the presence of certain Americans at this congress? Will you read what it has to say about these Americans? This is the Daily Worker for May 23 instead of May 22.

Mr. KREBS (reading) :

A huge banner demanding the release of the nine framed-up innocent Scottsboro Negro boys hangs over the entrance of the large hall, which is the scene of the First World Congress of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers. The congress includes 139 delegates representing the seamen and harbor workers of 27 countries.

Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro boys, and J. Louis Engdahl are seated among the fractional delegates. A Scottsboro resolution calling for the organization of Scottsboro defense committees on all ships and in all harbors to cooperate with the International Red Aid has been unanimously adopted. It was greeted with a thunder of cheers and applause.

George Mink, heading the American delegation, introduced a resolution demanding the release of Tom Mooney.

Tommy Ray of San Francisco, one of the American delegates, made the report on war. The American delegate, Lorenz, of New Orleans, and Mink, of New York, in discussion raised the Scottsboro and Mooney persecutions as part of the war preparations of American imperialism.

Walter, secretary of the International Seamen and Harbor Workers, reported and by presenting concrete facts proved that the crisis of world capitalism is rapidly deepening, with worsening conditions for the seamen and harbor workers and the whole working class. He showed deepening poverty and famine especially among the colonial seamen and dockers. He presented proof showing a decrease of 40 percent in the transport trade, with 14,000,000 tons of shipping laid up, and 24 percent of the ships sailing with cargoes. He showed on the other hand that the ship tonnage of the Soviet Union has increased 100 percent over 1913—

and so forth, and then it goes on, in a political vein.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the International Trade Union Press Correspondence. Was that a publication of the Communist International?

Mr. KREBS. That was the publication of Lozovsky of the Comintern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe briefly the article which appears on page 4 of this issue?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. It contains a summary of the antiwar resolutions adopted by this International Maritime Congress after the speech of Tommy Ray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Congressman Thomas, this is as near a complete account of the resolution as we happen to have in our possession.

Mr. STARNES. What is that in?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is from the International Trade Union Press Correspondence, which the witness has identified as the organ of Lozovsky, who was head of the Profintern in Moscow.

Mr. KREBS. The headline is "Appeal of the World Congress of Water Transport Workers Against Imperialist War."

Mr. STARNES. Are you going to be able to trace this movement into its various ramifications in the United States and Latin America?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Right down to the present day.

Mr. STARNES. That being true, the committee will withhold any questions and let you develop that in a chronological manner.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You may proceed, Mr. Krebs.

Mr. KREBS (reading) :

Remember the horrors of the World War when millions of workers bled to death for the profit-craving capitalists. Tens of thousands of seamen went down in torpedoed, bombed, and blown-up ships whilst women and children perished in penury and hunger.

The same fate hovers over you today. Therefore, don't hesitate. Watch carefully at every harbor, on every ship and river vessel that is being loaded and transported. Should arms or other war material be shipped, organize the immediate stoppage of loading, unloading, and transporting of any kind of war material.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Now you say that is a resolution based upon the speech made by Tommy Ray at this international congress, a speech upon which you collaborated?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not that particular line has ever been changed?

Mr. KREBS. No; it has never been changed.

Mr. VOORHIS. When was that given?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was in May of 1932.

Mr. STARNES. And it is still the policy of the Communist Party to watch the cargoes that are being loaded upon ships and to stop loading of arms or munitions or anything that goes into the defense of a nation?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. The policy still stands. It is not for all transports, but for just those transports which do not have the O. K. of the Soviet Government.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, if the Soviet Government O. K.'s it, it could be shipped anywhere; if they are against it then it would be the policy of the National Maritime Union or any other union under Communist domination to stop those shipments by refusing to load, and by striking, and so forth?

Mr. KREBS. Refusing to load, refusing to transport, refusing to handle in any way anything which has to do with war materials.

Mr. VOORHIS. What about American aid to England going out of the east coast ports? What about American goods going to England—war materials leaving east coast ports or any other ports, for that matter, at the present time?

Mr. KREBS. For England?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes. It would seem logical to me that something would be done by this group to prevent that.

Mr. KREBS. Yes. The Communist organizations even today make all possible efforts to obstruct shipments of war material to Britain. Up to the present time such shipments have been carried mainly aboard British bottoms where Communist influence is very weak, but where such shipments have been carried on non-British and non-American bottoms, that is, on ships whose crews are controlled by the now existing Scandinavian Seamen's Clubs, which do not limit their activities to Scandinavians but embrace Dutchmen and Belgians and seamen of other conquered—other nations conquered by Hitler, there have been a great number of strikes started because of minor economic demands designed to delay the shipment for days and often weeks.

The issue has not become acute for American ships since no American ships as yet have been used to carry such material, but declarations by the Communist fraction leaders in the maritime unions, and Curran himself, stated that they had the power to obstruct such shipments and they would use it.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, Russia has the whip hand on American shipping at all times?

Mr. KREBS. He feels that he has the whip hand because he knows there is not a single American ship sailing from east coast ports which does not have aboard among its crew a Communist unit.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said a statement had been made by Joseph Curran.

Mr. KREBS. Yes; Joseph Curran has made a statement.

Mr. VOORHIS. When and where?

Mr. KREBS. In a speech before a union meeting or a union convention. It has been generally in the American press and also the National Maritime Union has issued a special pamphlet in conjunction with the West Coast Longshoremen's Union, under the title "The Yanks Are Not Coming," and this was distributed in thousands of copies on American ships and in American harbors to create a spirit that: "It is up to you to decide whether the Yanks are coming or whether they are not coming."

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not the National Maritime Union is cooperating with the American Peace Mobilization in its present-day program?

Mr. KREBS. The American Peace Mobilization is a comparatively new organization and I know practically nothing about it, but if the American Peace Mobilization is a front for the Communist Party then I would say with 100-percent surety that they cooperate.

Mr. STARNES. With the National Maritime Union?

Mr. KREBS. Because both are fronts for one and the same thing, both are directed in the last analysis by the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the National Maritime Union the successor of the Marine Workers Industrial Union?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, it is. It is not the direct successor. The Marine Workers Industrial Union was ordered liquidated by Moscow in 1935 after the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, which took place in that year. They decided under orders from Georgi Dimitroff to change the policy to the Trojan-horse policy.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union was dissolved. The members of this union entered the American Federation of Labor's International Seamen's Union as rank and file members, formed the fractions, grew in the rank and file movement, and particularly since the end of 1934 this rank and file movement grew, assumed more and more power inside of the existing International Seamen's Union, until by the end of 1936 the Communist rank and file movement, that is, the Communist caucus, the Communist block, had complete power of the union.

The union was destroyed and a new union was created by the same rank and file movement called the National Maritime Union of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it customary for the Communist leadership in such unions to send detailed regular and frequent reports to any international headquarters of the Comintern?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; as long as I was active in Communist organizations, the rule was it was mandatory that every Communist fraction, every Communist organization operating in the maritime industry, also every Communist Party itself, should send once a month a detailed report on the past month's activities and results obtained, plus a plan for the next month's work, to international headquarters.

I have seen myself, a number of such reports which were sent in by Roy Hudson and some were written by Tommy Ray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it a part of your work as an agent of the G. P. U. to read such reports from time to time?

Mr. KREBS. All reports arriving at headquarters were analyzed first by the maritime division and then they were handed over to the local G. P. U. office. They were studied there and then the reports were given to the couriers serving as seamen aboard a Soviet ship.

It must be noticed that wherever a Communist headquarters is located it is always a harbor which has regular contact with Soviet shipping, Russian shipping. These ships are the last link of all material which comes in which is sifted first in Copenhagen and then put aboard a Soviet ship and forwarded to Moscow.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your testimony that even though you yourself were not present in the United States during some of these periods, that you did read the reports from the Communist leaders concerning the activities and developments in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. I read some of those reports in 1933 and again in 1937 in the headquarters of the maritime division in Copenhagen. I can give you the address of the headquarters at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the address?

Mr. KREBS. Vestr Brogade. That is the name of the street. The name of the building in Vesterport. It is the largest and most modern office building in the Danish capital, and the maritime division and the western secretariat of the Comintern maintained a flight of offices there, camouflaged as a firm of architects. The sign on the door reads Selvo & Co., Architects. It was to these offices that the reports were sent out where I read some of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it your practice to have any special attention given to reports that dealt with strikes in the maritime industry?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; whenever a strike took place a complete and detailed report of such a strike, sometimes where reports with hundreds of typewritten pages were sent in to headquarters.

The strike report was checked by independent reports from controlled people placed in the various harbors and then the concurrent reports were analyzed, the facts were taken together; weakness of strategy and tactics were pointed out, good points were stressed and the lessons from each strike report were drawn and formulated as lessons for tactical measures to be taken in the strikes of the future.

Such analyses and lessons of strikes were usually published in pamphlet form or in mimeographed bulletins and then sent to Communist maritime groups all over the world for study purposes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any strike which was considered of such an outstanding character in Communist International circles, a strike which occurred in the maritime industry of the United States, that such an analysis was published throughout the world?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; there was only one strike, though, in the maritime industry of the United States which was considered of international significance and of outstanding importance and that was the waterfront strike which resulted in the San Francisco general strike in 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you yourself read the reports of Communist leaders from that San Francisco strike?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; I read them years later, in 1937, after I came from Germany and read over a large number of such reports in order to familiarize myself in what had happened during my absence from headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were the authors of those reports sent from this country to Copenhagen, dealing with the San Francisco general strike? Who were the authors, who prepared those reports in this country?

Mr. KREBS. The reports came from various sources. The ones dealing with the Marine Workers Industrial Unions were sent by Hudson and Ray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In reading the reports that had to do with the general strike in San Francisco, of what significance did the Communist International derive from them?

Mr. KREBS. They pointed out in their analysis of the Frisco general strike that it was the first general strike which had ever taken place in the United States under clear Communist leadership. Second, they pointed out, the sequence in Communist strategy in using the strikes as stepping stones toward the final aim, armed insurrection. The sequence pointed out is this: From the partial strike in one industry to the mass strike in one industry, a higher form of battle from the mass strike in one industry to mass strikes in a group of industries, and then from the mass strikes in the group of industries through an intensive propaganda campaign appealed to the public opinion, that is, to win the sympathy of the population for the strikers, particularly by provoking clashes in which a few strikers are killed by police. This is used to capitalize in order to win the favor of the population and this is considered as the link toward the general strike from the mass strike to the general strike.

Now, to this point the San Francisco strike followed the pattern but it was considered particularly significant because, as is taught in the Comintern University in Moscow, because from the general strike in one district to the general strike all over the country, the next set-up is general strikes with mass demonstrations of the workers. The next step is general strike with armed mass demonstrations of the workers and general strikes with armed mass demonstrations supposed to lead the armed and marching and striking masses into open battle with the police and the armed forces of the Government, and then comes the final step from general strike with armed demonstrations to armed insurrection and seizure of power.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In these reports which analyzed the San Francisco general strike of 1934, was the name of Harry Bridges mentioned?

Mr. KREBS. The name of Bridges was mentioned in several reports.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any significance attached to the name of Harry Bridges in these reports?

Mr. KREBS. The name of Harry Bridges was mentioned in reports written by Roy Hudson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall what Hudson had to say about the significance of Bridges' part in the strike?

Mr. KREBS. Roy Hudson spoke of Bridges as a subordinate, as a man taking orders from Roy Hudson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He spoke of Harry Bridges as his own subordinate?

Mr. KREBS. Yes, sir; as his subordinate.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As taking orders from him?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What else did he have to say about Bridges, if anything?

Mr. KREBS. Bridges was mentioned as Hudson's man on the west coast, just as Tommy Ray was Hudson's man on the east coast.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not that was the first time that Bridges had come in some important way to the attention of the Communist International?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; it interested me particularly because I had been several times in the United States and I came to the conclusion that the name of Bridges was practically unknown in Communist circles before 1934, but that in the course of the 1934 strike the name became prominent and was regarded by the maritime division of the Comintern as a very good name, as a name ranking with those of Ray and Hudson.

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that point, Mr. Matthews—I would like to have the witness develop what he means by "a very good name." Will you bring out as much of that as you possibly can?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean when you say the Communist International movement considered "Bridges a good name" after 1934?

Mr. KREBS. At that time the Communists did not have complete—did not dominate completely any decisive water-front unions in this country, except their own union, the Marine Workers Industrial Union, and the Communist argument with regard to the trade-union movement, particularly during strikes, was that they had to throw out of the union leaders who did not follow the party lines and men following the party line be put in power. The differentiation is sharp. In every strike movement you will find sharp attacks on one side against one group and an equally sharp and thus support of another group.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, Harry Bridges was to be supported and encouraged by the Communist International?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. The reports stated in effect that Harry Bridges is "their man." In the resolution distributed to the various maritime groups, Harry Bridges was put as a symbol and as an idol of a type of leader of revolutionary water-front organizations, who should be emulated, imitated by groups and Communist water-front leaders elsewhere.

Mr. VOORHIS. Before you leave this line I want to ask a couple of questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to show you an article by Jack Stachel in the magazine the Communist for November 1934, an article entitled "Our Trade-Union Policy," which was a report to the political bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

This article contains a long analysis of the San Francisco general strike and near the end of it, it reads as follows:

What will happen if the workers elect not only one Bridges but hundreds of Bridges in the section and district leadership, not to speak of national leadership? There will be big struggles. The workers will become revolutionized.

Now I ask you, Mr. Krebs, in the light of your own knowledge of such analysis and reports of strikes, what you are to understand by this reference to Bridges' leadership in the general strike?

Mr. KREBS. Yes. It is an adaptation of the Comintern trade-union policy just before the Seventh World Congress, which was sent out to the Communist parties in all countries, in 56 countries where Communist parties exist, and this is, in my judgment, an adaptation, an American adaptation to a central resolution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A central resolution of the Comintern?

Mr. KREBS. Of the maritime bureau of the Comintern, heading the lessons of the general strike in San Francisco.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which was sent throughout the world?

Mr. KREBS. Yes; throughout the world.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this you consider an American adaptation?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of that central resolution?

Mr. KREBS. I haven't read it through, but I see one line. This means to get the party membership fully into the trade-unions, "To strengthen our party base by further recruiting A. F. of L. workers and to build the apparatus to lead the work from top to bottom." "Apparatus" is a special term used for illegal and hidden Communist leadership, and this conforms exactly with the trade-union policy dictated from Copenhagen and Moscow just before the Seventh World Congress. That was in 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now returning to this reference to Harry Bridges, what do you understand by Stachel's statement that the workers will become revolutionized if hundreds of Bridges are placed in the leadership of the trade unions?

Mr. KREBS. It has to the Communist functionary but one meaning.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is that?

Mr. KREBS. The meaning is that Harry Bridges is here considered by the organization chief of the Communist Party as one of those rare functionaries who will really understand how to lead masses, also non-Communist masses into action, into that sort of action which conforms to the Communist principles of acceleration of action from part strikes to mass strikes, to armed demonstrations, and so forth, which is in the program of the Comintern, defined as the process of revolutionizing the masses; and when the report of Stachel to the Central Committee states there will be big struggles, the desirability of having hundreds of Bridges in the movement, and that the workers will become revolutionized, it is a compliment to Bridges as a party functionary by the highest party functionary outside of Earl Browder in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Jack Stachel the highest party functionary outside of Browder in the United States?

Mr. KREBS. Jack Stachel was the organization chief and as such the real executive of the party. Earl Browder was the political chief and the man who guided policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did these reports on the San Francisco general strike, which you read in Copenhagen, leave any doubt in your mind about the question of Harry Bridges' membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. KREBS. No; absolutely not. Harry Bridges was regarded in these reports—mentioned in these reports as as much of a Bolshevik as Tommy Ray and Roy Hudson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the practice of outstanding Communist leaders holding Communist Party membership cards? Do functionaries like Browder and Ray and Hudson hold membership cards?

Mr. KREBS. No; they don't hold membership cards. Membership cards of the Communist Party were designed to be carried by the dupes in the rank and file, but anyone above the job of a district functionary, that is, the leader of the Communist organization of a city district, of a county district, who would be caught carrying a Communist membership book, would be expelled from the party for endangering the party organization and his own function by carrying such a document around in his pocket.

The party membership book is designed, is used today simply as a means of control for the payment of dues of the large rank and file mass of the party, but anyone engaged in leading party work or in subleading party work would be considered an irredeemable fool, guilty of criminal neglect, if he went anywhere among non-Communists with a party membership book or even kept a party membership book in his home.

I know that during 15 years of membership in the Communist Party I stopped carrying a party membership book as early as 1926.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say you stopped carrying a party membership book, did you have the book anywhere else?

Mr. KREBS. No; I didn't keep them at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, no book was issued to you?

Mr. KREBS. I received my pay from the organization and automatically, when the pay was given, I had to give 10 or 20 percent of that pay into the party coffers and that was all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, do you mean to say that a person of prominence may be a member of the Communist Party without ever having had a party book issued in his name?

Mr. KREBS. He will have a party membership book issued in his name when he entered the party and was a small comrade of the rank and file, but as soon as he was trusted with confidential work, it was his party duty not to carry a membership book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or not to have one anywhere else?

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I interrupt for a moment? I want to ask a few questions about the San Francisco strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. In the first place, do you believe that the net result of the San Francisco strike, having taken place and of the experiences that were had in connection with it by that community and by solid labor organizations, made more likely or less likely the possibility of pulling off such a thing again?

Mr. KREBS. The San Francisco strike, the San Francisco general strike is regarded by the Communist Party and the Comintern as a very valuable dress rehearsal.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not talking about how the Comintern regards it; I am talking about how the rank and file of the American labor movement were affected in their attitude toward the possibility of such a thing occurring again. My question is whether you think that the experiences that were had in that strike made it more likely that solid American labor would fall into such a train of circumstances again or less likely that they would?

Mr. KREBS. If a similar condition arises in any other place or again in San Francisco, and the masses of the workers are convinced, through clever propaganda, that they are justified in striking, that they have every chance to win such a strike; that is, obtain the demands forwarded by their union leadership or by the faction, they would fall into such a strike.

A strike is not, as it is said in the organization, "whistled on." A strike is usually started in a small department and grows.

Mr. VOORHIS. But from the standpoint of the labor movement generally—

Mr. KREBS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. They certainly didn't gain anything out of the general strike in San Francisco.

Mr. KREBS. Well, the San Francisco strike served to create a very strong fundament for the later longshoremen's organization and water-front organizations—the C. I. O. controlled organizations on the west coast. It was the beginning of real Communist power on the west coast.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I don't think I have made myself clear yet.

Mr. MASON. What Mr. Voorhis is trying to clear up is the fact that the workers, those who took part in this general strike, gained nothing for themselves but that the Communist Party laid the foundation for future operations because of the general strike.

Mr. KREBS. That is right.

Mr. MASON. And they used the workers as dupes to further their program and not the welfare of the workers. Is that what you were trying to say?

Mr. VOORHIS. I think that most labor that was drawn into that realizes that that is exactly what happened.

Mr. KREBS. I understand the question.

Mr. VOORHIS. And therefore it seems to me that the net result of that makes such a recurrence less likely, rather than more so, in the future.

Mr. KREBS. Well, the Communist strike purpose has never been, is never and will never be following the objectives of bettering the living conditions of the workers because the Communist Party, in striving for general national crises and revolutionary situations, would act against their own interests if they worked for bettering labor conditions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Exactly.

Mr. KREBS. Because if they work for better labor conditions, the proletariat, in their own words, "would be satisfied and they would be interested in making revolutionary action." But the Communist Party considers every strike as a political battle, but if they told the workers: "This is a political battle fought for the benefit of the Communist policy and Communist organizations," they would



not lure one worker out of his house door by such a slogan, so they have to advance economic slogans.

Mr. STARNES. They do do that. However, the Communist Party ascends to power in a union by advancing economic programs which makes dupes of the workers.

Mr. KREBS. Makes dupes of the rank and file. The rank and file will remain dupes until they are met by an educational drive in the counterdirection.

At present the Communist fractions in many unions have free hands, because the Communists operate with a well-trained, disciplined, well-financed machine. The other side has no such machine. The other side may be the majority but it has no machine, no organization at its disposal, and so long as the workers are not educated to the real phase of communism's tactics in trade unions and in strike movements, they are likely to become dupes again at the next occasion.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, one more question about this matter: Isn't it true that the one thing that Communist strategists hope for most earnestly is that the employer on his part will be unreasonable or arbitrary, or that there will be bad conditions actually in existence in order to form a basis for an appeal: isn't that true?

Mr. KREBS. That is correct. I have known of strikes called by organized—by Communist fractions and by Communist Party organizations for the outright purpose of strengthening party position.

I remember a shipping strike in Germany. The Communist Party forced the crew members of some 200 ships out on strike, and while the rank and file of the seamen were out on strike the Communist Party mobilized several hundred Communists who offered themselves as strikebreakers, and then the Communist Party said: "There are too many strikebreakers, the ships are out, let us call the strike off." When the strike was called off, the whole result was the non-Communists who struck found themselves jobless and the Communist Party had increased its position in the German merchant marine fivefold by sending its members in as strikebreakers.

Now, there are many small aspects. The technique of strikes is taught in Moscow as medical science is taught in a bona fide college, and every small item that may crop up in a strike is considered, weighed, and a rule of conduct laid down. That is summed up in a word by Lozovsky himself, which is called Strike Is War, and forms the basis of lecture series at the Lenin University in Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair wishes to make an announcement. After conferring with Dr. Matthews, the Chair is of the opinion that some of the testimony which is now about to be developed has certain national-defense angles that probably should be brought to the attention of the naval and military intelligence before we decide to make it public.

The Chair is going to call the committee into executive session and ask the witness to remain. The public hearings of the committee will be resumed tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the committee went into executive session.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 29, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m. in the caucus room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

The Chair feels a statement should be made at this time with reference to an investigation which has been conducted by the committee, of the background of the signers to Communist election petitions in the city of Philadelphia.

This investigation reveals some startling facts which the American people are entitled to have knowledge of. The committee finds on investigating the background of the signers to these Communist election petitions in Philadelphia, 83 signers are employed in the Philadelphia Navy Yard; 40 in the Frankfort Arsenal; 157 in other Government positions, and 425 miscellaneous workers.

The committee also finds that 114 signers work in the transportation system in the city of Philadelphia and that 510 are W. P. A. workers.

The committee further finds that 5 of the signers work in an electric company supplying the city and those vital installations with power, and that there are 12 teachers and 6 newspapermen. This, in the judgment of the committee, reveals to an unusual degree the penetration of the Communist Party into many organizations which are vital and essential to the function of this democracy of ours.

We don't know how many signed this under misapprehension or by mistake. Frankly, intelligent people would doubt that any voter would sign a petition to place a party on the ballot regardless of the name of the party, through ignorance or mistake.

This morning we are to hear testimony of witnesses from the west coast. The committee has received allegations and complaints to the effect that subversive elements have sought to use legitimate, bona fide trade unions for political purposes. We do know that that is the program of the Communist Party, the avowed program.

We have received allegations or complaints to the effect that the Communist Party has placed its members in key positions in certain of our trade-unions, and that these Communist members or sympathizers have used this position and have abused this position of trust and power, to the extent that they have sought to impede production for national-defense purposes, producing strikes and stoppages that in some instances are unwarranted.

The committee feels that such action does not reflect the ripened judgment of the working men and women of America, because we know they are the most loyal and patriotic group of people that we have. We also know that honest, law-abiding and God-fearing laboring men and women in this country, including the greater part of their leadership, as well as the rank and file, are anxious to rid the labor movement of these subversive elements, and they are entitled to the support of the country in that effort.

The committee knows that the Communists in the trade-unions seek to use their power and the positions which they may hold for the purpose of discrediting trade-unions on the one hand and for destroying the country on the other.

The result of these allegations and charges of Communist infiltration or penetration into certain of our trade-unions has produced a number of unwarranted and unnecessary strikes in the country and it has produced trouble in the industrial centers, all to the detriment of our defense program, which threatens and imperils our national security, is the reason that we are hearing these witnesses this morning.

Dr. MATTHEWS, whom will you have first?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first witness is Hugh Ben Inzer.

#### TESTIMONY OF HUGH BEN INZER, CHAIRMAN, VIGILANT AMERICAN COMMITTEE

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give in this investigation will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. INZER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Have a seat, Mr. Inzer, and you may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. INZER. Hugh Ben Inzer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. H-u-g-h B-e-n I-n-z-e-r?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live, Mr. Inzer?

Mr. INZER. I live at 10000 Alexander Avenue, South Gate, Calif.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. INZER. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. INZER. I was born in Alabama.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. INZER. In 1900, September 4.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever served in the armed forces of the United States?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have served 8 years in the United States Navy and came out with two honorable discharges and a good-conduct medal.

Mr. STARNES. Give us his union background.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please fix the dates of your service in the United States Navy?

Mr. INZER. I went into the United States Navy in May 1921 and was discharged in 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. INZER. I work at the General Motors assembly plant, 2700 Tweedie Boulevard, South Gate, Calif.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been working at the General Motors plant in South Gate, Calif.?

Mr. INZER. Since November 16, 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been employed continuously there since then?

Mr. INZER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of any labor union at that plant?

Mr. INZER. I am a member of the C. I. O., U. A. W., Local 216.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the United Automobile Workers of America?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what do you say is the number of the local?

Mr. INZER. Local 216.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join Local 216 of the U. A. W.?

Mr. INZER. 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you believe in the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively?

Mr. INZER. I certainly do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any qualifications whatsoever about that belief?

Mr. INZER. Well, I do, because I feel that any—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Let me restate the question: Are you entirely without any qualifications of any kind in favor of such organization?

Mr. INZER. I am entirely in favor of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you prompted in your appearance before this committee to give testimony by the sole consideration of labor's own welfare?

Mr. INZER. That is right. I have labor's welfare at heart only.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no other interest in appearing before this committee?

Mr. INZER. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever held any office in Local 216 of the U. A. W.?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have. I was once—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what office you have held in the union?

Mr. INZER. I was elected by the men in my department as committeeman of my department, and the duty of the committeeman was to take up the grievances of the men in that department with the management.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were you elected to that position in the union?

Mr. INZER. I served as committeeman in November and December of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that an elective position?

Mr. INZER. It was; by the men in my group.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By the men where?

Mr. INZER. In my department.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you were on the negotiating committee of the union, were you?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever held any other office in the union?

Mr. INZER. I have. In January 1940 I was elected to the executive board of Local 216 and served until April of 1940, and at that time I was elected as president of Local 216 and served my term for the year, and last April past I was reelected as president of Local 216.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you at that time elected by a vote of the membership of the union?

Mr. INZER. I was; a referendum vote.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was the date again, please, that you were elected president of Local 216?

Mr. INZER. That was the latter part of March 1940 and 1941, both.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were elected twice?

Mr. INZER. Twice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you serve continuously from the latter part of March 1940 up until recently?

Mr. INZER. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the size of the majority vote when you were first elected to the presidency of Local 216?

Mr. INZER. At the first election I believe there were around 800 votes cast, and I received 500 of those votes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was your second election to the presidency of Local 216?

Mr. INZER. That was in March 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what was the size of the vote in that election?

Mr. INZER. Well, it so happened on that day we had a rainstorm in California and the men didn't turn out very well. There were 516 votes cast, and I received 316 votes out of the 516.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have one or more opponents in that election?

Mr. INZER. I had one opponent.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he received—

Mr. INZER. Two hundred votes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you still the president of Local 216 of the U. A. W.?

Mr. INZER. No, sir; I am not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. What was the reason that there was a smaller vote cast on the second election than there was at the first election?

Mr. INZER. That was on account of the rain. We had a rainstorm that day, and the men didn't take time to vote.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, it wasn't because of a reduction in the number of members in the local, or anything like that?

Mr. INZER. No; it was not. It just so happened it rained, and the men didn't go out to vote.

Mr. SPARNES. They do have rainstorms in California sometimes.

Mr. INZER. That is classed as a "low fog."

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you are not now the president of Local 216, even though you were elected to that position in March of this year?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you resign the presidency of the local?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you resign?

Mr. INZER. I resigned the 3d of April 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly at this time what prompted your resignation from the presidency of the local?

Mr. INZER. I had been working with a group of C. I. O. men on the means of eliminating the subversive and racketeering leadership of the C. I. O. from our ranks on the west coast, and I called a special meeting to explain to the rank and file of Local 216 that I was selected to head this committee.

One of the representatives of the C. I. O. on the west coast found out about the meeting, and he came out and contacted the executive board of the local before the meeting was to be called and encouraged them not to allow me to call the meeting, as it would be damaging to the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean that you resigned the presidency of the union because you felt that such a position might in some way conflict with your desires to head the committee which had been formed for the purpose of eliminating subversive elements from C. I. O. leadership?

Mr. INZER. That is right. I felt that I might go against the wishes of some of the men in my local if I were to head this committee, being president of the local. In other words, I would be more or less expressing their thoughts as well as mine, so I resigned so I could head this committee as a rank-and-file member and express my own views with the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your resignation due entirely to your own initiative?

Mr. INZER. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There was no demand for your resignation from the membership?

Mr. INZER. There was no demand. In other words, the rank and file objected at the next regular meeting when I presented my resignation; but I asked them to accept it, as I was heading this committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, is this committee, of which you are now the head, composed entirely of members of the C. I. O.?

Mr. INZER. That is right; members of the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this committee of which you are the present head supported financially or otherwise by any individuals, groups, or agencies outside of the ranks of the C. I. O.?

Mr. INZER. No, sir; it is not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let us get the name of that organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am coming to that right now. Will you please give the name of the committee of which you are the head?

Mr. INZER. The name of the committee is the Vigilant American Committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Vigilant Americans Committee?

Mr. INZER. Vigilant American Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has this committee received any financial support from any individuals or organizations connected with the management of industries on the west coast?

Mr. INZER. No, sir; it has not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the committee come into existence entirely on the initiative of rank-and-file members of the C. I. O. unions?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In California?

Mr. INZER. That is right; it did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is the objective of the committee solely to eliminate subversive and racketeering elements from the unions of which its members are members?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what unions are represented on the Vigilant American Committee?

Mr. INZER. We have quite a number of them. I don't have the list with me, but I can remember most of them. We have the Auto Workers, the Longshoremen, Electric Workers, Shipbuilders, Construction Workers, and some others that I can't remember just at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, your committee represents a rank and file movement throughout the C. I. O. and is not limited to the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now shortly after your first election to the presidency of Local 216 of the U. A. W., were you called into a conference at the headquarters of your union in Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who asked you to come down to the headquarters of the union?

Mr. INZER. It was Lew Michener, the regional director on the west coast of the U. A. W.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that spelled L-e-w M-i-c-h-e-n-e-r?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Lew Michener invited you to come down to C. I. O. headquarters for a conference?

Mr. INZER. That is right. He asked me to take a couple of days off and the International would pay my expenses while I was off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the exact date of this conference which you had at C. I. O. headquarters?

Mr. INZER. That was on the 8th of May 1940.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state how you are able to recall the exact date of the conference?

Mr. INZER. That was the next day after the primary elections and I believe they were on the 7th of May 1940.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there others besides Lew Michener at this conference at C. I. O. headquarters?



Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; there was. There were a number of other men present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, what did you do when you first went to headquarters on May 8, 1940?

Mr. INZER. Well, the first thing in the morning I was taken from office to office in the C. I. O. building, meeting different people, and as I would go around and meet them, the International representative, Lew Michener, would tell those people that I was elected president of Local 216, and I would be cooperating with them in the move to organize the unorganized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give us the address of the headquarters?

Mr. INZER. I don't believe I can give that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what building is it?

Mr. INZER. Well, it is in the C. I. O. Building—at that time it was the Currier Building, down on Third Street, between Spring and Main.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On Third Street between Spring and Main?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't remember the exact number, but it was the Currier Building?

Mr. INZER. It was the Currier Building; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. C-u-r-r-i-e-r Building?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You spent the morning going from office to office and being introduced by Michener to C. I. O. officials and office workers, as the newly elected head of Local 216 of the U. A. W.?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you do in the afternoon?

Mr. INZER. Well, we went out for lunch—I went out for lunch with Lew Michener and I believe Slim Connolly and Wyndham Mortimer. After we came back—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a minute, please. You went out to lunch, you say, and you believe it was with Slim Connolly?

Mr. INZER. I know it was Michener and I know Mortimer was present and I do believe that Connolly came in and had a cup of coffee with us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Mortimer?

Mr. INZER. Mortimer is the organizer on the west coast. He has been in charge of the organizational drive in the aircraft industry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his first name?

Mr. INZER. Wyndham Mortimer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. W-y-n-d-h-a-m Mortimer?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are sure he joined you for lunch that day?

Mr. INZER. Yes; he was there I am positive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Slim Connolly joined you for part of the lunch?

Mr. INZER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what Slim Connolly's first name is?

Mr. INZER. Philip Connolly, but he is known as "Slim." Everybody calls him "Slim."

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Slim Connolly's position in the C. I. O. organization in California?

Mr. INZER. Well, he is president of the State C. I. O. and he is also secretary to the District Council of Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now after lunch did you go back to the offices of Lew Michener?

Mr. INZER. Yes; we did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At headquarters?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you went back what happened?

Mr. INZER. When I went back we went into the regional director's office, who is Lew Michener, and sat down.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there other individuals there?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; there were—Mortimer went in with us and Connolly waited outside for a while and then he came in with two other men.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these two other men introduced to you?

Mr. INZER. Yes; they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When they were introduced to you, did you hear their names distinctly?

Mr. INZER. Yes; I understood their names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no doubt whatever about their names as they were introduced to you?

Mr. INZER. That is right; I have checked them since then.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were these two men who were introduced to you on the afternoon of May 8 in the offices of Lew Michener at C. I. O. headquarters in Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. One of them was introduced to me as Hans Diebel and the other was introduced to me as Pettis Perry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. H-a-n-s D-i-e-b-e-l?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And P-e-t-t-i-s P-e-r-r-y?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you have a date for that conference?

Mr. MATTHEWS. May 8, 1940.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Dr. Matthews, are you going to show who these men are?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. When Hans Diebel and Pettis Perry were introduced to you, were you told anything about their connections?

Mr. INZER. No, sir; I was not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you subsequently make any investigations on your own initiative to ascertain who these men were?

Mr. INZER. I did, after the meeting; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, while you were still at the meeting, what part did Hans Diebel play in the discussions there in Lew Michener's office?

Mr. INZER. Well, the only thing he did was to listen to the conversation and he would verify different statements made by the regional director or Slim Connolly or Wyndham Mortimer by "Yes" or "No."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean to say that Mortimer and Michener and Connolly from time to time turned to Diebel and asked questions which brought from him yes or no answers?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Michener make any statement there at your conference or in your discussion about Hans Diebel's cooperation?

Mr. INZER. Yes; he did. I am sure it was he or Slim Conolly that made the statement to me at that time that Hans Diebel was the owner of a book store—in other words, he was a publisher and had a set-up for a newspaper or hand bills to be put out—literature—and said that he would at any time cooperate with the C. I. O. in putting out literature to be distributed to the different C. I. O. plants in case we wanted to call a coast-wide strike to effect the negotiations on any plant that they were working on at that time; and he also pointed out that Hans Diebel had cooperated before in putting out the literature for the C. I. O. on the coast of "The Yanks Are Not Coming." He brought that out very clearly.

Mr. STARNES. Did Hans Diebel agree to that statement?

Mr. INZER. He sat and listened in. He didn't make any comment.

Mr. STARNES. But either Michener or Connolly or both, in the course of the discussion there, stated that Diebel had cooperated with them?

Mr. INZER. Had cooperated with them in putting out the literature. The Yanks Are Not Coming.

Mr. STARNES. And had agreed to assist them in putting out literature and distributing it to bring on a coast-wide strike and to cooperate in the program of the The Yanks Are Not Coming?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was anything said to you about your willingness or unwillingness to cooperate with elements who were temporarily in agreement with the program of the C. I. O. as understood by Michener?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I was asked that question and at the time, not knowing exactly who these men were and not hearing enough conversation to become suspicious of them at the time I was asked, I agreed that I would be glad to have the cooperation and work with anyone who was willing to help us out on our organizational drive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know which one of the men asked you that question?

Mr. INZER. (No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it Michener or Connolly or Mortimer?

Mr. INZER. I believe it was Michener. I am positive it was Michener.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Michener's own language in describing these men: "Elements temporarily in agreement with us"?

Mr. INZER. No; he didn't bring it out so I would understand that it was any phonies or any foreign elements or any organizations represented or representing foreign governments.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, how, exactly, did he describe it?

Mr. INZER. Well, the only way he described that was—as I stated, I didn't know exactly who these men were. It hadn't been told to me that they were officials of the C. I. O. or who they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to know just how he described them when he asked you if you were willing to cooperate—what were his words?

Mr. INZER. He asked me if I was willing to cooperate with any groups who were willing to cooperate with us in organizing the unorganized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he use the words "temporary agreement" or not?

Mr. INZER. Yes; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you are not sure, we want you to say so.

Mr. INZER. He did. He did say that—I am positive of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you be able to recognize a photograph of Hans Diebel?

Mr. INZER. I believe I would. I have seen him twice. I believe I would recognize his picture.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photograph and ask you if you can identify the individual in that photograph?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is Hans Diebel right there. I can recognize him by his chin and glasses, although he is a heavier man than this picture now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you absolutely positive of your identification? Is that the man introduced to you as Hans Diebel by Lew Michener on the afternoon of May 8, 1940?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is the man.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said you had seen him twice; when was the other time that you saw him?

Mr. INZER. That was the time we went to the book store to investigate just where his store was located and what it consisted of.

Mr. VOORHIS. And to find out if he was actually the same man?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did somebody else go with you on that occasion?

Mr. INZER. Yes, they did; Mr. Franklin went with me.

Mr. VOORHIS. And Mr. Franklin is here?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. The only other thing I would like to get clearly in my mind is exactly who was present at this meeting. Maybe we have that, but would you just name the people that were there again?

Mr. INZER. I will name the people who were active in the meeting.

Mr. VOORHIS. The ones you are sure of.

Mr. INZER. There was a number of people coming in and out—the secretaries, and one of the organizers was sitting at the desk for a while, but the men actually at the meeting were Slim Connolly, Lew Michener, Wyndham Mortimer, Hans Diebel, Pettis Perry, and myself.

Mr. VOORHIS. At that time what office did you hold?

Mr. INZER. I was president of local 216.

Mr. VOORHIS. President of your local?

Mr. INZER. That is right. I had just been elected.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know whether presidents of other locals were brought in for similar meetings?

Mr. INZER. Well, I know that they were brought in—in other words, we were taken down as a group, all of the presidents of different locals of the U. A. W.—we were taken down for a meeting with the regional director, but at no other time can I say that these other two men mentioned were there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was your local one of the more important locals?

Mr. INZER. My local at that time was the largest U. A. W. local on the coast.

Mr. VOORHIS. It was the largest single local on the coast?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you get the size of the membership of his local?

Mr. VOORHIS. That is pretty well indicated in the election that was held.

Mr. INZER. The size of the local is 1,800—we have 1,800 men in the plant.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you still have that number, approximately?

Mr. INZER. Yes; we do.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say while this conference was going on on the afternoon of May 8 that there were other people coming into the room and leaving and so on and so forth?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You can't name any of those people or identify them and say who they were?

Mr. INZER. There is only one person that I could identify and that is a man who was at that time organizer under Lew Michener, and his name was Dick Coleman.

Mr. VOORHIS. Dick Coleman?

Mr. INZER. Dick Coleman; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where is he now?

Mr. INZER. He is in Los Angeles. He is personnel manager for the Willys-Overland in Los Angeles.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he hear any of this conversation?

Mr. INZER. I presume he did. He came in the office while we were there. I wouldn't say that he did. He was busy with his work.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to bring out a few more points about the photograph, Mr. Chairman. This particular photograph is already an exhibit in the record of this committee, having been introduced almost 3 years ago.

Mr. STARNES. And properly identified as being a photograph of Hans Diebel?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; of Hans Diebel.

Mr. STARNES. What is his connection with any subversive moves in this country, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to ask the witness——

Mr. STARNES. Has that already been established in another part of the record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That has been established by numerous references in previous hearings. I think the witness also made an investigation on his own initiative to ascertain Hans Diebel's connections.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say you were told that Hans Diebel was the owner of a bookstore in Los Angeles and had some publishing facilities which would enable him to cooperate with you in the bringing out of literature; is that correct?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you make inquiries to find out what the name of the bookstore owned by Hans Diebel was?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did. I had the name of the bookstore, but I don't have the name with me. I can name it if you tell me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it the Aryan Book Store?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go personally to the Aryan Book Store to see if you could identify Hans Diebel as the man you met at C. I. O. headquarters?

Mr. INZER. I did; but before I went there I told Brother Franklin what had happened and he told me who these men were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know yourself?

Mr. INZER. I didn't know who they were connected with; and so at that time he and I went to locate the book store and to make sure that he was managing the book store.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you learned since your first meeting with Hans Diebel at C. I. O. headquarters that he is an important individual in the German-American Bund in California?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he holds any official position in the German-American Bund?

Mr. INZER. Yes; I know he does. I believe he is at the head of the German-American Bund right at this time in Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Hans Diebel is an American citizen?

Mr. INZER. He is not an American citizen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he has recently made application for citizenship?

Mr. INZER. He made application and he was turned down here just recently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A few weeks ago his application for citizenship was rejected; is that correct?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the courts in California?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you know that?

Mr. INZER. It was stated in the newspapers and I have also discussed it with other members of the C. I. O. and they verified it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this particular photograph Diebel is pictured as in charge of a literature table of the German-American Bund at a bund camp in San Diego, Calif., and he is pictured in his German-American Bund uniform.

Did you know at the time you met Pettis Perry who he was?

Mr. INZER. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you since made any investigation to find out who Pettis Perry is?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you learn about Pettis Perry's connections?

Mr. INZER. I learned that he was one of the important people in the Communist Party in Los Angeles and that he has run for public office on the Communist ticket in California.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What part did Pettis Perry play in the discussions in Michener's office on the afternoon of May 8, 1940?

Mr. INZER. He played the same part as Diebel—just sat in and any point that was brought up that they wanted his sanction on, they would ask him: "Is that not right?" and he would answer "yes" or "no."

Mr. VOORHIS. Wasn't Perry a candidate for office in the last election?

Mr. INZER. I believe he was on the Communist ticket.

Mr. STARNES. On the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. INZER. On the Communist Party ticket; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I thought he ran for Congress.

Mr. INZER. He ran for Congress either the last election or the time before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Congressman; the records of the committee show that Pettis Perry has on several occasions run for office on the Communist Party ticket in California.

Mr. VOORHIS. In 1940 I understand Perry was a candidate for Congress from the Fourteenth District against Congressman Tom Ford, on the Communist Party ticket.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And so far as you could understand the situation, Perry was there at this meeting with you in Michener's office, in an advisory capacity—that is, Michener turned to him and asked for his advice, is that correct?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you recall any particular question that was asked by Michener or Connolly or Mortimer that was directed to Perry?

Mr. INZER. Well, one—I am sure of one that was directed to Perry and that was Michener was explaining to me that it was very important that all of the heads of the U. A. W. locals in California should get together so as any time they desired to call a strike of all plants to effect the negotiations of any such plant, that it was very important that we all get together and inform our rank and file members as to what was taking effect, and he would turn to Perry and ask, "Is that not right?" and he would say "yes."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you learn that Pettis Perry is head of the International Labor Defense in Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. I did; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you give a brief personal description of Pettis Perry?

Mr. INZER. Pettis Perry is a colored man and I would say he is about the age of 40 and weighs close to 200 pounds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your reaction to the situation after you learned that Hans Diebel was prominent in the affairs of the German-American Bund and Pettis Perry was prominent in the affairs of the Communist Party?

Mr. INZER. Well, I was very much shocked because before I was elected to office I had heard the regional director and Slim Connolly speak at different meetings and state that the C. I. O. should stay away from politics or any group that was not for organized labor, and I was really shocked to learn that they were affiliating themselves with these men, as they were members of the Communist Party and the German-American Bund.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stayed in your position as president of the local, Local 216, after you had learned about this connection with Diebel and Perry, for approximately 1 year, did you not?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did your ultimate resignation from the presidency have anything to do with what you had learned that afternoon in Michener's office?

Mr. INZER. Yes; it did. That afternoon in Michener's office started me to uncovering all of the evidence that I could against these people, and I worked on that until the time I resigned to head the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you stay in the presidency of your local for

the reason that you would be able best to combat subversive influences from an official position in the union?

Mr. INZER. Yes; I did. I tried to inform my rank and file members of the local as to what was going on in our regional office and I tried to get the cooperation of the other locals during that year, to eliminate these people with their ideas and connections.

We tried to do that without coming out in the open with it. We tried to do it among ourselves but it seemed to be an impossible task, so that led up to my resignation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, you eventually came to believe that a rank and file movement of an unofficial character would be the best means of combating these influences, is that right, in the C. I. O.?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you entirely committed to the best interests, as you understand them, of the C. I. O. organizations?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You would like to see the C. I. O. become a more effective instrument of collective bargaining?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is right. I am absolutely for organized labor and I am for the C. I. O. I believe in the C. I. O. 100 percent, but I do believe that it should be controlled by American leaders and not by men who are racketeers and members of subversive groups.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have a couple of questions that fit perfectly at this point, if I may ask them.

Mr. STARVES. Go ahead.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Inzer, in your opinion, what happens to legitimate labor grievances—I mean attempts to correct things that are really wrong and should be improved and corrected—what happens to attempts to make such corrections in legitimate demands when the claim can be made by the employer and can be made to stick, “There are Communists or Nazis representing or influencing the union that is making the demand”?

Mr. INZER. Well, that is very damaging to the organized laboring group, because the men who are trying to negotiate these grievances, if they are members of the Communist Party or the German-American Bund or any other group that is not American, they have that fear that the company will point out that they are members, so therefore they can't force the negotiations for the members as they could if they were American people.

Mr. VOORHIS. And suppose the company does point out that fact, what happens to the cause of the men in the eye of the public?

Mr. INZER. Well, when that is pointed out it is very injurious to the members who are Americans in the labor movement, and it also gives them a black eye the same as it does these people who are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, the elimination of Communist leadership wherever it exists, would put the men in a much better position from the standpoint of receiving consideration for their legitimate demands, is that correct?

Mr. INZER. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, on the other hand, suppose the organization is clean of any such leadership, then don't you have a better chance of getting ahead?



Mr. INZER. I would say we would have a better chance, because when the people negotiating for the union would go into the management, they would have nothing to fear as to what the management could turn around and accuse them of, because they have a clean slate and the negotiating with the management would be a perfect set-up.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right. Now here is one thing that will be said by certain people—they will say, "Well, charges will be made against any union anyway by the merchants' and manufacturers' associations," which you no doubt are familiar with—they will say that they will make charges anyhow, that this is a Communist strike. Do you believe that it makes a difference if they make such charges whether the charges are true or not?

Mr. INZER. It certainly does make a difference, because if the charges are not true—in other words, if I am accused of being a Communist when I am not, I am not going to sit back and say, "Well, that is the merchants and manufacturers or that is the Dies committee, and I don't believe what they say." If they accuse me of being a Communist I am going to have them prove that I am a Communist.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, even though some groups that represent a reactionary industrial interest may attempt to make charges, but the real question is whether they are going to be able to make them stick, and if they are not going to be able to make them stick, you are in a lot better position than you would be if there were any truth to it.

Mr. INZER. That is right. If charges were made by the merchants and manufacturers or any other organization against the leaders of the C. I. O. and if they were not Communists, it is very easy to prove to the public that they are not.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you known Lew Michener?

Mr. INZER. I have known Lew Michener for about 3 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever discussed the Communist Party with Michener?

Mr. INZER. Yes; I have many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What have been the nature of your discussions of the Communist Party with Michener?

Mr. INZER. Well, since this meeting and other occurrences, there would be times that he would come into my local and make international reports, but before he got through he would be attacking the President of the United States and the Dies committee, and the F. B. I. and come right on down to myself.

In other words, before he got out of the building he would be insulting me, and that was for no other reason than I would not cooperate with him under the Communist set-up, and I would go to him and accuse him of being a member of the Communist Party and ask him why he didn't stay away from it and organize the unorganized into the C. I. O. and make it an American group of workers. He would laugh it off or say: "Oh, don't believe the Dies committee," or "That is some more of the management's propaganda."

And at no time would he ever state that he was not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever discuss with Michener any set-backs which occurred in the C. I. O. organization drives as a result of the Communist taint upon his organization?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With reference to any particular plants or organization drives?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what they were?

Mr. INZER. Well, they were trying to organize the North American Aircraft in Los Angeles, and my local being a General Motor local and North American being connected with the General Motors Corporation, they called on the executive board of my local to do what they could to help out.

We would go out every evening and contact the men as they were coming in and going onto the night shift. They would tell myself and the rest of the executive board of Local 216 that they did not want to join the C. I. O. because the leaders were Communists. They would tell us that the leaders of the C. I. O. were right out there trying to organize them and they were Communists themselves and putting out Communist literature at the gates—

Mr. STARNES. That is the rank and file of the workmen in the plant told you that, when you were going to them and asking them to join the C. I. O.?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And organize so you could better your conditions and so forth?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And they would give you that reply?

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

Mr. STARNES. That the other leaders out there were distributing Communist literature and soliciting memberships in the Communist Party at the same time?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever raise that issue on the floor of the sessions of the Auto Council?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you have to say about the question on the floor of the Auto Council?

Mr. INZER. After the first Labor Board election at North American, the majority was not given to anyone. In other words, the vote was so close between the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. that they had to have another election. Immediately after that first election the regional office called a special meeting of the Auto Council to discuss means of organizing for the second Labor Board election, and at that time one of the members of the U. A. W. got up on the floor and stated that he met a man down in Los Angeles who he had worked with, that was now an officer of the American Federation of Labor, and he asked him how the A. F. of L. caused them from getting the majority of the votes. This man told the U. A. W.-C. I. O. workers did that themselves by having Communists out there trying to organize the North American workers into the C. I. O., and he said that he would like to have a statement from the regional office as to that statement.

Upon that Wyndham Mortimer took the floor, and he again passed the buck by saying "that is some more of your company stooges and don't pay any attention to what the Dies committee says; the Dies committee doesn't know the difference between unionism and rheumatism," and a bunch of hooey like that, and set down.

Immediately I took the floor and told Lew Michener and Wyndham Mortimer that they had been accused of belonging to the Communist Party, and that I believed they were members, and I would like to have a statement from them at that time so that I could go back and tell these workers that had told me they were Communists, that they were not Communists or members of the party. They refused to make a statement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about a California law firm by the name of Gallagher, Wirin & Johnson?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What connection has there been between the law firm of Gallagher, Wirin & Johnson and the U. A. W. locals in California?

Mr. INZER. Most of the U. A. W. locals in California are affiliated with that law firm. In other words, we are paying them so much per month to look out for our interests.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say that most locals are?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; there are one or two of the U. A. W. that would not affiliate with the attorneys.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which ones?

Mr. INZER. Studebaker for one.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't know of any others?

Mr. INZER. No; I can't say any others right now.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why didn't they hire this firm?

Mr. INZER. For the simple reason that the officers of the Studebaker local knew at that time that they were connected with and one member of them was a Communist, and they would not affiliate with them.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is a witness here from the Studebaker local who will testify directly on that point.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Leo Gallagher, the head of the firm of Gallagher, Wirin & Johnson, has run for public office on the Communist ticket in California?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; he ran on the Communist ticket for State secretary and pulled a vote of about 150,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did anyone in the C. I. O.—

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a moment; I would like to say a word about California at that point. In that election where he got 150,000 votes, what other candidates were in the field?

Mr. INZER. I couldn't answer that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I think it should be explained. There was only one other candidate who had won both the Republican and Democratic nominations; the only opportunity a person had if they wanted to vote against that man who had both major party nominations was to vote for Gallagher, which explains to some degree why he got all the votes he did.

Mr. INZER. I know all the votes he got were not from the Communist Party—they were from other people.

Mr. STARNES. I wonder if my colleague would like to qualify the question about California's rainfall?

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to say if this part of the country had as much rain as California it would be better off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who it was in the C. I. O. organization that recommended the locals retain the firm of Gallagher, Wirin, and Johnson?

Mr. INZER. Each U. A. W. local and I believe all C. I. O. locals were asked to affiliate—I am not positive of that, but I know the longshoremen are in it. Each local received a communication from Lew Michener's office asking us to affiliate with this law firm and telling us what protection we would have, and after that Johnson of Gallagher, Wirin, & Johnson came out to our executive-board meeting and made a talk about the law firm and what protection we would have if we affiliated with them and after he had finished I took the floor and spoke against the affiliation, pointing out to the executive board that there was at least one member of this firm who was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. When you speak of affiliation, Mr. Inzer, you mean, of course, that the unions had retained this firm to represent them—that is what you mean?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is what I mean.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did the local do after Johnson made his speech and you made your speech?

Mr. INZER. Well, it was recommended to the rank and file of our local that we affiliate with this law firm and that Johnson be at the next regular meeting to explain to the rank and file just what protection we would have. He was there and at that time, at the first of the meeting, he asked for a \$60 retainer fee and there was quite some disturbance or restlessness among the members so he cut it down to \$50.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean \$50 a month?

Mr. INZER. Fifty dollars a month, and at that time the rank and file voted to accept these attorneys as our law firm.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Gallagher and Lew Michener are closely associated with each other?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I do know it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are the facts, of your own knowledge, on that point?

Mr. INZER. Well, the first point is that they have a law office right in the C. I. O. Building and the second point, that any social gathering that we held at the C. I. O. Building or at the San Diego convention, you would see Lew Michener and Johnson and Al Wirin. In other words, they were very closely associated and hung out together at these gatherings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that spelled W-i-r-i-n?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. And his first name is Abraham Lincoln?

Mr. INZER. He is known as "Al," and "A. L." stands for Abraham Lincoln; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your position as president of Local 216, have you ever had personal contacts with Wyndham Mortimer?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Frequently?

Mr. INZER. Well, for awhile; yes. He used to come out to our meetings and we would have an issue on the floor that was pertaining to the rank and file of the local only, and he would, if he saw that it was some issue that was important to the Communist Party, he would get in and argue for it, so finally he came out and wanted to take the floor on some point that was brought up and I refused to let him have the floor. In other words, I barred him from the meetings and we passed a motion that before anyone other than the regional director could come out to the meetings, they must get permission from the executive board; so he was barred from the meetings because he would come out and try to confuse the issue and put over the Communist policy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever discuss the Communist Party with Mortimer?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have a number of times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state briefly the nature of those conversations?

Mr. INZER. Well, I would tell him that, after some meeting where he had spoken or something, I would tell him that he was trying to put over the Communist Party policies in the C. I. O. movement, and I thought he should refrain from that and stick to organizing the C. I. O. He would make the remark, "Oh, that is the thoughts of the Dies committee," or, "the management," or "the F. B. I.," and "don't pay any attention to them, they will use all those means to tear down the ones who are trying to get you good working conditions and raises in pay and so on." He would just pass it off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the annual convention of the United Automobile Workers in St Louis in 1940?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a delegate?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From your local?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Wyndham Mortimer at that convention?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Mortimer showed any tendencies to associate with any special group at the St. Louis convention of the United Automobile Workers?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir. If you were not a Communist he would not speak to you; and why I say that is, there was a man from Detroit by the name of John Anderson, who got up on the floor and stated he was "a comrade and proud of it," and "if the United States had the unions that they have in Russia the workers of the United States would be much better off," and he and Wyndham Mortimer were together at all times—sat together in the convention, ate together in the restaurant, and when I went to bed at night they were still together.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Anderson's speech on the floor of the convention in which he declared he was a Communist, was carried in the press, was it not?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; it was.

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Wyndham Mortimer, Dr. Matthews, that Earl Browder in reply to questions here, 2 years ago, pro-

pounded by members of this committee, stated that if he was not a Communist that "he was a very close friend of the Communists." That is the same Wyndham Mortimer, is it not?

Mr. MATTHEWS. As I recall the exact language, Congressman Starnes, you asked Mr. Browder if Wyndham Mortimer was a member of the Communist Party and Earl Browder replied: "I don't know that he is, but at least he is very close to us."

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask one question: Did you say that Wyndham Mortimer was denied admission to a meeting of your local?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did say that, by action of the local; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the reason they took that action was they believed his speeches and so on confused the issues and points that they were trying to discuss that had to do with the actual problems they faced, is that true?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not sure whether he was denied admission to the local or denied the right to the floor.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which was it?

Mr. INZER. It means the same thing. In other words, if he were to come to the meeting without first asking permission of the executive board, if he came to the meeting he would be allowed to sit in, yes, sir; but not allowed to have a voice, but he wouldn't come out unless he could have a voice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Inzer, were you a member of the District Council No. 5 of the United Automobile Workers during the year 1940?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you also a member of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council in 1940?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council the body which brings together or federates all of the C. I. O. locals in all unions in Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, it is the central labor body of the C. I. O. unions?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it your experience after attending the meetings of District Council No. 5 of the U. A. W. and the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council in 1940, that those bodies were controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please give some evidence for your answer?

Mr. INZER. The reason I say that is because—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you gain that impression?

Mr. INZER. The reason I gained that impression is this: Every known Communist or everyone in the U. A. W. or C. I. O. that has been pointed out as a Communist on the west coast or in California always manages to get themselves on as delegates to these councils, and they are always present—they never miss a meeting—they are always right there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever nominated for a position in the auto council?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I was nominated for the chairmanship of the auto council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, what territory does the auto council—is that district No. 5?

Mr. INZER. That is district No. 5. That was the auto workers in and around Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Those members in and around Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were nominated by whom?

Mr. INZER. I was nominated by Noah Taucher.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Taucher, as he is called, is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. INZER. I don't believe he is a member; I believe he is just a fellow-traveler.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He nominated you for the office of president of the C. I. O.-U. A. W. Council, is that correct?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please tell what happened after he had nominated you for the presidency?

Mr. INZER. Well, we had the meetings there once a month and at that meeting where I was nominated, the nominations were open for officers of the council, and Taucher nominated me.

Immediately after the meeting—the nominations were left open until the next meeting and then they would have more nominations and the elections. After I was nominated and after the meeting adjourned, he and Lew Michener both came to me and asked me if I would not accept the nomination because, he pointed out, that he had so much to do that he couldn't possibly accept it another term and they felt that I was the man for the job because they needed my cooperation and so on. I promised I would accept it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you head of the largest local of the U. A. W. at that time?

Mr. INZER. That is right. I was president of the largest local on the coast.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did that take place?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was just going to ask that.

Mr. INZER. That took place right after the meeting I had with the regional director in May, around the 10th of May.

Mr. VOORHIS. 1940?

Mr. INZER. That is right. It was next Sunday after the 8th.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They both asked you to take this position and you agreed to take it. Then what happened?

Mr. INZER. Well, at the next meeting there was a resolution sent in by my local—I forget just what it was now, but it had something to do with the Communist movement in the C. I. O., and before the nominations were opened this came on the floor and I got up and spoke on it. In other words, I spoke against the movement to bring the Communists into the council and my doing so caused Noah Taucher to be nominated for the presidency of the council and after we recessed for the election—he accepted and I accepted, and after the recess for the election and we went back in he was elected by—he got 65 votes and I believe I got 16.

He was put back in office the second time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, an hour or so before you had spoken against the Communists on the floor of the council—

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your presidency was acceptable to Taucher and Michener?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But after you had spoken they opposed you?

Mr. INZER. That is right; but I would like to say something. That shows there was a little dirty work there. The Chair at that time—Taucher did not take the chair, so they elected a temporary chairman and I was nominated and there were three or four more nominated and it was brought down to myself and one other man, and they sent us out of the room to take a vote on which one would be the chairman. We tied. In other words, between the—I will say 75 people there or whatever it was, I got half and the other fellow got half for the temporary chairmanship, so we tossed a coin to see who would take the chair and the other man took the chair, and at that time I will say I received about 45 votes and one hour later after I had opposed this group I got 16 votes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Slim Connolly is connected with the Auto Council?

Mr. INZER. He is not connected with the Auto Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he connected with the C. I. O. council?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; he is connected with the C. I. O. council—district council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his position in the C. I. O. council?

Mr. INZER. He is president of the C. I. O. council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does he preside at the meetings of the council?

Mr. INZER. Well, now, the council that I attended is district council and of the district council he is the secretary to the council and he does not take the chair there. He is the secretary, but whoever has the chair takes their orders from Slim Connolly. If he doesn't want a man to have the floor he will nudge the chairman and the chairman will ignore the man that has his hand up.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Slim Connolly or Philip M. Connolly which, I believe, is his correct name?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that he is one of the national officers of the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; he is one of the officers of the American Peace Mobilization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you come in contact with the American Peace Mobilization in California?

Mr. INZER. I see their literature and see them working around the C. I. O. building but I have never come directly in contact with them in my local. We don't allow them out there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is your committee, the Vigilant American Committee, aware of any particular connections with the American Peace Mobilization—have you taken any position on that organization?

Mr. INZER. Well, we know that the American Peace Mobilization is a Communist Party outfit and we know that they are working through the C. I. O. building and we know that Connolly and Michener and



Mortimer and the whole bunch of officers there are connected with this committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard Connolly discuss the national-defense program in council meetings?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what have you heard him say at council meetings?

Mr. INZER. I have heard him state that the President, the Congress, the F. B. I., the Dies committee, and all of the officials in Washington were using the national-defense program to tear down organized labor.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did he include President Roosevelt?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear him discuss the question of strikes?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I have. At one particular meeting I went to of the council, he was giving his report and in that report he stated that "we now have 12 strikes." I believe it was, "in the Los Angeles area and as soon as these strikes are settled we must get down to the fine point of organizing and get ready for bigger and better strikes."

Mr. MATTHEWS. He stated that at the meeting of the council?

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you understand him to mean by that—that they would pull a general strike after they had had strikes in the individual plants—pull a general strike, have a "bigger and better strike" that way?

Mr. INZER. Well, what I gathered from that was this: That the Communist Party in the C. I. O. is using this strike clause to disturb the workers and poison the minds of the workers against the officials in Washington and against the management, and by doing so then at any time they want to call a Nation-wide or a coast-wide they will have the men all set to pull a strike, by trying to organize or negotiate with some management of a plant where the demands would be so strenuous or so great that the company couldn't possibly accept them and, therefore, pull that plant out and through a sympathy strike they would ask all the other locals to go out.

Mr. STARNES. Did you further understand that was for the purpose of slowing down the national-defense effort and to prevent this Nation from arming for security's sake?

Mr. INZER. That is exactly the way I understand it.

Mr. STARNES. And you gathered that from his continued conversations, his speeches, and the attitude of this man and other Communists who have positions of power in the labor movement on the west coast?

Mr. INZER. That is correct. I have never heard one of the officials mentioned yet, get up and make a speech but what they, in that speech, brought in the President of the United States and Congress and the Dies committee and the F. B. I. They bring them in every time they take the floor. They bring them in to try to poison the minds of the workers against our President and Government.

Mr. STARNES. And do they say they are against the foreign policy of the Government and that the Nation should not arm for defense?

Mr. INZER. They do, and they say that if they should arm they should keep everything that is made for defense here in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. They are opposed, in other words, to sending any aid to Britain or the embattled democracies elsewhere?

Mr. INZER. Absolutely.

Mr. STARNES. And is it your considered judgment, in view of your long connections with the labor movement there on the west coast and your official position and your contacts, that that is the purpose of Michener and Mortimer and Pettis Perry and Hans Diebel and others who are active out there in these strikes and who are in positions of prominence and in positions where they can do injury, both to labor and to our Government?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I do. I believe it is their aim to do everything possible to prevent us from sending aid to Britain or any other place. In other words, they don't want any aid to go out—they want to try to stop it.

Mr. STARNES. And they have expressed no real interest to rearm our own Nation for defense?

Mr. INZER. I know it to be a fact they don't have any interest along those lines.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you heard anybody say that? I mean have you heard anybody in a meeting make a speech in which he opposed the defense of the United States as such?

Mr. INZER. They have spoken; yes, sir; and put literature out as to the preparation for war and, in other words, they state through their literature and everything that they do not want to send any aid to Britain or any other country.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you this, Mr. Inzer: Don't they refer to our national effort today as "a preparation for an imperialist war," and "they are opposed to an imperialist war"?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't that their attitude?

Mr. INZER. Exactly.

Mr. STARNES. And isn't it a fact they have fought step by step the efforts of the President of the United States and the Congress and the people of the United States, to provide security for this Nation, on the ground that it was merely preparing the Nation to enter "an imperialist war"?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you have spoken about this Communist influence or control in the C. I. O. Council in Los Angeles. Do you know whether or not the council has cooperated from time to time with various front organizations of the Communist Party?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I know that they have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With, for example, the National Negro Congress?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The International Workers Order?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The International Labor Defense?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Workers Alliance?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the organization of Labors' Non-Partisan League in Los Angeles?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your judgment about the control of that organization?

Mr. INZER. Well, I know for a fact that that is controlled by the Communist Party because the president of Labors' Non-Partisan League is a known Communist. His name is Lou Goldblatt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is spelled L-o-u G-o-l-d-b-l-a-t-t?

Mr. INZER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is president of Labors' Non-Partisan League?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; and he is also the secretary to the State C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he is a known Communist Party member?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he was formerly on the State central committee of the Communist Party, as a matter of public record?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. He is a close associate of Harry Bridges, is he not?

Mr. INZER. He is one of his right-hand men.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you this general question—of course, I know it is true but I want this expression from you: Don't you find it a fact that the great rank and file of your C. I. O. out there on the west coast, as well as all the working men and women, that is, the great majority of them, don't you find that they believe in adequate defense and that they are willing to cooperate with the President and the Congress of the United States in providing absolute security for this Nation against attack from any source?

Mr. INZER. Absolutely. I certainly do, because, as I say, we have 1,800 men in my local and our local endorsed President Roosevelt unanimously and they are absolutely in accord with national defense; and I will say that 99 percent of the C. I. O. members are in accord with national defense.

Mr. STARNES. Don't you feel that labor really has a greater stake in retaining democracy in this country than most any other group?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I certainly do.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a matter of fact, isn't it true that the sentiment you just described as being the opinion of the rank and file of the workers in the C. I. O., that that sentiment was so strong that it prevented the passage of certain types of resolutions during the time of the last national election, which this other group wanted to get through and that they were never able to get them through; isn't that true?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. VOORHIS. There was a long battle there in their effort to put such resolutions over?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, after you resigned from the presidency of Local 216 this year, did you have any further contacts with Lew Michener?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; I did.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did he call on you at your home on April 7, 1941?

MR. INZER. Yes, sir; he did.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe what happened at the time of Michener's visit to your home on April 7, 1941?

MR. INZER. On April 7, 1941, that was a Monday and we always hold our executive board meetings on Monday, so about—I will say 8:15, my door bell rang and I went to the door and it was Lew Michener and he asked me if I was alone. I told him "No," that I had company. He wanted to know if he could come in. I told him "Yes," to come in. So he did.

Well, this was in the presence of two other men. One man's name was Brother Franklin, who is here, and the other man I don't care to mention his name because since that occurrence his wife has been threatened, as well as himself, and he does not care to have his name exposed.

But these two men were present and Lew Michener came in and he wanted to know if I was going to the executive board meeting. I told him "No," that I would not go as I was no longer chairman. He wanted to know when I was going "to forget about this Vigilant American Committee and come back and help them organize the unorganized."

I told him that as soon as he could prove to me that none of the leaders down there were members of the Communist Party or working with the Communist Party that I would "forget about the committee and come back and work with them."

So he went ahead to point out that it was very urgent that I should come back because I was well qualified to help organize the unorganized and they needed me; and he went on and on and so he also spoke to Brother Franklin and told him that if he would come back and "forget about the committee," that he would see he went back to work in San Pedro as a longshoreman and "the trouble he had had down there with the labor officials would be forgotten, the record would be clean;" and they wanted us to come back and he said he would assure us, if we would come back, that Franklin and myself both would be given a good job with the International.

I told him at that time that I was not interested because I would not be able to go back in and work with people who were teaching the workers the policies of the Communist Party. So at that point he got up and started to leave my house and he got kind of sarcastic and he said: "Well, I know what you are out for." He said, "You are out for the money," and he says, "If that is what you want," he says, "I will get you \$500 and I will get Franklin \$500 right now," so at that point I became quite angry and I attempted to smash him, but there was a coffee table in the way and he fell over that and Brother Franklin took him out the door and the other gentleman that was there got between me and the door, and he left at that point.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know Roy Donnelly?

MR. INZER. Yes, sir; I do.

MR. MATTHEWS. Who is he?

MR. INZER. He is a longshoreman; he is a member of Local 113 in San Pedro.

MR. MATTHEWS. Have you ever discussed a Nation-wide strike with Donnelly?

MR. INZER. I have not myself, but a friend of mine discussed it with him, or they were talking of a Nation-wide strike or coast-wide strike and at that time this same friend that was present at my house that I can't mention the name, told Roy Donnelly that if such a strike was called that the Navy would be called out to take charge and Roy Donnelly made the statement at that time that if the Navy were called out that they would never leave San Pedro—that the long-shoremen would take care of that.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I think perhaps I may say at this point that the person whose name the witness is not mentioning, had intended to come here and be present today but had received threats, his wife had received threats and he preferred not to come as a witness.

MR. STARNES. You mean after he had been subpoenaed as a witness to appear before the committee—

MR. MATTHEWS. These witnesses are voluntary witnesses—they were not subpoenaed, as I understand the situation.

MR. STARNES. Is it your opinion based upon your own union membership, your own experience as a union official and with your contacts with labor men and officials in the coast area generally, the west-coast area, that the Communists who are, unfortunately, within the labor movement are acting in concert to sabotage our defense efforts, to slow down our defense efforts by promoting unrest, discord, and dissatisfaction wherever they can do so, and furthermore that they are willing to work and are working at the present time with Hans Diebel and any other bundist or German sympathizer toward the same end, namely, to produce dissatisfaction and unrest; promote strikes and discord in an effort to slow down our defense program or to sabotage our defense program.

MR. INZER. I would say that the German-American bundmen, the Communist Party, the Trotskyites and all of them at this time are working hand in hand.

MR. STARNES. On the west coast?

MR. INZER. That is right; they are working hand in hand at this time, working right together.

MR. VOORHIS. I would like to ask a couple of questions.

MR. STARNES. Have you completed with Mr. Inzer, Dr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes.

MR. STARNES. You may proceed, Mr. Voorhis.

MR. VOORHIS. I want to ask the witness about Labors' Non-Partisan League. How long has it been organized out there in Los Angeles County?

MR. INZER. I believe that was organized in 1938, but I am not positive about that. I believe it was organized in 1938.

MR. VOORHIS. Well, at first what was your opinion on it—what was your opinion of it in the beginning?

MR. INZER. When it was first organized I was for it. I really thought it was a good thing and I think yet Labors' Non-Partisan League is a good set-up if it run by the right people. In other words, if they kept the subversive groups out of it.

MR. VOORHIS. I was for it too in the beginning. I mean I tried to help it out. When do you think that this other control, the Communist control that you mentioned, took it over?

Mr. INZER. I would say so far back as 1939—the first part of 1940 anyway.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think you are probably right. But isn't this another instance where there was an agency that could have been a bona fide attempt to try to represent on a political front the legitimate interests of rank and file people but now that the chance of doing that has been pretty well wrecked?

Mr. INZER. That is absolutely true. I have known of delegates from the Labor's Non-Partisan League to go to Sacramento to try to interview the Governor on different points and he would refuse to see them because he knew those men out there waiting for him were members of the Communist Party down there pretending to be there protecting the interests of labor.

Mr. STARNES. Is the Governor of California a reactionary?

Mr. INZER. Well, I wouldn't say so.

Mr. VOORHIS. Isn't the Governor a pretty progressive sort of man?

Mr. INZER. Yes, sir; he is that.

Mr. VOORHIS. The reason I ask that question is because I think the Governor has a pretty consistent progressive and prolabor record, and I think for him to take that attitude is all the more significant for that reason.

Mr. STARNES. Any more questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I think that is all.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Mason?

Mr. MASON. No questions.

Mr. STARNES. If there are no further questions, the committee will stand adjourned until 1 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 11:50 o'clock the committee adjourned until 1 p. m., the same day.)

#### AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee met at 1 p. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman) presiding.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its hearings.

Whom will you have, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Richard K. Franklin.

#### TESTIMONY OF RICHARD K. FRANKLIN, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand, Mr. Franklin? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you will give before this investigation will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I do.

Mr. STARNES. You may be seated, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give your full name?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Richard Kenneth Franklin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live, Mr. Franklin?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Los Angeles, 1108 South New Hampshire Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. FRANKLIN. 1912, July 11.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give a brief outline of the jobs or positions which you have held?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I haven't held overly many jobs. The first job as a wage earner I had was with the Sterling Meat Co. I went to work there about 1935 and we had an A. F. of L. union and we became embroiled in some difficulties and we went out on strike and we lost our jobs and then I went to work at the Globe Milling Co. and worked—

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you lost your job at the Sterling Meat Co. because you went out on strike?

Mr. FRANKLIN. A great many of us did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you went to work for the Globe Milling Co.?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long did you work there?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I worked off and on until 1940.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever worked as a longshoreman?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes. We belonged to the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. Milling work is seasonal and such times when we were off we worked out of the hiring hall—we worked out of the hiring hall either in San Pedro, Wilmington, or Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you join the union at the Globe Milling Co.?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir; I joined first the Teamsters Union and then we switched to the I. L. W. U. because we believed it afforded better benefits to the workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you at the present time a member of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why are you not?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Because I was suspended and later expelled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were the charges against you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, "I was engaging in activities detrimental to the welfare of the union." That was the particular charge. I was suspended without a hearing at a general membership meeting. The constitution of the I. L. W. U. on the Pacific coast now provides that a member can be suspended and expelled without a public hearing if he speaks in any manner against any official or officer of the union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what were your activities in which you were actually engaged?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Anticommunistic activities solely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Vigilant American Committee?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of which Mr. Inzer is the chairman?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear Mr. Inzer's testimony this morning?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any facts which to your own personal knowledge are in conflict with the testimony of Mr. Inzer?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So far as you know the subject matter about which he testified you can state that Mr. Inzer's testimony was correct?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I can go further than that on almost everything that he testified. I can verify it personally because I took the trouble to verify it personally, and we have coordinated our efforts to a great extent—a certain group of us in which he is included.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you present at the home of Mr. Inzer on April 7 of this year at the time that Mr. Lew Michener visited him?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You heard Mr. Inzer's description of that occasion?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was his testimony correct?

Mr. FRANKLIN. In every detail.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have anything to add to his testimony about that occasion?

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; I don't, except to say I admired Mr. Inzer very much for being willing to get up and tell these things because of the policy of these people to direct threats at everyone who is engaged in any activity against them, which has caused reluctance on the part of a great many of our members to testify against them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Lew Michener offer you and Mr. Inzer sums of money if you would drop your anti-Communist work?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He said that he could get it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said he could get sums of money for you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much did he say he could get for you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. \$500, specifically.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after he made that offer there was an altercation between him and Mr. Inzer?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He and Mr. Inzer became embroiled in an argument and Mr. Inzer struck him and knocked him over the coffee table and I restrained him and took Michener to the door and put him out.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what did you say to Mr. Michener when he left there?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I don't remember, but it wasn't very complimentary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, getting back to the activities in which you have been engaged and for which you say you were suspended and expelled from the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union. Have you written any pamphlets on the subject of the subversive activities in trade unions?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; I wrote a pamphlet called "The Fifth Column Is Here."

Mr. MATTHEWS. And can you state briefly or elaborate upon the theme of that pamphlet?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, that pamphlet revealed just who was behind the subversive activities in southern California, just who were the men who were interfering with the labor union; it names specifically Phil Connolly and Congressman Lee Geyer here as a former member of the Communist Party, and Don Healy and other people whom we have proof are Communists, and I have detailed all these things.

There were four suits filed against us because of that pamphlet but none of the suits were ever pressed in spite of the fact we wished them pressed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were these pamphlets circulated in the harbor district?



MR. FRANKLIN. Copies of the pamphlet were sold at cost to every union that wanted them. The C. I. O. unions were not permitted to take them, but the teamsters in the San Pedro district circulated them anyway. They bought 8,000 copies and circulated them through the harbor local.

MR. MATTHEWS. Were you subjected to verbal attacks after the circulation of this pamphlet?

MR. FRANKLIN. Oh, unmercifully, I should say; yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. Were there any persons in particular who engaged in these verbal attacks upon you?

MR. FRANKLIN. Well, within the union there was Ralph Dawson and Lloyd Seeliger, who are both organizers for the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you spell the names, please?

MR. FRANKLIN. S-e-e-l-i-g-e-r; Lloyd Seeliger and Ralph Dawson—D-a-w-s-o-n.

MR. STARNES. Do you know Ralph Dawson, Mr. Franklin?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

MR. FRANKLIN. I have never seen his book or anything, but I know he is—I am well aware of it.

MR. VOORHIS. How do you know that?

MR. FRANKLIN. If you see a Methodist going to the Methodist Church and consorting with Methodists, you can take it for granted he is a Methodist; if he contributes money to build up the Methodist Church you have a fair idea that he is a Methodist. That is the only way you can judge the rank and file Communists. If they contribute to building up the Communist Party and advocate the purchase of Communist literature; if he urges a union to support the Communist cause and support Communist measures that come on the floor of a union you can do nothing else but assume he is a Communist.

MR. VOORHIS. Then my question would be: When did you see Ralph Dawson do those things?

MR. FRANKLIN. I have never seen Ralph Dawson do anything else. He advocated the sale of the People's World, the sale of the New Masses—every Communist publication that came before the union, he advocated the sale of it.

MR. VOORHIS. Now, just a minute; were you in the union meeting when he did that?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. What union? Was it the Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union?

MR. FRANKLIN. Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, Local 126. At a meeting of the local a committee was set up to further the sale of the People's World, and Charles Pfeifer was the chairman and was an organizer of the union—a paid organizer, and Ralph Dawson was one of the members.

I might add it is very seldom any member of a union who is not a paid official engages in the activities such as that. It seems to be pressure. There is pressure brought on them who are paid to do these things, but the rank and file membership are not active at all and are not interested in the furtherance of any communistic cause in the Longshoremen as well as any other C. I. O. union.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. I want to be clear on this. Your testimony is that in meetings of the Longshoremen's local—that is the Longshoremen's local of San Pedro, Calif.; is that right?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Both the locals. I belonged to both of them at different times—113 and 126.

Mr. VOORHIS. That in meetings of those locals that Ralph Dawson was a member of a committee to promote subscriptions to the People's World?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that right?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you heard him make speeches, did you—

Mr. FRANKLIN. In favor of the People's World, yes—oh, innumerable times—at almost every meeting there was someone who would get up and invariably it was Ralph Dawson or Charlie Pfeifer, and urged the rank and file members to give a day's pay to the People's World—to the support of it.

Mr. STARNES. In other words he doesn't conceal the fact that he is a sympathizer and supporter of the Communist Party program—in fact he proclaims it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I have heard him and Seeliger both say to me that the Communist Party "is the most progressive in California," when you might say I baited them about calling themselves progressive on the floor of the union. They will say the Communist Party, in their estimation, is the most progressive in California.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Dawson's position at the present time in the C. I. O. organization?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He is an organizer for the Longshoremen and Warehousemen of the Pacific coast.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has he been chairman of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council recently?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He was until recently. Eugene Judd is now—just elected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean during the past year Dawson has been the president of the Los Angeles Industrial Council?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And at present he is an organizer for the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he was an appointee of Harry Bridges?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He was originally appointed by Harry Bridges and then elected to his position in the local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have the police record of Ralph Dawson from the authorities in California; would you like to have that in the record at this point?

Mr. STARNES. That is the same Ralph Dawson that took an active part in the Harvill Die Casting strike?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Which threatened to tie up the aviation industry on the Pacific coast?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; that is the same Ralph Dawson and the same Ralph Dawson who was in the Salinas fruit pickers strike.

The record reads as follows, and I would like to ask the witness if he can testify as to certain points that are contained in this record:

F. B. I. No. 729,303 file dated July 26, 1939. First entry, arrested San Francisco May 8, 1933, for violating ordinance 833, used alias Ralph E. Olney. Second entry, arrested Visalia November 8, 1933, strike agitation and escaped from peace officer. Sentenced to San Quentin for 3 years, sentence suspended on condition leave State. Used alias Ralph E. Austin. Third entry, arrested Los Angeles July 12, 1939, assault with deadly weapon. Used present name of Ralph Dawson.

Last arrest occurred in connection with *California Milling Co. case* on Los Angeles at which violence occurred. According to Russell Parsons, former assistant district attorney, subject is Harry Bridges' right-hand man. He has been organizer at Seattle for the C. I. O. Druggist Union which is under Bridges' domination and during 1939 was organizer for the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Association. Parsons stated that on Bridges' instructions Communist attorneys Gallagher, Wirin, and Johnson, who represented Dawson on last arrest agreed to plead all other defendants guilty provided indictment against Dawson would be dropped. Have reviewed file in district attorney's office on subject.

Regarding arrest in Visalia complaint was filed charging criminal syndicalism, count one, alleged Ralph Austin (Dawson) in custody of officers J. E. Hill, deputy sheriff of Tulare County, and Constable D. O. Howard, did willfully and unlawfully escape custody of said officers.

Count two alleges Ralph Austin (Dawson) on or about October 10 did willfully and unlawfully by spoken and written words and personal conduct, justify, attempt to justify, advocate, teach, and aid and abet criminal syndicalism and the duty, necessity, and propriety of committing crime, sabotage, violence, and unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of changing industrial ownership and control and seeking a political change. Strike at Visalia was led by Pat Chambers, Lillian Monroe, and Caroline Decker, all well-known Communists.

Riot was precipitated wherein two persons were killed when subject tried to get Communist companions to come and take him away from the policemen who had arrested him. Austin (Dawson) pleaded guilty to escape and applied for probation. Probation was granted, sentence suspended for 3 years under conditions that defendant go to State of Washington with his parents to reside during period of probation and not to return to California during probation.

Probation Officer C. T. Pools' report stated Ralph Olney Austin (Dawson) born November 30, 1912, Spokane, Wash., parents Ralph O. and Elizabeth Austin, 7740 Thirty-third Avenue NW., Seattle, Wash. Came to San Francisco September 1932, studied at Shaeffer Art School until January 1933, expelled from school because of Communist ideas after being warned. Report of San Francisco probation officer states Austin (Dawson) was arrested in San Francisco for preaching doctrine of communism on street corners. Fingerprints and picture available.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Franklin, do you know Elmer J. Freitag?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

MR. STARNES. Who is Elmer J. Freitag?

MR. FRANKLIN. He is the president of the North American Aircraft, C. I. O.

MR. STARNES. Was he among the group who came to the committee table here and addressed Congressman Voorhis after the committee had recessed the morning session today?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. STARNES. He was present and participated in a demonstration, if I might use that term?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes. I might say that this committee opposed his committee at North American and did everything we could to defeat him without disrupting the local out there. We couldn't afford to tear the whole thing apart, but we did everything we could to defeat him.

Mr. STARNES. Did you know the others who participated in this demonstration this morning?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Just Lew Michener; I didn't know the young fellow.

Mr. STARNES. Freitag and Lew Michener you knew?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And they are here in Washington now?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know anything about the political background or record of Elmer J. Freitag?

Mr. FRANKLIN. When he said he wished we would stop the generalities and get down to pertinent things we can do that very easily, because Mr. Freitag is a former registered Communist and is still a party member and it is common knowledge among certain groups in the North American Aircraft plant that he is, and that he refused to allow that to be publicized in the newspapers because that would hurt them in their negotiations with the management. Otherwise Mr. Freitag would be exposed and would not be in the position as president of the organization.

Mr. STARNES. I want to state for the record in view of the demonstration that he made and his conduct during the recess that the committee has in its possession a telegram from Mr. Stedman, the investigator on the Pacific coast. I will read the pertinent portion of it with reference to Mr. Freitag. It says:

Further investigations in re Elmer J. Freitag, member of strike committee at North American and now in Washington on North American negotiations, the committee's further investigation reveals that according to record of W. M. Kerr, registrar of voters, Los Angeles County, Freitag registered as a Communist voter on January 8, 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that discussion which took place after the adjournment of the morning's hearing, did you hear Congressman Voorhis ask Freitag if he had ever been a registered Communist voter?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear his reply?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, he said something about "You have me," or something like that. I couldn't recall exactly what it was—there was so much milling around here, and I was being shoved.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear him admit it?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He didn't deny it.

I think it should be brought out in regard to the North American situation that Mr. Michener and other people like him back there do not care if they get their wage increases. In fact, they would rather not; and the other fellow who was saying he was "a good American" probably is, but they will go back without these wage increases and there will be dissatisfaction at the North American Aircraft plant which will further the work of the Communists in recruiting members; it will make bitterness among the great body of workers, and their purpose will be accomplished. So, actually, so far as Mr. Michener is concerned, it is a gain to them, and every situation like that is a gain to them.

Mr. STARNES. You mean that is the considered policy of the Communists in the labor movement, that they obtain positions of power and authority in certain of our unions and as members of negotiating committees that they will make demands and take positions impossible to meet?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. STARNES. And then go back to create further dissatisfaction and unrest among the workers in order to further the program of the party in recruiting members for the Communist Party in the various unions?

MR. FRANKLIN. Well, a study of negotiations in which they are engaged will reveal them invariably doing that. They bait the employer into an unreasonable attitude if everything else fails, or they try to make some demand which they don't think will be met.

MR. VOORHIS. What do you think of the attitude of the North American Aircraft?

MR. FRANKLIN. You mean in regard to their wages and things?

MR. VOORHIS. Yes.

MR. FRANKLIN. I think their demands are just. I think they should be granted it, but I doubt that Mr. Michener wishes them to be granted. That is what I am saying to you. He would like to every way hamper the negotiations and go back and capitalize on the dissatisfaction that will be created by the fact they are not granted.

MR. VOORHIS. Certainly; and the fact that there is representation like that makes it more difficult?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, naturally.

MR. VOORHIS. Makes it more difficult for an adjustment to be made that might be favorable to the men, isn't that true?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir. That is an example of their psychology. That little fellow there will probably go back and will be more amenable to suggestions that he cooperate more closely with the Communists than he was when he left Los Angeles.

MR. MATTHEWS. When did you first become aware of the problem of communism in the C. I. O.?

MR. FRANKLIN. Well, I was engaged in a political campaign in Los Angeles. I was manager—

MR. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

MR. FRANKLIN. 1939. I was managing the councilmanic campaign of a candidate and I was contacted by a man who said he was Al Bryan. He said he was the director of the educational—director, I believe it was—educational director of the Communist Party. He offered me a bunch of material on Evan Lewis. Evan Lewis had taken an antishum clearing stand in the council and they gave me the information that Evan Lewis owned a house on East Twenty-fifth Street which rented for \$15 a month, which was three rooms with an earthen floor—no floor at all in one room and no running water and the windows were patched and boarded up. He collected \$15 a month rent for this. I used that material in the campaign.

Another fellow came out named George Willet, who was a worker for the International Labor Defense.

They held a meeting at which they secured—

MR. MATTHEWS. Did Al Bryan tell you he was educational director for the Communist Party?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. And then you were assigned the assistance of George Willet?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Were there any other individuals whom you learned to be Communists who were engaged in that campaign?

MR. FRANKLIN. Well, they held a meeting at Mrs. Hendrika Beeks' house. She is a Communist Party member. Her place is at 145 East Seventy-first Street.

MR. MATTHEWS. How do you spell Beeks?

MR. FRANKLIN. B-e-e-k-s—Hendrika Beeks.

MR. MATTHEWS. The meeting was held at her house?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. You say she is a Communist?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. How do you know she is a Communist?

MR. FRANKLIN. She is a registered Communist—makes no secret of it.

MR. MATTHEWS. At the meeting at Mrs. Beeks' house, were you in attendance?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet William L. Elconin at her home?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes; he was an organizer for the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, and said that he could obtain the endorsement of that organization for this candidate.

MR. MATTHEWS. Was he related to Mrs. Beeks in any way?

MR. FRANKLIN. He was her son-in-law.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Betty Martin?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. On that occasion?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. And who is Betty Martin?

MR. FRANKLIN. She was a woman who was sent out here from Detroit, she said, "to unite the progressive forces under the leadership of the Communist Party," I believe the expression was.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Don Healy?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Who is Don Healy?

MR. FRANKLIN. At that time he was a Los Angeles head of Labors' Non-Partisan League. He is now head of the Construction Workers, C. I. O.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Adele Young?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes. She is a colored woman working for the National Negro Congress.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Hans Hansen?

MR. FRANKLIN. Hans Hansen? Yes; he is the financial secretary for Local 1500. He is still the A. F. of L. Carpenters' Union secretary.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did you meet Pereboon?

MR. FRANKLIN. Yes; but he is not a Communist.

MR. MATTHEWS. He is not a Communist?

MR. FRANKLIN. No; he was there with me.

MR. VOORHIS. Where did these people meet?

MR. FRANKLIN. It was at a meeting where they guaranteed they would get the various union endorsements for the candidate.

MR. VOORHIS. What candidate?

MR. FRANKLIN. The councilmanic campaign—I was managing a candidate for the council—his name was Robert Hyde.

MR. MATTHEWS. Now, with the exception of Pereboon, whom you say was not a Communist—

Mr. FRANKLIN. No; he was there with me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the other persons named—Bryan, Willet, Beeks, Elconin, Martin, Healy, Young, and Hansen identified by you as Communists?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I was given to understand that they were by George Willet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was this your first discovery in an emphatic way of the problem of Communist penetration---

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Into the trade-union picture in California?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you elaborate why it was that you gained that impression at that particular time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, through their conversation and through the fact that George Willet detailed to me that himself—he told me that those people were Communist members along with others. He at that time was explaining to me the power and influence of the Communist Party and how they were gaining ground on all fronts.

He was working for the International Labor Defense and was furthering the other interests of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever discussed the Communist Party with William Elconin?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Elconin's position at the present time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He is an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is at the present time engaged in any strike activities?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He was lately, but the strike is settled. It was at the Columbia recording plant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In connection with your discussions of the Communist Party with Mr. Elconin, what did he tell you?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He told me when he was editor of the school paper at the California Institute of Technology, that he joined the Communist Party because he believes in their objectives, or something to that effect. I don't recall the exact words. It was quite a conversation; but he did admit to me that he was a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been at any Communist Party meetings with Slim Connolly or where he was present?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I was not at a Communist Party meeting but I was at a meeting held under the auspices of the Communist Party, which was by invitation. They called it—they sent out cards and incidentally I have one of the cards—at which he spoke and he spoke as a representative of the News Guild, I believe, the Los Angeles News Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. American Newspaper Guild of Los Angeles?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that meeting?

Mr. FRANKLIN. That was shortly after this election in 1939—

Mr. MATTHEWS. In April of 1939?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did Connolly have to say at that meeting, do you recall?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; he just discussed the necessity for lining up what he termed "the reactionary advertising sheets of the dis-

trict" and to the News Guild problems that confronted the union in its organizing activities.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the persons who were in charge of the meeting?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes; there were several of them in charge of the meeting. Betty Martin was the chairman and there were the usual group of Communists in the south end of Los Angeles who were present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether George Willet is a paid worker for the International Labor Defense?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did he tell you that he was a registered Communist for a number of years?

Mr. FRANKLIN. He did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what position Adele Young holds in the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. FRANKLIN. I know that she is a registered Communist. I don't know what position she holds. The last that I heard she was in the book store—this was about 3 months ago, somewhere down on Spring Street. She was working in the book store. They had a picture of her in the People's World.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When Betty Martin introduced Slim Connolly at the meeting, do you recall how she introduced him?

Mr. FRANKLIN. She introduced him as a member of the News Guild.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you asked to join the Communist Party at that meeting?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was anybody with you when you were asked to join the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. My wife was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was it asked you to join?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Willet, George Willet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. George Willet asked you to join?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your wife asked to join also?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the names of any other persons who were present at the meeting?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, they would be almost too numerous to mention. They were the usual group of Communists who were there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where was this meeting held?

Mr. FRANKLIN. On East Washington Boulevard at the home of Adele Young. She had a big room in the back there rigged out kind of like a hall. It was not a regular Communist Party meeting, you understand. They termed it "an educational meeting under the auspices of the Communist Party of Los Angeles." It was something like that. I have the card but neglected to bring it.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did you happen to go?

Mr. FRANKLIN. They invited me. There were several people there who were not Communists. At that time it was their practice—they were "constructing a united front" with which you are no doubt well familiar because they considered you one of their leading spirits in



that "united front," and roundly condemned you as a traitor to the cause when you joined this committee and failed to save their skins, so to speak.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your reaction to the invitation to join the Communist Party?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I had no intention of joining the Communist Party. I merely went to the meeting to sort of get acquainted and see what I could see and I was curious.

At that time I held a different outlook altogether concerning the purposes of the Communist Party than I do now. I didn't think that they were as harmful as they are, as I think, now. I didn't consider them any menace. I merely considered them as, well, you might say "crackpots," that is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the party members consider you friendly toward them at that time?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, I believe that they must have or they wouldn't have invited me to their meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What prompts you to appear before this committee voluntarily and offer testimony concerning Communist penetration into the labor movement in California?

Mr. FRANKLIN. Well, the fact that I think that if it wasn't for the present international situation I believe that the Communists, because of their zeal and their capabilities—that is their leaders, would have gained complete control of the United States through their labor organizations.

That sounds rather far-fetched but their progress is amazing within the labor unions and the way they are winning the goodwill of the working people and winning the cooperation of the indifferent people, people who are indifferent to all causes, is amazing, but the international situation has brought a surge of patriotism to the average working person and now is an excellent opportunity to rid the labor movement of all of those influences which are detrimental to its welfare, and that includes the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have no more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I don't believe I have any questions.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Mason?

Mr. MASON. No questions.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Mr. Franklin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next witness is Mr. Bailey.

#### TESTIMONY OF FRED E. BAILEY, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand, Mr. Bailey? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BAILEY. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bailey, will you please give your full name?

Mr. BAILEY. Fred E. Bailey.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live?

Mr. BAILEY. At 2026 East Fourth Street, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. BAILEY. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. BAILEY. Chester, Pa.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BAILEY. November 6, 1898.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever served in the armed forces of the United States?

Mr. BAILEY. I have; from 1917 to 1920.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you in the World War?

Mr. BAILEY. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what division of the service?

Mr. BAILEY. In the Twenty-eighth Division.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your present occupation?

Mr. BAILEY. At present I am working in San Diego as an inspector for Government housing for the McNeal-Zoss Construction Co.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a member of the United Automobile Workers of America?

Mr. BAILEY. I have. I still am a member. I have been on strike at the Ford plant for 3 years. I still carry a card in the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Which Ford plant is that?

Mr. BAILEY. In Long Beach.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Long Beach, Calif.?

Mr. BAILEY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have been on strike there for 3 years?

Mr. BAILEY. Over 3 years. It was 3 years last April.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the Ford strike did you meet Lew Michener?

Mr. BAILEY. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about Communist Party meetings that were held in conjunction with that strike at the Ford plant in Long Beach?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please detail what you know about them?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, the latter part of 1938 I was invited to three of those meetings. These meetings were to be held to discuss a relief set-up of all the unions on the west coast. It was to grow until it included the entire west coast and was to be started with the United Automobile Workers in Los Angeles County.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How were you notified to attend these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. I was notified through the secretary, the recording secretary of my local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was he?

Mr. BAILEY. Paul Harvey.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how did you know these were Communist meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, I knew after I got there when I saw who the leaders were, that it was a Communist meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any Communist literature sold or distributed?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; it was sold and given away to strikers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have to be vouched for before you were permitted to enter the meeting?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall who vouched for you?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, those who brought guests along vouched for them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who acted as chairman of the meeting?

Mr. BAILEY. Bill Lyons.

Mr. MATTHEWS. L-y-o-n-s?

Mr. BAILEY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who Lyons is?

Mr. BAILEY. Lyons is an organizer for the Communist Party in Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At that time what was he?

Mr. BAILEY. At that time he was a member of a local in Los Angeles. I just don't recall the number of that local but I think it was 188.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, at any of these meetings—you say there were three of them that you attended, I believe?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; I attended three of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At any of these meetings was Lew Michener present?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; he was present at the one we had in Bell. I don't know just where it was held in Bell or at whose home it was held but it was held at the home of a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What part did Michener take in the meeting?

Mr. BAILEY. Michener took the part of organizing this relief setup. The purpose was to influence the State relief in such a way as to bring enough pressure up on them that benefits could be gotten by strikers without all that red tape that you have to go through. In other words, if there was a strike, a big strike, proper relief would be given to strikers so that they wouldn't have to go out and look for other jobs—they could put more time on a demonstration.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Scotty Orr?

Mr. BAILEY. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Scotty Orr at any of these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; he was there too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify Scotty Orr?

Mr. BAILEY. Scotty Orr is a Scotchman with black hair, about 5 feet 1 or 2 inches, and weighs about 170 pounds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does he do?

Mr. BAILEY. He is an organizer for the aircraft industry around Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a Communist?

Mr. BAILEY. No; I don't know for sure. I heard one time—I inquired about it and they said that "he was too hot" and that the Communist Party didn't want him. That was in 1938. They didn't want him on account of his Masonic affiliations. They were afraid of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, did he participate in any of these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. How is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he participate in any of these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; he did. He talked on the organization of the aircraft industry. The aircraft industry was discussed very much at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Ralph Reed?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about him?

Mr. BAILEY. Ralph Reed is a member of my local and he was one of those that was invited; but they never invited him anymore because he talked too much.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Dell Compton?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, sir; I know Dell Compton. He admits that he is a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he present at any of these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. He was present, him and his wife both. His wife is very active among the women of the auxiliaries in the United Automobile Workers.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute. We are talking about these meetings—just exactly what were these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. These meetings were invitational affairs.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. BAILEY. And you were invited to attend these meetings?

Mr. VOORHIS. By whom?

Mr. BAILEY. Well, I was always invited by my secretary.

Mr. VOORHIS. By "your secretary"?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; the secretary of my local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Paul Harvey?

Mr. BAILEY. They tried very hard to always get a foot in these locals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By getting the recording secretary? That is the policy of the Communist Party—if they can get a hold of the recording secretary, they have got an entry.

Mr. VOORHIS. But how did they happen to invite you to the meeting?

Mr. BAILEY. They wanted me to attend those meetings and to take over the relief set-up that they were going to set up.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you an official of the union?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, sir; I was. I was secretary—chairman of the relief committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. You were chairman of the relief committee?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; chairman of the relief committee, and I had very good success with the relief organization in Los Angeles County, in getting relief for the strikers of my own union; and because of that Michener wanted me to take over the whole relief committee of all the locals in Los Angeles County and later on to take over the west coast.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say it was Michener who wanted you to do that?

Mr. BAILEY. That is right. Michener talked to me that night about it, and he talked to me about it in the office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Sam Miller?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; I am not so well acquainted with him, but I know who he is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Sam Miller?

Mr. BAILEY. Sam Miller was secretary of the Willys-Overland local.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he at these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; he was at that one in Bell.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The one at Bell—B-e-l-l?

Mr. BAILEY. That is the one. The other two meetings were not so important. I only stayed about a half hour and then we were told to

go and those that were invited there left and the meeting continued without us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was the Workers Alliance brought into the discussion at any of these meetings?

Mr. BAILEY. The Workers Alliance was always brought in wherever the relief situation was discussed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that you were successful in obtaining relief for men on strike. Would you obtain that relief through the Workers Alliance?

Mr. BAILEY. I did at first; yes. I gained a lot of information from the Workers Alliance—a complete picture of the relief set-up in southern California. I knew who I could go to see in each one of these districts. The Workers Alliance had employees working for the State relief administration that helped the Workers Alliance to get relief for their members, and I took advantage of that to the extent that I had the same success in getting them on.

Mr. VOORHIS. What employees of the State relief administration were doing that?

Mr. BAILEY. The Workers' Alliance had members working in the State relief administration—in the offices.

Mr. STARNES. When was that?

Mr. BAILEY. In 1938 and 1939.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know who was personal manager of the State relief administration at that time?

Mr. BAILEY. No; I don't.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you know whether it is the same person that is manager of it now?

Mr. BAILEY. I don't know who it is.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think, Mr. Chairman, it is only fair to state that at that time there was a very different regime in the State relief administration than there is today.

Mr. BAILEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You say that was in the beginning of 1938?

Mr. BAILEY. The latter part of 1938.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right, the latter part of 1938. I am quite certain that William Plunkett was personnel director of the State relief administration at that time. He was later dismissed by the Governor, and I don't think you will find any such situation existing there now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were your contacts with the State office or with the Los Angeles office or other local offices?

Mr. BAILEY. My contact was made with Mr. Heckt in the State relief administration at Los Angeles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How do you spell that?

Mr. BAILEY. H-e-c-k-t. But I never got very far with him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, was it your understanding that because you were chairman of the relief committee in the striking local of the U. A. W., and because you had had some success in obtaining relief for strikers, that the Communists wished to use you in a general relief organization which they were going to set up?

Mr. BAILEY. That is right—that is what Mr. Michener told me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you that the Communists were involved in this in any way?

Mr. BAILEY. Oh, no; not the Communists, no; but he told me through my acquaintance with the relief set-up and what I had done for my local that he wanted to place me in that position.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, are you acquainted with the way in which the Communists functioned in the strike at your local?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you describe that?

Mr. BAILEY. As far as my local is concerned?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BAILEY. When we went on strike we went on strike on a Friday and the following Monday we had a representative from the harbor district of the Communist Party, Loretta Adams, and Mrs. Adams offered us all available assistance that we needed. They provided an ambulance to carry away strikers that were—that should happen to get hurt in any fights, and we had a representative of the I. L. D. who called there and gave us cards as to what to do in case of arrest—in case we got caught working somebody over or overturning a car or something like that—the things that go with a strike.

This card gave us information as to what to do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of any other way in which the Communists functioned in your strike?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes; they helped us to set up a restaurant to feed the strikers that worked on the picket line; they sponsored a couple of dances to provide funds for the strikers—

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us information or can you confirm the information given to us under oath by Mr. Inzer and by Mr. Franklin, to the effect that at the present time the Communists are quite active in the coast area out there in an effort to promote discord and strife and dissatisfaction; produce slow-downs and stoppages of construction work in the airplane industry, because of its effect on the national-defense program?

Mr. BAILEY. No; I can't. I ceased my activities with my own local in November of 1939. I went broke and I had to go to work.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where have you worked since then?

Mr. BAILEY. I have been working on the W. P. A. for awhile and in the latter part of 1940 I went to work with the McNeal Construction Co., at Long Beach, and then I went to San Diego on a big job there; but I haven't attended any meetings of my local.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask a couple of questions.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that local still on strike at the Ford plant?

Mr. BAILEY. Still out on strike; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. But the plant is operating, is it?

Mr. BAILEY. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, in practical effect the strike has been lost?

Mr. BAILEY. I wouldn't say that that strike is lost—that strike is not lost.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't think it is?

Mr. BAILEY. No; because we have a decision handed down by the Labor Board and upheld by the appellate court. He has been ordered to reinstate all the strikers and pay them back wages.

Mr. VOORHIS. But he hasn't done it?

Mr. BAILEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. How long ago was he ordered to do that?

Mr. BAILEY. We got the first order about 2 years ago and then just about 6 months ago it was upheld by the higher court.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think conduct like that plays into the hands of the Communists in the labor movement?

Mr. BAILEY. It certainly does.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean action like that on the part of an employer.

Mr. BAILEY. It certainly helps the Communist movement a lot because they just seem to get in when you are at your lowest.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think so, too.

Mr. BAILEY. That is why they center so much of their activity on the Workers Alliance. They use that very, very much because they get in and get a hold of a man when he is down—he is hungry and he can't get a job. Then is when they breed the communistic idea into his head and that is why they wanted me on this relief committee, because I knew what those fellows were up against.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Mr. Bailey.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next witness is Mr. Crozier.

#### TESTIMONY OF OSCAR C. CROZIER, SAN GABRIEL, CALIF.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Crozier, will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CROZIER. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you give us your full name?

Mr. CROZIER. Oscar C. Crozier.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live?

Mr. CROZIER. San Gabriel.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. CROZIER. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. CROZIER. In Logansport, Ind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. CROZIER. In December 1895.

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

Mr. CROZIER. Been in California since 1930.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been a member of any trade union?

Mr. CROZIER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your background in the trade union movement?

Mr. CROZIER. In 1937, in March, they started to organize the Studebaker Pacific Corporation, an assembly plant for automobiles, in which plant I was employed and in that plant I was instrumental in organizing the U. A. W.-C. I. O., and was elected the first temporary chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you belong to any union before that time?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I had belonged to the International Theatrical, Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you working at the time you belonged to that union?

Mr. CROZIER. I was working in a theater in Logansport, Ind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever worked for the Pennsylvania Railroad Co.?

Mr. CROZIER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the Humes Refining Co.?

Mr. CROZIER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And now you are employed at the Studebaker Pacific Corporation?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In California?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the Studebaker Pacific Corporation?

Mr. CROZIER. Studebaker Pacific Corporation; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What kind of work do you do there?

Mr. CROZIER. They are engaged in the assembly of Studebaker automobiles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are a member of the U. A. W. local at that plant?

Mr. CROZIER. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the number of the local at that plant?

Mr. CROZIER. Local 255.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of that union?

Mr. CROZIER. Since March of 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you organize that local?

Mr. CROZIER. I was instrumental in organizing it, and practically organized it alone by myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Bill Lyons have anything to do with that local at the time of its inception?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; Bill Lyons conducted the meetings which were called—the mass meetings which were called for the organizational drive in that plant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about Bill Lyons and his connections, if anything?

Mr. CROZIER. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about Bill Lyons and his connections, if anything?

Mr. CROZIER. Connections with what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any organizations.

Mr. CROZIER. He was at that time acting in the capacity of an organizer for the U. A. W. due to the fact that they were short of paid organizers. He was not a paid organizer but he was always an active member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, how do you know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CROZIER. Because he has stated to me that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hold any position in Local 255 after its organization in 1937?

Mr. CROZIER. I did. I was elected the first temporary chairman and the first permanent chairman and the second chief shop steward, and then again elected president.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been in effect president of the local three times?

Mr. CROZIER. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any official position in the local at the present time?

Mr. CROZIER. None whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the period when you were an official of Local 255, were you a delegate to the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. At various, different times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever discuss the question of Communist activities on the floor of the Los Angeles Industrial Trade Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you take any particular position with reference to the affiliation of your own local with the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; I did. In 1938 I recommended to my local union that they withdraw from the council due to the fact that we were not receiving any interest or any goodwill out of the council and that it was, in my opinion, communistically controlled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What action did your local take on your proposal?

Mr. CROZIER. They withdrew from the council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your own Local 255 withdrew from the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On the ground that you were deriving no particular benefit?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that you considered the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council Communist controlled?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Local 255 is at present affiliated with the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; we reaffiliated with the council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that?

Mr. CROZIER. That was about 6 months ago, now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About 6 months ago?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. At the time you withdrew didn't a good many of the unions withdraw from it also?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I can't say as to that. There were some withdrawals from it, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, while you were president of Local 255, did you come in contact with Lew Michener?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What position did he hold at that time?

Mr. CROZIER. He was the regional director.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you meet with him frequently with regard to union matters?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I might say I possibly should have met with him more than I did in regard to union matters, but due to his affiliations and his bedfellows, my local and myself stayed away from him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you mean by "bedfellows"?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, members of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about his associations with members of the Communist Party?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I might say this, "birds of a feather flock together," and that is where I got my opinion of Lew Michener and the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it would be best for you to be more specific about that. You just say, "birds of a feather flock together," and that is why you think it. Now, I think you should explain that.

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I might explain it in this way, which I think further down in the testimony it will be brought out definitely, as to why I connect Lew Michener with the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right, I will wait until that testimony comes in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever at any time find Lew Michener in company with Sam Miller, Bill Lyons, and Nick Ripan?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. First, will you state what you know about Sam Miller and Bill Lyons and Nick Ripan?

Mr. CROZIER. Bill Lyons definitely told me he was a member of the Communist Party and he was a known organizer for the Communist Party. Sam Miller, who is a member of Local 215, is or was an instructor for the Communist Party in Highland Park.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean he taught in a Communist Party workers' school?

Mr. CROZIER. No; I have to say it this way: That they stayed completely away from me due to the fact that way back in 1938 I took the stand definitely against them and we have been very fortunate to keep the Communists out of Local 255.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about Nick Ripan?

Mr. CROZIER. Nick Ripan, or Bill Ripan, definitely resigned as a board member of the District Auto Council due to the fact that he had to devote his time to Communist organizing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, now, will you describe the incident where you found Michener in the company of Miller, Lyons, and Ripan?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes. It was in the Currier Building, 212 West Third Street. I was called to a conference in room 409 of that building. When I got off the elevator you have to go past the regional office and in the corner outside of the office or in the hall, with his back up against the wall, stood Lew Michener and gathered around him, closely, was Bill Lyons and Sam Miller and Ripan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What happened after you saw these men together?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, Lew Michener kind of ducked down so possibly, he thought, I wouldn't see him, and after our conference in room 409 he came to me and said: "Buddy, I believe I owe you an apology."

I said: "Well, Lew, if it was concerning the coincident of which I witnessed when I came in I don't think you do owe me an apology."

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did he say about that?

Mr. CROZIER. He more or less tried very hard to apologize and I wouldn't accept no apology whatsoever from him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the convention of the United Automobile Workers in St. Louis last year?

Mr. CROZIER. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just when was that convention?

Mr. CROZIER. That convention was held—convened on July 29 and extended into August.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go as a delegate from the Studebaker local, Local No. 255?

Mr. CROZIER. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you participate in the election of a regional director for California at that convention?

Mr. CROZIER. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell what part you had in that election?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, when we were gathered in our caucus room and, naturally, I think as the previous witness, Brother Inzer, has stated, when the nominations were opened and Lew Michener was nominated and myself was nominated, I told Lew Michener definitely that if he didn't take the regional office out of the home of the Communist Party, of which we considered the Currier Building, and that was where the regional office was then located, we were going to come up there and throw him and the furniture all out the window.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did he have to say about that?

Mr. CROZIER. He definitely said they were going to move the home of the regional office and that they did do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the People's World one of the institutions that was housed in the Currier Building?

Mr. CROZIER. I would not say definitely that they were. However, I recall back in early 1938 going up there and we got some literature and definitely I wouldn't say that they were housed or that the People's World was edited in that building.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, at the St. Louis convention, where you were a candidate for regional director and Michener was a candidate, you said there was a third candidate?

Mr. CROZIER. No; just the two of us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was elected?

Mr. CROZIER. Lew Michener.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the general size of the vote?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; it was tremendous on his side.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you disgruntled because you failed of election?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I would have liked to have been the regional director for just about 30 days down there, to clean that place out. That is really what was my incentive for being the regional director, for the benefit of the labor movement in that district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you notice anything of particular significance about Michener's associates at the St. Louis convention?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; very definitely. Of course, Wyndham Mortimer, who is one of Michener's organizers and works directly under Michener, he was associating with John Anderson, of Local 155 of Detroit, who is a known Communist and who defended the Soviet Union on the floor of our convention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Michener voted on the resolutions that were brought before the St. Louis convention?

Mr. CROZIER. Michener was very clever about such things as that. He usually got out when it was about time to vote on anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the St. Louis convention of the United Automobile Workers adopt a resolution endorsing the third term candidacy of the President?

Mr. CROZIER. They did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did the Auto Council or the C. I. O. organization in California do subsequent to this endorsement at St. Louis?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I don't quite understand what you are referring to there, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Michener in California after the convention, back the resolution which had been adopted at St. Louis?

Mr. CROZIER. No; he did not. They were opposed to Franklin Roosevelt for a third term and the New Deal. However, I was not a delegate to the State convention, which was held in San Diego, of which I think the affair you are referring to took place; but Lew Michener, as an international executive board member of the United Automobile Workers of America, C. I. O., in the international executive board meeting prior, 6 weeks prior to the convention called in St. Louis, at that meeting the board approved Franklin D. Roosevelt for the third term and Lew Michener at that board meeting fought that down, but he was whipped into line back at that time and he definitely knew when he went into the convention that his own board went for the third term for Roosevelt.

Mr. STARNES. What is the relevancy of this?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the St. Louis convention where the so-called Communist faction failed to exert any very great influence in the resolutions, they went back to California and in the organizations there succeeded in overriding what had been done at St. Louis. In other words, they lost on the Communist Party line in St. Louis and succeeded on the Communist Party line in Los Angeles.

Mr. STARNES. They lost on the broader front and went back and renewed their efforts on a smaller front on the coast and won out, is that what you are bringing out?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is my understanding of the situation. I will ask the witness to state if that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Let me get this straight: These leaders who went to California to renew the drive of the Communist Party, they, together with other Communist leaders, centralized their efforts there, is that right?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Wyndham Mortimer is not a native of California?

Mr. CROZIER. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether Lew Michener is or not?

Mr. CROZIER. I wouldn't state—no; I don't know whether he is or not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I ask a question here, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Crozier, there has been considerable testimony today about the C. I. O. in southern California. I want to ask you how many members this organization has that is headed by Mr. Inzer, and to which I understand you also belong—about how many members do you have?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, Congressman Voorhis, I am not a member of the Vigilant Committee, and I would like a little later on to elaborate on that as to why I am not a member, due to the fact of the committee we have set up within our own local union. We have endorsed Brother Inzer's committee 100 percent and will cooperate with them at all times and do.

Mr. STARNES. But you have your own organization fight?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me ask you this: Among the rank and file of the C. I. O. generally in southern California, what percentage of the men do you reckon are opposed to Communist domination wherever it might exist?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I would say the overwhelming majority of the C. I. O. in general, throughout the United States, is opposed to the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. And so would I.

Mr. CROZIER. And to any other subversive groups.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the same would be true in southern California?

Mr. CROZIER. That is true; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are there international unions that are affiliated with the C. I. O. in southern California which, in your opinion are clean of Communist influence?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Which ones?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I can say Local 255 for one, and of course you are speaking relative to international unions?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; at the moment.

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I don't think—I am sorry to say and to make this report from California, I don't think I could report that there is one international that hasn't got some Communist activities within it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, of course you can't, because they are going to try to have activities in every organization there is, but I am asking you about international organizations where they do not have any controlling influence and where the movement of opposing men has been strong enough to prevent their holding any offices or gaining any control or any influence to speak of.

Mr. CROZIER. I say definitely I don't know of any out there that is not.

Mr. VOORHIS. What about the rubber workers?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I will have to say that Bob Roberts, of the rubber workers, has kept the rubber workers very clean. I don't believe they are completely controlled by it, but there is Communist influence, in my opinion, in the rubber workers.

Mr. VOORHIS. There are certain locals where I could vouch myself there isn't a bit.

Mr. CROZIER. Oh, yes; certain individual locals; yes, sir; as I stated about mine, but I thought you were referring to internationals.

Mr. VOORHIS. You know what is in the constitution of the Rubber Workers' International?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I know what is in our local union constitution, too.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I am trying to get at is, and I think it is important for the general picture to be as clear as we can, and I don't

want the committee to let the impression go out that this is a universal proposition—I think it is important for some of the men that are fighting the front line battle on this thing to get credit for it and usually they don't.

All I want to make clear is that there are locals and larger organizations, too—

Mr. CROZIER. I heartily agree with you.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where the fight to keep the Communists from any controlling influence has been successful.

Mr. CROZIER. I heartily agree with you, that there are locals even beyond and in addition to the rubber workers that are attempting to do that very thing that you are trying to bring out, but not the internationals.

Mr. VOORHIS. I didn't mean everyone; I just meant generally. What other locals would you mention, if you can think of any others, where you think the same general situation occurs as in your local?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I should say Local 216 has fought diligently and hard and opposed the subversive groups, and Local 43 of the rubber workers, Local 44 also, and my own. And, in fact, I would have to say all of them have fought against it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Local 44 of the rubber workers is the one Herb Wilson is the president of?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. What about the Amalgamated Clothing Workers?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, I am not so familiar with them. However, I do know that they battle heartily against them also. I have not attended, but as you brought out the point—our local union rents our hall from the rubber workers which is located on Atlantic Boulevard and that is how I happen to know definitely about them.

Mr. MASON. Just this one thing: You men have come here voluntarily as witnesses because of your interest in trying to clean up the labor unions of the west coast that you represent, and get rid of subversive elements and also influences in those unions.

Would you say that it would be safe to say you are representing at least 95 or 98 percent of the membership of the C. I. O. unions on the west coast in your efforts to do that very thing?

Mr. CROZIER. I would say yes.

Mr. MASON. That is all. That is the picture as I get it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a copy of the bylaws of Studebaker Local 255, and ask you if you can identify that as a correct copy of the bylaws of the organization?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has this been adopted in its entirety by the Studebaker Local 255?

Mr. CROZIER. It has.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was it so adopted?

Mr. CROZIER. I would say about three and a half months ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 16 there is an article numbered article 19, entitled, "Installation Ceremony." Will you please read that article—section 1?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; section 1, entitled "Installation Ceremony." Then—

The provisions and procedures outlined in article 36 of the constitution of the International Union, the United Automobile Workers of America, are

hereby adopted for the installation ceremonies for this local, provided, however, that there shall be added to the oath in said article 36, set forth beginning after the last line of the said constitutional oath, the following:

"To support and comply with the laws of the Constitution of the United States of America and the constitution and laws of the State of California and to do everything in my power to preserve and defend the form of government established in the United States of America, and to oppose the establishment of any Nazi, Fascist, or communistic government party within the United States of America."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, your local adopted that section of your bylaws?

Mr. CROZIER. They did, without a dissenting vote.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do your bylaws have to go before any other body for approval?

Mr. CROZIER. They do. They must be ratified according to our international constitution of the United Automobile Workers of America, by our international executive board.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has this installation ceremony been approved?

Mr. CROZIER. That has not. We were notified that they rejected that part as it was unconstitutional according to our constitution.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words the international executive board rejected that installation ceremony as your local had adopted it?

Mr. CROZIER. That is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. On what ground did they reject it?

Mr. CROZIER. They rejected it on the ground that it was unconstitutional.

Mr. VOORHIS. Why?

Mr. CROZIER. Due to the fact of our international constitution, of which I have a copy over there in my brief case.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was it because of the fact that you are an international union with membership in Canada?

Mr. CROZIER. No. I would like to if you care—I can quote from the international constitution on the grounds why—I don't like to do it without quoting from the constitution—I don't want to get off the track.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I think perhaps the witness can explain where the conflict lies.

Mr. STARNES. You can set that section out in the record and let him explain it in his own words.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the conflict?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, definitely, because the C. I. O. has taken the policy that they shall accept for membership within the C. I. O. all races, creeds, and it is not prejudiced to anyone. That is a very broad and long thing that came about back in the early days of it when that was adopted and when I don't think they felt the Communists were going to come in or that the present crisis was going to be here, and I look and hope, sincerely hope, that at our convention in Buffalo this year that we can in some sort of way or other amend that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been present at any gathering where a communication was received relative to the purchase of defense bonds?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What gathering was that?

Mr. CROZIER. That was the regular meeting of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did this communication urge upon union members the purchase of defense bonds of the United States Government?

Mr. CROZIER. It did; and the communication was from our C. I. O. national headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What reception did that communication have in the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. CROZIER. Slim Connolly, the secretary of the council, read the communication, and it asked us to buy defense bonds and stamps, explaining what a good investment it was, and when he got to the part of the "good investment," why, Slim Connolly merely laughed, and it was a "ha ha," and he stated in some sort of words like this: "Yes, it is a good investment," and with that an indignant laugh.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean a sarcastic laugh?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; a sarcastic laugh.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the communication received with favor by any vote?

Mr. CROZIER. No; it was moved and seconded and carried to file the communication.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was any further action taken on it?

Mr. CROZIER. No; none.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Immediately after that communication was read did the subject of a testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher come before the council?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; it did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a copy of the announcement of the testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what action was taken by the council on this subject and in what mood, if you are able to describe it?

Mr. CROZIER. The communication was read by Slim Connolly and definitely there was a motion made to concur in the communication and endorse the testimonial dinner and urge the council to send invitations to all delegates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the matter greeted with any enthusiasm on the part of the council?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I would say it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Leo Gallagher has been a candidate for public office on the Communist Party ticket in California?

Mr. CROZIER. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I offer this for inclusion in the record at this point, as a list of sponsors, beginning on page 3 of the announcement of this testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered. Is there anything else, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all.

(The document referred to was marked "Crozier Exhibit No. 1, May 29, 1941.")



(The list of sponsors mentioned above is as follows:)

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Mr. MATTHEWS. Just a moment, Mr. Chairman. The witness would like to make a statement regarding his own organization, which is somewhat parallel to the Vigilant American Committee.

What is the name of the organization which you set up in the Studebake Local 255?

Mr. CROZIER. The American Way Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you please state the objectives of this committee?

Mr. CROZIER. Mr. Chairman, may I have permission to read it? I don't want to leave out anything and I don't want to get anything in there because I am not here, naturally, in behalf of this committee. I am here in behalf of the committee but they didn't send me here and naturally I want to get it as we have it as a matter of record.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed.

Mr. MASON. You say you are not here in behalf of the committee? You are here in cooperation with and in sympathy with the purposes of this committee? You are here in behalf of your local which you want to clear of any such things?

Mr. CROZIER. I am sorry. I thought I made that very clear by stating that I wasn't authorized by the committee to be here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He means the American Way Committee.

Mr. MASON. I see.

Mr. CROZIER. Because there is a large movement under way to dissolve that committee.

The American Way Committee has adopted for their true aims, to purge from our local union and the C. I. O. in general and the United States of America, any members who are members or sympathizers of the Communists, Nazi, or Facist Parties, or any any other un-American groups whose activities are opposed to the best interests of the kind of a labor movement that the free peoples of the United States of America would be proud of, such antilabor groups as the M. and M., the Southern Californians, Inc., the Neutral Thousands, and so on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all.

Mr. VOORHIS. These groups that you mentioned at the end of your statement, it is your opinion that their activities in the way of extreme

antilabor activities play into the hands of the Communists in the labor movement?

Mr. CROZIER. Well, the American Way Committee definitely considers the antilabor group tactics as un-American and from that standpoint that is why we adopted those along with the others.

I also should like to add if it is permissible, that we even feel, as far as the committee is concerned, that some of those groups have a greater advantage over us than even the Communists themselves because they have contacts with some of the employers which they parallel themselves with and which we think destroys the labor movement.

Mr. STARNES. Next witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Bolling.

#### TESTIMONY OF JAY EDWARD BOLLING, LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Bolling, will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BOLLING. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Please give your full name for the record.

Mr. BOLLING. Jay Edward Bolling.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live?

Mr. BOLLING. In Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. BOLLING. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. BOLLING. Hellier, Ky.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BOLLING. July 20, 1892.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been living in California?

Mr. BOLLING. Since about April 19, 1919.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever served in the armed forces of the United States?

Mr. BOLLING. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity?

Mr. BOLLING. I was in the Artillery.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During the World War?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes; during the World War.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly the jobs or positions which you have held during your adulthood?

Mr. BOLLING. I will sketch over a few of them. I don't think I could tell you all of them since I came to California. I first got replacement training as a disabled soldier at the University of California at Los Angeles, and took up architectural engineering and drawing. After finishing the 4-year course there I went to work with an architectural firm called Truesdale, Perrington & Newton, architects and engineers of Los Angeles, as supervisor of construction. I was with them something over a year. I am not sure. That has been some time ago.

After that I worked at the carpenter trade for awhile—a few years at different places around Los Angeles County.

Then I worked with the Airway Electrical Appliance Corporation as a salesman during the depression.

I think it was about the 1st of November 1934 that I went to work for the Ford Motor Co., in Long Beach. I worked with the Ford Motor Co. in Long Beach until April 15, 1938, at which time the local went on strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go on strike with the local?

Mr. BOLLING. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a member of the local at the time?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Local 406 of the U. A. W.?

Mr. BOLLING. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that local is still out on strike?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the local which a previous witness has referred to when he said that an order for reinstatement was granted about 2 years ago?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where have you been employed since you went on strike at the Long Beach Ford plant in 1938?

Mr. BOLLING. In March 1939, I think it was either the 28th or 29th, I went to work for the Studebaker Pacific Corporation. I remember it was only 17 days, lacked 17 days of being 1 year I was out on strike without any work whatever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you still employed at the Studebaker Pacific Corporation?

Mr. BOLLING. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity?

Mr. BOLLING. I am in the trim department, which is called department 210.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been working there continuously since 1939?

Mr. BOLLING. Practically speaking; yes. There have been a few months that I have been off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, did you take an active part in the Ford strike at Long Beach?

Mr. BOLLING. I consider I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state briefly what it was?

Mr. BOLLING. I was a member of the executive board. I was trustee at the time and I was elected as a member of the finance committee to finance the strike, and shortly afterwards I was sent north by the local, visiting the different cities such as Baker's Field and in the Bay area and on up north into Oregon and Washington, speaking at different locals, asking for funds to carry on the strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of Local 255 at the Studebaker Pacific Corporation plant?

Mr. BOLLING. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Local 255 of the United Automobile Workers of America?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had any committee position assigned to you in that local?

Mr. BOLLING. I am a member of the bylaws committee which wrote up the bylaws that were in question a few minutes ago; I am chairman of the educational committee, a delegate to the Auto Council and also to the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You hold all of those positions at the present time?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are a delegate to the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. BOLLING. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also a delegate to the Auto Council?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What territory is included in that Auto Council?

Mr. BOLLING. I am not so sure at the present time, but my understanding is that it includes district 6 or, in other words, the same area that is included in the regional area—that is, included in the area which Michener has jurisdiction over.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is through several States?

Mr. BOLLING. I understand it includes the Auto Workers in the western part of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been president of the Auto Council?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BOLLING. In 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in your experience as president of the Auto Council, also in the Ford strike, and recently your experience as a member of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council, have you come in contact with Lew Michener?

Mr. BOLLING. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is Lew Michener's position?

Mr. BOLLING. At the present time he is regional director of the Los Angeles and west coast area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the U. A. W.?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Michener personally?

Mr. BOLLING. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOLLING. Michener's wife told me that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever confronted Michener himself with the question of his membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BOLLING. I have accused him, I think, on the floor, of being a Communist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What has been his reply?

Mr. BOLLING. He denied it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that all he has done?

Mr. BOLLING. Well, he did—

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what terms, I mean, did he deny it, if any?

Mr. BOLLING. He told me the last time that I made that assertion, when I got close to him after the meeting, that he was not a Communist and that he would get me for that and threatened to strike me and I pulled off my glasses and handed them to a man

near me and I told him to go ahead, and by that time they jumped between us and they took Michener out.

MR. MATTHEWS. You say Mrs. Michener told you that Michener was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. BOLLING. She did.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did she ever say anything about Communist Party meetings held at their home?

MR. BOLLING. She said that the Communist Party met there—parties were held in their apartment and after she and Michener had a falling out or had—rather, wasn't getting along so very well, that they wouldn't let her be present any more and finally moved—wouldn't have them in the apartment any longer.

She also told me that Michener would go to Hollywood and sometimes she would be along and he would get sums of money from people—she didn't know who they were. They would stop in front of some place and he would go in and get money and come back and distribute it in Los Angeles to individuals—drive up and get out and go in, and in cases where she could hear he would say: "Here is this money," and "you know what to do with it."

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, did she ever name any other parties who had attended these Communist Party meetings in her apartment?

MR. BOLLING. She did. I can't remember very many of them but I know she mentioned Bill Lyons, Sam Miller, and Nick Ripan. And she mentioned Slim Connolly but I am not sure whether she said Slim Connolly was at the meetings or not, but she did say he was a Communist.

MR. MATTHEWS. She told you that Slim Connolly was a Communist?

MR. BOLLING. She did. She also told me that Michener told her that it would be only a short time until the Communists would take the Government of the United States over; that they had Communists appointed in every defense industry, in every munitions and arms factory in the United States and could take them over at any time—it was only a short time until they made the strike then they would handle things their way.

MR. STARNES. A short time until they did what?

MR. BOLLING. Take over the Government.

MR. STARNES. What was it you said about "a short time until they pulled a general strike?"

MR. BOLLING. No, no. As I understood it from her, until they started a revolution to take over the Government but she didn't put it just that way.

MR. MATTHEWS. I think he also stated that Mrs. Michener stated that the Communists had persons in all of the defense industries, arms plants, and so forth.

MR. VOORHIS. How did she happen to tell you these things?

MR. BOLLING. I went to her son's-in-law place—I didn't know that he was Mr. Michener's son-in-law or that Mrs. Michener was there. I went to him in regard to this split in the U. A. W. more than 2 years ago and I went to talk to her son-in-law—I think his name is Henry Knoblock. He was a member of Local 406 and I was still a member of Local 406 at that time. I went to him to talk to him in regard to this point. He didn't happen to be at home and Mrs.

Michener was there and her daughter. She asked me in and I went in and she asked me if there was anything she could do, and I told her I was in a little bit of an embarrassing position and told her the circumstances—that I was there in favor of Martin and I understood that her husband was against him, and then she told me that I needn't be embarrassed to say anything or speak my mind because she and Michener had separated and she did not intend to go back with him again.

She also stated that she would be willing to testify before this committee if some protection was accorded her, because she would be afraid to testify for fear of bodily harm unless she was protected in some way.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know Jack Orr?

MR. BOLLING. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. What is Jack Orr's position?

MR. BOLLING. Jack Orr, at the present time, I don't know, but as I understand it and I think according to the paper, he was editor of the Aircraft Organizer.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is that the official publication of the aircraft division of the U. A. W.?

MR. BOLLING. That is right.

MR. MATTHEWS. Did Jack Orr ever tell you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

MR. BOLLING. He did.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know where it was that he told you that?

MR. BOLLING. Berkeley, Calif.

MR. MATTHEWS. And what were the circumstances under which he told you that?

MR. BOLLING. He told me in a way—this is the way I got it—it was in conversations with myself as well as other students of the labor school in northern California, in Berkeley. They were talking of political parties and he spoke of the Communist Party as "we"—"we don't think this," or "we believe this," or "we don't believe that," and he did not deny it and I took it from that that was an admission that he was a Communist.

MR. VOORHIS. Was anyone else present when he told you that?

MR. BOLLING. There were, but they were students and it has been—it was in July of 1938 and I couldn't name the ones that were present because it was kind of a general discussion. I just happened up during the time the discussion was going on.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you know Ralph Dawson?

MR. BOLLING. I know Ralph Dawson; yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. What official position does he hold?

MR. BOLLING. Ralph Dawson at the present time is chief organizer of the C. I. O. in the Los Angeles area.

MR. MATTHEWS. Has he until recently been the president of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

MR. BOLLING. He became president a few months ago when the president of the council resigned to take up a job with the O. P. M. That man was a member of the Oil Workers' Union. I can't remember his name at the present time, but anyway he was president and Dawson was vice president. He resigned and Dawson took his place and was president up to a short time ago when they had the election—the election was a short time ago, a month or so ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you hear the report from the California authorities on the record of Ralph Dawson read here this afternoon?

Mr. BOLLING. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything that is in conflict with any of the statements made in that report?

Mr. BOLLING. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your judgment, based upon your knowledge of Dawson's activities and views, that he follows the Communist Party line?

Mr. BOLLING. Without a doubt to my mind.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you base that statement on?

Mr. BOLLING. From his action in the council, his acting as chairman of the council, on giving the floor to certain individuals who seem to have something in common with him and others that he would refuse the floor that had something on their mind that wasn't in common with them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who were the ones that he gave the floor to and what did they say?

Mr. BOLLING. That is just one of the details—that is just one of the things; it was because of his talks and what he did, and what has been stated here today by other witnesses, his attitude in that area toward organizing the U. A. W. and his associates.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you attend the sessions of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council recently when the matter of the testimonial dinner in honor of Leo Gallagher came up?

Mr. BOLLING. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you personally present?

Mr. BOLLING. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What would be your description of the reception of the announcement of this testimonial dinner?

Mr. BOLLING. Very enthusiastically received—well supported.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well supported and received with enthusiasm by the council?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Leo Gallagher has been a candidate for public office on the Communist Party ticket in California?

Mr. BOLLING. I certainly do; I voted in that election.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis, do you have any questions?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes. Are you a member now of the Los Angeles Industrial Union Council?

Mr. BOLLING. I am a delegate to the Los Angeles Union Council.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you remember the question I asked the former witness about the Ford strike?

Mr. BOLLING. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you agree with what he had to say about the orders that had been handed down from the National Labor Relations Board and upheld by the appellate court to the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. BOLLING. By all means I agree.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you agree with what he said to the effect that tactics of that kind on the part of industrialists has made your task more difficult?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct—I believe that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Bolling, did Studebaker hire you although they knew you were on strike at the Ford plant?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes; they knew I was on strike and they told the employment department, C. L. Cosby, that I was listed on the Southern California Incorporation blacklist. Cosby told me that he didn't care whose blacklist I was on, that they, the Studebaker Pacific Corporation, did not recognize blacklists.

I don't want to miss this opportunity to say that they are the finest organization I have ever had the privilege to work for, an organization which recognizes the rights of labor to organize and tries to get along with the union.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you prompted here as a voluntary witness by what you conceive to be the best interests of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BOLLING. I am, by all means.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you convinced that communism and nazism constitutes a very grave menace to the C. I. O. organization generally?

Mr. BOLLING. I certainly do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And specifically to the organization with which you have had personal connection?

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

Mr. STARNES. Based upon your membership in a trade union, plus your experience, your observations, and your contacts with union men on the west coast and elsewhere, you consider the great rank and file of them to be loyal and patriotic to this country?

Mr. BOLLING. I do, the majority of them.

Mr. STARNES. Regardless of whether they are in the C. I. O. or A. F. of L.?

Mr. BOLLING. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And that goes for most of the leaders also?

Mr. BOLLING. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask you if on the other hand, however, based upon that same knowledge, experience, and personal contact with them daily, if it has not been, in your judgment, the purpose of the Communist Party through what influence they can wield in trade unionism, to sabotage our defense program, to slow down production of defense material for security purposes, on the excuse, first, that they are trying to improve the lot of labor and, secondly, because they are opposed to this country embarking on an "imperialist war"?

Mr. BOLLING. That is much better than I can describe it. I subscribe absolutely to that view.

Mr. STARNES. That would be an accurate statement as to the attitude of the Communists who are in trade unions on the west coast and elsewhere?

Mr. BOLLING. That is absolutely true.

Mr. STARNES. Have they constantly sought to bring about discord, dissatisfaction, and disruption among trade unions and in industry along the west coast, which would have the effect of slowing down production and of impeding the effort of the American people to provide security for themselves?



Mr. BOLLING. That is my personal opinion and my view exactly and moreover, they seem to have the policy that if they can't rule or get control of the union the next step is to break it up, rule or ruin seems to be the policy and there is no doubt in my mind about that.

Mr. STARNES. Any other questions, Mr. Voorhis or Mr. Mason? Any questions, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. BOLLING. I have a couple of statements here I would like to make to clarify a situation. One of them is concerning Ralph Reed, of Los Angeles, who was mentioned by a former witness.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BOLLING. I know Ralph Reed very well, and I know the circumstances under which he visited this meeting that was spoken of. They told him that they were going to organize—this is his story to me, and I know he is very anticommunistic—they told him they were going to organize dairy workers and wanted him to go along, and they got him in the car and took him to a private home to this meeting.

He stayed for a while to see what it was all about, and he began to realize what it was about. They sent around a book for him to sign to get his signature, and he refused to sign it; and they told him, "Oh, it is only a guest book." He said: "Well, I don't care what it is; I am not going to sign my name to it," and he was very indignant because they got him to that meeting. He didn't make any secret about his disapproval.

I just want to make it clear that Ralph Reed is certainly not in any sense of the word a Communist, nor is he sympathetic to the Communist Party.

There is only one other thing that I would like to say a word on, and that is regarding the strike at the Ford Motor Co.

When we first went out, I don't think we had been out but a few hours until we had a representative from the I. W. O.—the International Workers Order, who told Mr. Carson in my presence and others whom I don't remember—asked us if we needed an ambulance and a nurse and a doctor over there. We were a little bit surprised and asked him where he was from, and he told us; and we wanted to know why we should need an ambulance, nurse, and doctor, and he said: "Oh, you are going to have trouble; I can see that now." He said: "We will keep a nurse and ambulance and doctor here all the time."

We told him we couldn't do it, and he said: "It won't cost anything." He said it would be a courtesy of the organization to furnish those things.

Mr. STARNES. Anything further?

Mr. BOLLING. That is all.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you, Mr. Bolling.

Now, Dr. Matthews, do you have anything else you want to present at this time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No, sir; I haven't Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. There are a number of questions which have been raised by the testimony today. The Chair is impressed, as I think the committee is, with the evident sincerity of the members of the trade unions to rid their unions of any influence which is subversive in its character, and which tends not only to discredit trade unions themselves, but in this critical period of the country to disturb our national unity and disrupt production for security.

At a later meeting or session of this subcommittee, the committee expects to call before it, if they are not willing to appear voluntarily, some of those whose names which were mentioned in the testimony today, to ascertain their attitude toward this Government of ours and toward the questions raised.

There is one question that I would like to ask one person if he is present at this time. I would like to ask Mr. Elmer J. Freitag a question. Is Mr. Freitag present?

Mr. FREITAG. That is me; right here.

Mr. STARNES. Are you Mr. Freitag?

Mr. FREITAG. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Do you mind answering a question?

Mr. FREITAG. No.

**TESTIMONY OF ELMER J. FREITAG, PRESIDENT, LOCAL 683, UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS, CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, INGLEWOOD, CALIF.**

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before the committee, shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FREITAG. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Have a seat. Mr. Freitag, where is your home?

Mr. FREITAG. Inglewood, Calif.

Mr. STARNES. You are an American citizen?

Mr. FREITAG. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You were born in California?

Mr. FREITAG. That is right. I was born here and both of my parents were born here—not in California—did you say in California?

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born?

Mr. FREITAG. Chicago, Ill.

Mr. STARNES. What is the month, day, and year of your birth?

Mr. FREITAG. The day and year?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. FREITAG. The date is March 2, 1907.

Mr. STARNES. You are a member of the C. I. O.?

Mr. FREITAG. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. What local?

Mr. FREITAG. Local 683.

Mr. STARNES. You are a member of Local 683?

Mr. FREITAG. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. In what plant and in what affiliate?

Mr. FREITAG. I am at North American Aviation, Inc., of Inglewood, Calif.

Mr. STARNES. And what union are you affiliated with? What is your union? Is it the Automobile Workers?

Mr. FREITAG. Aircraft division of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been a member of that organization?

Mr. FREITAG. How long?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. FREITAG. I would say, generally speaking, about 3 years.

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

Mr. FREITAG. I have lived in California about 5 or 6 years.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you been engaged in some sort of profession—I mean by that how long have you been engaged as either a worker in an automobile industry or aircraft industry, and so forth?

Mr. FREITAG. How long have I followed the aircraft profession; is that your question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. FREITAG. Ever since I came out of high school and spent some years in college.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go to college?

Mr. FREITAG. Yes; I went to college.

Mr. STARNES. Where did you go?

Mr. FREITAG. I went to Crane Junior College and Armour Institute of Technology, both in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. STARNES. Do you hold any official position in your local?

Mr. FREITAG. Yes; I am president of Local 683.

Mr. STARNES. Do you hold any position in addition to that—do you hold any district or international office, or can you hold an international office and a local office also?

Mr. FREITAG. No; I am just a worker in the plant and president of the union, that is all.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you if on the 8th day of January 1938, you registered in Los Angeles County as a member of the Communist Party there?

Mr. FREITAG. I would say that I am not a member of the party.

Mr. STARNES. At the present time?

Mr. FREITAG. Or have ever been a member of the party.

Mr. STARNES. Did you register though and does it appear there in the records of the Honorable W. M. Kerr, registrar of voters, Los Angeles County, as a Communist voter on January 8, 1938?

Mr. FREITAG. Yes; I registered. After about 2 months I changed my affiliation to the—before I could even vote, to the Progressive Party; that is correct.

Mr. STARNES. All right, that is all.

Any questions, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I don't think so.

Mr. STARNES. Now, is Mr. Lew Michener present?

Mr. MICHENER. Yes.

#### TESTIMONY OF LEW MICHENER

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee, will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MICHENER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Michener, the committee is anxious to hear you at a subsequent hearing and I would like to know, for your convenience as well as that of the committee, will you be in the city for several days?

Mr. MICHENER. At this time I am unable to state definitely on that, but I imagine I will be here at least over the week end, Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. Could you arrange or can we arrange with you for a hearing at your convenience 1 day next week?

Mr. MICHENER. I will be only too happy to appear before your committee. My address is the Hamilton Hotel.

Mr. STARNES. The committee is going into executive session now and as soon as we determine when the committee can again be present for a hearing, we will get in touch with you to arrange for your appearance.

Mr. MICHENER. As a patriotic citizen I want to contribute my testimony.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much.

The committee will stand adjourned until further notice.

(Whereupon, the committee at 3:15 p. m., adjourned without date.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, JUNE 10, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 2:30 p. m., in the Banking and Currency Committee room, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) and Voorhis.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

The committee is holding a session this afternoon for the purpose of hearing the testimony of Mr. Balint. Dr. Matthews, you may proceed with the examination.

## TESTIMONY OF ALEX BALINT, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, NATIONAL DIE CASTERS ASSOCIATION

(Mr. Balint was accompanied by his attorney, Edward Lamb.)

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BALINT. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your name?

Mr. BALINT. Alex Balint.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live?

Mr. BALINT. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born, Mr. Balint?

Mr. BALINT. I was born in Hungary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BALINT. April 12, 1912.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been in the United States?

Mr. BALINT. Since 1920.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. BALINT. Well, I have just been informed through the newspapers that my citizenship has been held up—final papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On what ground was your citizenship held up, do you know?

Mr. BALINT. I take it that the grounds were because I was active on behalf of the laboring people of this country.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you received any notice of any grounds?

Mr. BALINT. I have received no notice whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know whether or not your application has been held up?

Mr. BALINT. I have received word through the newspapers and it seems peculiar that they should be held up at a time of a threatened aluminum strike—at the time the strike had not been called and I fail—I mean, I want to know what the connection between holding up my final citizenship papers is and my activities on behalf of the workers of the Aluminum Co.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what court did you make application for citizenship?

Mr. BALINT. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before what judge?

Mr. BALINT. Well, it wasn't before a judge; it was before the naturalization office there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had any hearings on your citizenship papers?

Mr. BALINT. I have passed all examinations, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was your application first made?

Mr. BALINT. Application was first made in 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever gone under any other name than the name of Alex Balint?

Mr. BALINT. I have never used any other name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a middle name?

Mr. BALINT. I have no middle name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never gone under any other name than the name of Balint; is that correct?

Mr. BALINT. No other name except that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you arrived in this country in 1920 you were about 8 years old; is that right?

Mr. BALINT. Six or 8.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you obtain your first employment?

Mr. BALINT. Well, I have worked ever since I was 12 years old.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you first go to work?

Mr. BALINT. I first started when I was 12 years old to picking beans out in the country to help support the family.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what State was that?

Mr. BALINT. In Indiana.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And after that when was your next employment?

Mr. BALINT. When I was 15 years old. I left school to get a job in a steel foundry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that?

Mr. BALINT. In Indiana.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what town?

Mr. BALINT. Indianapolis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what steel mill?

Mr. BALINT. Federal Foundry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long did you work there?

Mr. BALINT. I worked there approximately 2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the years of that employment?

Mr. BALINT. No; I don't. It would be very hard to recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After you left the foundry in Indianapolis, where did you have your next employment?

Mr. BALINT. Well, for a time I was on C. W. A., I think they called it at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was that?

Mr. BALINT. That was in Cleveland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you lived in Cleveland?

Mr. BALINT. Oh, I have lived in Cleveland now off and on for approximately 12 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After you left your employment with the C. W. A., where did you work?

Mr. BALINT. I got employment at the Republic Steel Corporation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Mr. BALINT. Approximately the latter part, I believe, of 1934 or 1933. 1934 and 1935 I worked there. The years might not be right but it is right in that period.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that at Republic Steel, in Cleveland?

Mr. BALINT. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you dismissed from Republic—from Republic Steel?

Mr. BALINT. Yes; I was discharged because I was president of an A. F. of L. labor union there at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you have your next employment after leaving Republic Steel?

Mr. BALINT. My next employment after I was discharged, I proceeded to organize workers into the unions of the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What unions?

Mr. BALINT. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you work for the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee?

Mr. BALINT. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long?

Mr. BALINT. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you organize for any other unions than the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee?

Mr. BALINT. I have organized for the Cleveland Industrial Union Council. That is the central labor body of the C. I. O. in Cleveland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What particular field of workers were you organizing among them?

Mr. BALINT. Well, it was pretty general.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been arrested?

Mr. BALINT. Yes; I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BALINT. I was arrested when I was 16 years old.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you convicted?

Mr. BALINT. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the charge?

Mr. BALINT. Well, the charge was that a friend and I went to Chicago on a vacation—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you weren't charged with going to Chicago on a vacation; you were charged with stealing an automobile, weren't you?

Mr. BALINT. No; I wasn't charged with stealing any automobile.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the charge?

Mr. BALINT. If you will just let me explain I will tell you the charge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, you weren't charged with going to Chicago on a vacation?

Mr. BALINT. I am proceeding to explain fully if you will just allow me, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right, go ahead.

Mr. BALINT. I went to Chicago on a vacation with a friend of mine and two people that we went to see there had an automobile and wanted to know if we would go riding with them, and we did. It turned out to be a stolen automobile. The friend that I was with, his father intervened for him and he was let off, while I didn't have no one to intervene for me and I was convicted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the charge?

Mr. BALINT. The charge was, as I recall it, auto theft.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, that is what I asked you and you said "No."

Mr. BALINT. Well, as I said, I didn't steal the automobile; I was merely riding in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. All right; did you serve a term?

Mr. BALINT. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where?

Mr. BALINT. In the reformatory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At Pontiac?

Mr. BALINT. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Illinois?

Mr. BALINT. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long a term did you serve?

Mr. BALINT. Approximately 11 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. LAMB. Oh, just a second. You don't have to answer that. Do you want to discuss that? I mean you don't have to attempt to answer that. It is a loaded question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the attorney says the witness does not have to answer such a question.

Mr. LAMB. I insist he doesn't have to answer the question. I assume we are going to conduct a legitimate hearing here.

Mr. STARNES. Certainly, we don't conduct any other kind.

Mr. LAMB. I am sure we won't today.

Mr. STARNES. That is a perfectly legitimate question.

Mr. LAMB. Well, it isn't a proper question, and Mr. Matthews should be the first one to know it. Now, I think this witness should be advised by the committee what his rights are.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let us ask the question whether he did join the Communist Party?

Mr. BALINT. Will you advise me of my rights?

Mr. STARNES. Answer the question whether you did join the Communist Party.

Mr. BALINT. I never joined the Communist Party or any other political organization.

Mr. STARNES. And you have never been affiliated with the Communist Party in any shape, form, or fashion?

Mr. BALINT. I have never been affiliated with any political organization.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. BALINT. I have never been affiliated with the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Earl Browder personally?

Mr. BALINT. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never met him?

Mr. BALINT. I have never met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever urge attendance upon any of Browder's meetings or upon any Browder meeting, in the city of Cleveland?

Mr. BALINT. I want to say now for the record that I am not interested in communism or any other foreign "isms," and I resent being questioned on communism because I don't know anything about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the witness to answer the question.

Mr. STARNES. Answer the question.

Mr. LAMB. Tell him this is nothing but an attempt to smear our organization.

Mr. BALINT. This is nothing but an attempt to smear our organization and to smear the purpose for which we are striking for.

Mr. STARNES. You are being asked, Mr. Witness, perfectly legitimate and pertinent questions. You were asked whether you were a member of the Communist Party and you can answer that either "Yes" or "No." You have been asked whether you associated with Earl Browder in any particular activities along any particular endeavor, and that is a perfectly legitimate question, because everybody in the country knows that Earl Browder has been for many years the head of that party in this country and that is the reason you are asked that question.

Mr. BALINT. I have testified, sir, I do not know Earl Browder.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will repeat the question: Have you ever urged attendance upon any meeting addressed by Earl Browder in the city of Cleveland?

Mr. BALINT. I have testified that I am not interested in communism, therefore I would not be urging anyone to attend any Communist meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever done so?

Mr. BALINT. I have never done so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with a lady named Vera Apergis?

Mr. BALINT. Vera Apergis?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Apergis—A-p-e-r-g-i-s?

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know her?

Mr. BALINT. Yes; I believe I do, if it is the one we are thinking of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what circumstances did you know Mrs. Apergis?

Mr. BALINT. I was organizing for the C. I. O., helping to clear up a situation there in the W. P. A. organization at the time, for the Industrial Union Council, and I believe that she was one of the disrupters that was thrown out of the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And where was that; in Cleveland?

Mr. BALINT. In Cleveland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you say "disrupter," what do you mean by that?

Mr. BALINT. I mean a person who attempts to break up labor organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was her position in the organization?

Mr. BALINT. For a time she was the president of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who appointed you to your position?

Mr. VOORHIS. The president of what?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the union, I understood him to say.

Mr. BALINT. She was president of one of the sewing clubs there—sewing union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the C. I. O.?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And she was trying to break it up?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was a C. I. O. union?

Mr. BALINT. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Industrial Sewing Union?

Mr. BALINT. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have a hand in having her thrown out of the union?

Mr. BALINT. No organizer of any C. I. O. union has a hand in throwing out anyone—anyone out of any union. If the membership feels that they want to vote out someone that is their privilege, and in this case they exercised that privilege and voted her out of office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who appointed you to your position in this union where you were associated with Mrs. Apergis?

Mr. BALINT. I was not—never associated with Mrs. Apergis and would not care to be linked up in any association whatsoever with her.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did it take you several seconds, to put it mildly, to tell the committee whether or not you ever knew Mrs. Apergis?

Mr. LAMB. I think the witness certainly should be given the benefit of the Chair's advice as to the propriety of such type of examination, as to why he took several seconds to answer a question, when he didn't even know who the questioner was talking about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to point out that it took a very long while for him to refresh his memory but now he seems to know a great deal about Mrs. Apergis.

Mr. LAMB. Tell him you didn't know who he was talking about.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just in case the record doesn't show the length of time it took him to answer the question—

Mr. BALINT. I merely wanted to make sure that it was the person I had in mind. I haven't seen or heard of her for years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Mr. BALINT. And in my work I meet a lot of people—thousands of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in what year was that that you last knew her?

Mr. BALINT. I believe that was in 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was in 1939, wasn't it, Mr. Balint?

Mr. BALINT. Well, I am not going to argue about a couple of months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, aren't you sure?

Mr. BALINT. I don't recall offhand. It is somewhere in that period.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that was "years ago"?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Two years, to be exact?

Mr. BALINT. Two or three years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever show your Communist Party membership book to Mrs. Apergis?

Mr. BALINT. That is a downright lie. I never had any Communist Party membership book, nor have I ever been affiliated in any way, shape, or form with any communistic organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I don't know what the witness refers to when he says "it is a downright lie." I asked him a question and I would like to have him answer it.

Mr. STARNES. Your answer is that you did not show her your Communist Party membership book?

Mr. BALINT. I would have no book to show her. I testified that I was not a member and therefore I would not have a book to show her.

Mr. STARNES. In reply to Dr. Matthews, your answer is that you did not show her any Communist Party membership book?

Mr. BALINT. I didn't have any Communist Party membership book. My answer was that I was not in any way affiliated with any communistic organizations, and therefore I would not have any Communist book to show her.

Mr. STARNES. I am asking you the direct question: Have you ever had a Communist Party membership book?

Mr. BALINT. I never did have.

Mr. STARNES. And you never did show her a Communist Party membership book?

Mr. BALINT. If I never had any, I couldn't show any.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore you didn't show one?

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. STARNES. Let us not beg the question; say "No" if you didn't or "Yes" if you did. It is not difficult for you to say that, is it?

Mr. BALINT. I would not have any book to show and therefore I didn't show any.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever work in the South?

Mr. BALINT. In the South?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. In any southern State?

Mr. BALINT. I have never worked nor have I ever been in any Southern States. I heard the South is very bad for labor organizers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a man by the name of Andrew Balunek?

Mr. BALINT. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you do your best to refresh your recollection, if you wish to?

Mr. BALINT. Go ahead, help me along, maybe I can remember him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then answer whether or not you know Andrew Balunek?

Mr. LAMB. I think the witness already answered that he didn't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like for the witness to have an opportunity to refresh his recollection and if he cares to, to change his answer.

Mr. BALINT. Offhand I would say that from the name—the name does not sound familiar to me. Perhaps if you can acquaint me with the things that happened or something, I can remember him.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, how long will it take you to conclude your examination of this witness? We better let the record show who is appearing for the witness as attorney.

Mr. LAMB. My name is Edward Lamb, attorney, Toledo, Ohio. I am also general counsel for the National Association of Die Casting Workers, affiliated with the C. I. O., which is involved in the negotiations with the Aluminum Co., which are now taking place before the Mediation Board.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to ask a question: Do you know Kenneth Eggert?

Mr. BALINT. I have read about Kenneth Eggert.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know him? You can answer my question "Yes" or "No."

Mr. BALINT. I do not know Kenneth Eggert.

Mr. STARNES. That is all I want to know.

Mr. BALINT. I have read about Kenneth Eggert.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet him?

Mr. BALINT. I never met Kenneth Eggert.

Mr. STARNES. All right, go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not he works for the same union you do?

Mr. BALINT. It is my information that he does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he works for the same union?

Mr. BALINT. The last I recall, it was somewhere in Kansas City or somewhere west.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long ago was that?

Mr. BALINT. Oh, that was several weeks ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your position with the National Die Casters Association?

Mr. BALINT. My position is—I am the regional director in the Cleveland area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how long have you held that position?

Mr. BALINT. Approximately 2 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that an elective position or appointive position?

Mr. BALINT. I was elected by the national board of the organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the national president of the union?

Mr. BALINT. The national president is George Peacock.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the national secretary-treasurer?

Mr. BALINT. Edward Cheyfitz is executive secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Edward Cheyfitz is executive secretary?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Balint, do you believe that the Communist Party is a menace to organized labor?

Mr. BALINT. I don't know the program nor the policies of the Communist Party and therefore I would not be in a position to answer a question of that kind. If you would acquaint me with what they do, perhaps on the various things that you bring out I would answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever encountered any Communists in your work as an organizer?

Mr. BALINT. Not that I recall. It is not my purpose going around asking members of our organization what their political opinions are or affiliations might be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You believe the Communists have the same right to a place and activity in a labor organization as any other political group?

Mr. BALINT. I might say that in our organization we pursue a policy that where an employer hires a group of workers to work for him we—all those workers working in a particular plant are eligible for membership in our union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you believe that Communists or Communist Party members properly should be officers of a labor organization?

Mr. BALINT. I don't know any, therefore, I wouldn't know. I would say that the workers in our union have a free choice by secret ballot to elect their own officers and they exercise that right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words you decline to say that you do not believe that Communists have no place in official positions in a union?

Mr. BALINT. I don't know, sir, of any Communists in our union.

Mr. STARNES. In your opinion as a labor man, do you think they should have such positions?

Mr. BALINT. I have said that our constitution provides who is and who is not eligible for membership in our organization, and it states that any worker working in a given plant is eligible for membership in the organization, provided, of course, that he is not of a supervisory capacity.

Mr. STARNES. That does not answer the question. You don't care whether he is a Democrat or a Republican or Communist or a Nazi or anything else?

Mr. BALINT. We make it a practice——

Mr. STARNES. I know, but without making a speech, I am asking you the question whether or not it makes any difference whether your union leaders are Republicans, Democrats, Communists, Nazis, or anything else?

Mr. BALINT. I am not making a speech or at least I am trying to be brief as possible.

Mr. STARNES. You can be brief by just saying "Yes" or "No." In other words it is your philosophy that it doesn't make any difference, insofar as you are concerned, whether the officers of your unions are members of the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Communist Party, the Nazi Party, or any other party; it doesn't make any difference?

Mr. LAMB. Tell him that you will make your own answers.

Mr. BALINT. If you will permit me, I will make my own answer, sir.

Mr. LAMB. Tell him your constitution provides for the eligibility of members.

Mr. BALINT. The answer is our constitution provides as to who is eligible and who is not eligible for membership in our organization and you nor—

Mr. STARNES. Just a moment. Does your constitution prohibit a man from being an officer of your union if he is a Democrat?

Mr. BALINT. Our constitution, as I stated, doesn't—

Mr. STARNES. Answer that question and then you can go ahead and explain your answer. Answer my question first and then you can make any explanation you want to.

Mr. LAMB. I think, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Attorney, he can answer the question and then if he wants to qualify his answers in any way he may do so.

Mr. LAMB. But I am afraid you are not giving him an opportunity to answer the question.

Mr. STARNES. Does your constitution prohibit a Democrat from being a member of your organization?

Mr. BALINT. Our constitution—

Mr. STARNES. Answer "Yes" or "No" to that and then you can make your explanation.

Mr. BALINT. Our constitution—

Mr. STARNES. Now, wait a minute, answer the question.

Mr. BALINT. It does not.

Mr. STARNES. Now, make any statement you want to.

Mr. BALINT. The constitution of our organization provides that any worker working in our particular industry or any worker working in any plant related to the industry, is eligible for membership in our organization.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, that being true it does not make any difference if he is a Republican; does it?

Mr. LAMB. That is right.

Mr. BALINT. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And it doesn't make any difference if he is a Communist; does it?

Mr. BALINT. We never ask people what their political opinions are.

Mr. STARNES. Therefore it doesn't make any difference to you whether he is a Communist or not?

Mr. BALINT. Like all other unions, we take in everybody.

Mr. STARNES. You answered very courteously, it does not make any difference if he was a Democrat and it did not make any difference if he was a Republican, and then you made your statement. Now, answer my question. If you want to say anything further, all right, but does it make any difference to you if he is a Communist?

Mr. BALINT. If an employer hires a man in a particular plant—

Mr. STARNES. You made that statement.

Mr. BALINT. He is eligible for membership in our union.

Mr. STARNES. Now, I want you to answer my question. You have made that statement already. Does it make any difference to you whether or not he belongs to the Communist Party so far as the union is concerned?

Mr. BALINT. So far as the union is concerned, I can only say that as a responsible officer of my union I follow out the program and policies that our conventions democratically set forth in the constitution.

Mr. STARNES. And in reply to questions which have been put to you in a courteous manner time and time again here, you fail and refuse to state whether or not it makes any difference whether your members are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. LAMB. Tell him you want to give a complete answer to every question that he asks you, and that you want to explain the constitution of your union.

Mr. STARNES. You are not prepared to answer that question, then, unequivocally?

Mr. LAMB. He is fully prepared if you will just give him an opportunity to answer the question.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Attorney, he answered similar questions, identical questions, with reference to whether or not it made any difference whether members of his union belonged to the Democratic or Republican Party, but the moment we ask about the Communist Party he is unable, apparently, to give a direct answer to the question.

Mr. BALINT. That, sir, is, well—

Mr. STARNES. You better be sure what you are going to say.

Mr. BALINT. I thought I had answered the question.

Mr. STARNES. No; you did not.

Mr. LAMB. Yes; he did.

Mr. STARNES. I asked you frankly to answer my question as you answered questions propounded to you as to whether or not it made any difference whether a member or officer of your union was a Democrat or Republican, both of which questions you answered that it made no difference.

Now, you don't have anything to say as to Communist Party members who might be officials or members of your union?

Mr. BALINT. I said, sir, that I as an individual am not authorized to say who is eligible and who is not eligible to join this organization.

Mr. STARNES. Well, is a Communist eligible to join?

Mr. BALINT. If he is working in a given plant—any group of workers—anybody is eligible to join the membership just like you do in the A. F. of L. or C. I. O.

Mr. STARNES. Now, we are getting somewhere. Could a member of the German-American Bund join your organization? Do you welcome them into your membership?

Mr. BALINT. How do I know who is a member of the German-American Bund?

Mr. STARNES. Do you accept members of the National Socialist Party, the Nazi Party, and members of the German-American Bund into a union if they are working in the plant? Are they eligible for membership?

Mr. BALINT. I have no information on that, as to any Communists or Nazis or anybody else.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let us put it this way: I think I understand about your constitution and the fact that you feel that anyone who is working in a plant should be a member of the union, but let me ask you this: Do you believe that it would be a bad thing for your union if it happened that a person who was a Communist or a member of the German-American Bund, were elected to a position or

chosen in some manner to a position of leadership and influence, where he could affect what happened to the union in its negotiations and in its work?

Mr. BALINT. My answer to that would be that if the next national convention of our union wants to define or eliminate any group of people being members of the union, they have that right. I haven't got that right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I did not ask you if you had that right nor do I expect you to exercise a right that you haven't got. I simply asked you whether you believed or didn't believe that it would be a bad thing for the union if a person who was a Communist or a member of the German-American Bund should happen to be elected or appointed to a position of official trust in the union?

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, do you have anything further of this witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have two questions.

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead.

Mr. LAMB. Wait a second; I think Mr. Voorhis is entitled to an answer to his question.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to have an answer. What would you say to that?

Mr. BALINT. Will you repeat your question?

Mr. VOORHIS. Understanding the constitution of the union, I asked you whether you believed that it would be a bad thing for your organization and harmful to it, if a person that was a Communist or a member of the German-American Bund should be elected or appointed to a position of official trust where he could represent the union and carry on its activities and make decisions?

Mr. BALINT. Just 1 minute and I will answer that question.

Mr. STARNES. Let the record show the witness is conferring with his attorney before he answers the question. He must have legal advice before he can answer such a question as that.

Mr. LAMB. In that particular subject, Mr. Starnes, I appreciate your suggestion that it should show of record if a witness consults with his attorney. I am personally not ashamed of advising the witness as counsel before this committee or any other place.

Mr. STARNES. That is quite all right, but let the witness answer the question.

Mr. LAMB. May I make a statement for the record?

Mr. STARNES. No; it is not necessary. There was simply a delay in the proceedings here and I merely said let the record show that the witness is conferring with his attorney.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think my question is plain enough, isn't it?

Mr. BALINT. I would say, relative to your question, that the policy of our organization, and I have nothing to say as to that policy in the formulation of it, is set by convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. I did not ask you about the policy. I understand the policy. I just asked you how you would feel about a situation like that.

Mr. BALINT. Well, how I feel doesn't particularly matter.

Mr. VOORHIS. But it might matter



Mr. BALINT. I am an officer of a labor organization and I must necessarily follow out their policy and program as they decide by democratic convention.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a member of the organization though, you have a right to the floor and you have a right to take a position.

Mr. BALINT. I take positions, I can assure you.

Mr. VOORHIS. If you knew that a man was a Communist or a member of the German-American Bund would you oppose his election to an office?

Mr. BALINT. Well, it is very difficult, sir, to answer "if" questions. It is always on some supposition. If you would give me a specific example as to something that an individual did I would tell you whether I would oppose him on the floor or not.

Mr. LAMB. Ask him for a 3 cents an hour raise.

Mr. BALINT. We are asking for a 4½-cent general wage increase from the Aluminum Co. That company has been tied with the Nazi-Fascist industries in Germany and we are called Communists for that reason.

Mr. VOORHIS. I hold no brief for the Aluminum Co.

Mr. BALINT. And I call on this committee now to investigate the Aluminum Co. and its Nazi tie-ups to determine why they provoked this strike out in Cleveland, after we had worked for 2 days to ask that the men not strike, but that they couldn't—but that they continue working while we mediate the strike.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean the company refused to have them continue working?

Mr. BALINT. I said that someone provoked that strike. We have settled all of that back home but when we came here there is a sudden walk-out and our negotiating committee maintains that this walk-out was provoked by company agents.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give the committee the names of any Nazi agents connected with the company?

Mr. LAMB. Several of them are under indictment.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Balint.

Mr. BALINT. I would say, sir, that you can get all that information from the—

Mr. VOORHIS. Department of Justice?

Mr. BALINT. That is right, in their suit against the company.

Mr. STARNES. Have you got any information that you can give us with reference to the work of Nazi agents in the company?

Mr. BALINT. I have no such information but I do have information of sabotage committed in the plants of the American Aluminum Co. of America, and we have witnesses who saw this sabotage. We have called it to the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and thus far, as we know, no investigation has been made as to this particular act of sabotage that took place.

Mr. STARNES. You mean to tell me that the F. B. I. refused to investigate a matter of sabotage reported to them in a plant on defense orders?

Mr. BALINT. I said as far as our information is no action has yet been taken.

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish the secretary of this committee the names of those people?

Mr. BALINT. I will furnish it here to you publicly, the exact act that took place.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know the names of the people.

Mr. BALINT. I will tell you the names here publicly.

Mr. STARNES. Please do that.

Mr. LAMB. Go ahead; tell it.

Mr. STARNES. We would like to have the names of those people who are Nazi sympathizers and who committed acts of sabotage in the plant; and another thing, Mr. Balint, if you know of any tie-up of Communists on the one hand and the Nazis on the other to stop production in the plant, we would like to know about that.

Mr. BALINT. To proceed, then?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. BALINT. Approximately a month and a half or so ago, a work stoppage took place in the American Magnesium Corporation, a plant that is wholly owned now by the Aluminum Co. of America, in Cleveland, known as the X plant. This work stoppage took place on a Friday and, of course, there was no work on Saturday and all the men went home protesting against some actions there of the foremen on wage rates and other bad working conditions. After that work stoppage took place, we have witnesses who saw Haskell, the general manager of that plant, come in on Saturday morning, and he proceeded to wreck and break molds that had already been made by these workers; and he brought with him a photographer and, after he had wrecked these molds, he would take this photographer—this photographer would take pictures of it.

Then they proceeded to go into the men's washroom and throw the seats off of there, throw paper all around and take pictures of the mess that they had created there. Further than that, they went and broke windows in the plant and took pictures of that.

Now, there is something as to the purpose—there is a real act of sabotage of breaking molds.

Mr. STARNES. And you charge that Mr. Haskell, the manager of the plant, did that?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. How do you spell that?

Mr. BALINT. H-a-s-k-e-l-l.

Mr. STARNES. Did you report that to the F. B. I.?

Mr. BALINT. We reported that to the F. B. I.?

Mr. STARNES. Did you give the F. B. I. the names of the witnesses who saw that?

Mr. BALINT. I turned all the information over to our attorney for disposition. We talked to the agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on that, and we asked the Federal Bureau of Investigation to investigate as to how a company that was so swamped with vital work for the Government, that one of its general managers can go inside of a plant and proceed to wreck molds that are necessary for the production of aircraft engines; and, as far as we know, no investigation has been made.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see that with your own eyes?

Mr. BALINT. We have talked to the witnesses who saw it with their eyes.

Mr. STARNES. I know; but did you not see it yourself?

Mr. BALINT. I did not see it.

Mr. STARNES. So you are giving us what is hearsay testimony, but you can give us the names of the witnesses who did see these acts?

Mr. BALINT. Our legal department, sir, has all the information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you come to Washington, Mr. Balint?

Mr. BALINT. I came to Washington Thursday morning about 1 o'clock.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this sabotage took place on Saturday after you came to Washington?

Mr. BALINT. No; this sabotage took place, as I said, approximately a month and a half ago.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to ask one question: Did I understand you to say awhile ago that the walk-out that had taken place in Cleveland was an unauthorized strike from the union standpoint?

Mr. BALINT. No; I did not say that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I am not trying to put words in your mouth, but that is what I understood you to say.

Mr. STARNES. And so did I.

Mr. BALINT. To make it clear, we came to Washington, D. C., after we had been informed by the Mediation Board to come here and mediate the issues involved in our dispute. We had a strike set for last Wednesday. We appeared before the policy committee of our organization and pleaded that there be no work stoppage pending mediation. We had a very hard time. The men insisted on walking out, and we asked them to remain at work until after we got to Washington. We finally got them to agree not to stop work until we mediate, and we went away; and the men had the understanding that we would appeal to the Mediation Board to put our hearing a few days ahead of schedule, in view of the militant mood of the men, because here was a group of six or seven thousand men who have been stepped on by this Nazi corporation, for a period of 20 years, denied the right to organize; fired when they tried to organize; and, for the first time, these workers felt that they had a union and they wanted to protect every gain that they had made, and they felt that the company was stalling.

They further felt that the Mediation Board was stalling, and when we left we told them that we would attempt to convince the Mediation Board to set our hearing date ahead in order that it be—all the disputes or all the issues involved be eliminated in a hurry.

Well, when we came to Washington we were not successful in getting the Mediation Board to set up our hearing a few days and it took place Monday. We learned that the policy committee had authorized the calling of the strike while we were in Washington, D. C., and I believe from there on it is a matter of record.

Our national secretary, Mr. Cheyfitz, issued a statement that in view of the fact that the walkout had taken place that he stood four-square behind the men.

Mr. STARNES. All right. Now, who is the policy committee?

Mr. BALINT. The policy committee consists of 300 committeemen, representatives from every single department in that plant. It is a very democratic organization.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us the names of some of them?

Mr. BALINT. Just a moment.

(Conferring with Attorney Lamb.)

Mr. STARNES. The record will now show, of course, that there is some time elapsing.

Mr. BALINT. There is approximately 300 committeemen there.

Mr. STARNES. Don't you know the name of a single one?

Mr. BALINT. Well, I know them all by their first names—Tony, Jack, or anything like that.

Mr. STARNES. Give us some of them and then you can furnish the rest of them for the record.

Mr. BALINT. Well, there is Al.

Mr. STARNES. Al who?

Mr. BALINT. That is it; I don't know their last names.

Mr. STARNES. What is Haskell's first name, whom you spoke about?

Mr. BALINT. Well, I didn't speak of it. I said his name was Haskell.

Mr. STARNES. The man Haskell that you spoke of, what is his first name?

Mr. BALINT. He is the plant superintendent; I don't know his first name—I don't know him, consequently I wouldn't know his name.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know the last name, or the full name of a single one of these 300 committee members of yours that belong to this great democratic organization?

Mr. BALINT. Yes; I guess I can think of some if you will just give me a minute.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. BALINT. There is John—there is John Bozich.

Mr. STARNES. All right, that is one.

Mr. BALINT. (No response.)

Mr. STARNES. Very well, if you don't remember any of the rest of them I will not ask you further.

Do you have something else, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I would like to ask the witness if he owns an automobile. Do you own an automobile?

Mr. BALINT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the license number?

Mr. LAMB. Just a second. May I inquire—I have already advised the committee that a representative of the committee has rifled all the personal effects of the negotiating committee here before the National Defense Board, and it is the purpose of—

Mr. STARNES. Wait a minute. I want to put you under oath. Will you hold up your hand and be sworn?

#### TESTIMONY OF EDWARD LAMB, GENERAL COUNSEL, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DIE CASTING WORKERS

Mr. STARNES. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAMB. I certainly do; yes, sir; indeed.

Mr. STARNES. You are making a statement here that some committee investigator rifled the personal effects of Mr. Balint. Who was the investigator?

Mr. LAMB. I will tell the committee more fully what I attempted to say before when I was interrupted.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know the name of the investigator. You are going to answer my question or you are going to sit down.

Mr. LAMB. Which do you want?

Mr. STARNES. And if you don't want to do that we have means of enforcing the rules of this committee.

Mr. LAMB. Which do you want?

Mr. STARNES. I just want you to answer this question—you are an intelligent man—

Mr. LAMB. I think so; I have been intelligent enough to appear before several of these committee hearings.

Mr. STARNES. Then just tell me, give this committee the name of the investigator that you know rifled the personal effects, as you expressed it.

Mr. LAMB. As we left—

Mr. STARNES. I want to know his name and then you can make your statement.

Mr. LAMB. I would like to know it myself.

Mr. STARNES. Were you present when he rifled those personal effects?

Mr. LAMB. I was before the Mediation Board when your representative came over.

Mr. STARNES. Have you—have a seat; you don't know anything about it.

Mr. LAMB. We would be glad to have you reveal this information to us.

Mr. STARNES. We would like to have it from you if you had any, but we are not going to let you pull a demonstration here.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you mean to say under oath that a committee investigator rifled the effects of these men that came here to the Mediation Board?

Mr. LAMB. Mr. Voorhis, I didn't ask an awful lot as attorney for the witness, but as a witness for myself I do appreciate the courtesy of at least being afforded the chance to finish my answer.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Lamb, let us be fair. You are an attorney—

Mr. LAMB. That is what I want to be.

Mr. STARNES. And you are accustomed to representing a number of people before different committees in different places.

Mr. LAMB. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you are a very intelligent man.

Mr. LAMB. Thank you.

Mr. STARNES. You are very clever and adept, and you also know how to weave in a story very adeptly into the record.

Mr. LAMB. I have never been complimented so much in my life but I appreciate it.

Mr. STARNES. We understand that. We ask you the direct question and instead of making a direct answer you make some sort of broad accusation. If you have some evidence against a committee investigator the committee wants to know about it; if you want to make a speech and recite general statements you can make that kind of statement on the outside. We don't want the record cluttered up with generalities.

If you know the names of any investigators who did such a thing, I would like to know those names. I am like Mr. Voorhis; if you know it was a committee investigator we want to know about it. We don't want a general speech or indictment. We understand each other all right.

Mr. LAMB. I wonder if Mr. Voorhis feels with you that I should not be afforded an opportunity to answer the question completely?

Mr. VOORHIS. I think you should answer it.

Mr. STARNES. I think you should be specific and not attempt to make a beautiful speech or stage a demonstration before this committee.

Mr. LAMB. Would an answer of three sentences not be too cumbersome for the record?

Mr. STARNES. Not at all; 300 if they are pertinent.

Mr. LAMB. Thank you. As we left the National Defense Mediation Board hearing today we were advised—

Mr. STARNES. All right, you are going to hearsay now.

Mr. LAMB. But I haven't finished even one sentence, have I?

Mr. STARNES. All right, go along.

Mr. LAMB. That as the committee representatives came to the place where our union negotiating committee is residing in Washington, that an investigator of the Dies committee appeared there and stated that he was looking for certain records—he was looking for certain persons, and thereupon he went into the house and examined the personal effects of the men who are on our negotiating committee while they were before the National Defense Mediation Board.

Now, I am giving you the information that was given to our committee as we left that National Defense Mediation Board to come here. I have given you the information I have frankly and in fact I think I did it in one sentence.

Mr. STARNES. All right, you will be seated. Everything you have said is hearsay. You made a nice little speech for the record in which you attempted to cast aspersions on an investigator of this committee. It is all hearsay. You say you have been advised that that was done, but you have no direct information or no testimony that you can swear to yourself?

Mr. LAMB. That is right. We came directly over here.

Mr. STARNES. You may go ahead, Dr. Matthews.

#### TESTIMONY OF ALEX BALINT—Resumed

Mr. MATTHEWS. I asked the witness for the number of his automobile license.

Mr. LAMB. May I ask the committee members, the Chairman, whether that is the policy, knowing what has happened to the committee members, whether the license number of the car of this witness should be given to the committee?

Mr. STARNES. Testimony of this type, Mr. Lamb, has been given to us by scores of witnesses, gladly and willingly, who appeared before us in New Jersey and New York and other places.

Mr. LAMB. If you order the witness to answer the question I will advise him to answer it, with the reservation that anything that happens to his car you are the gentleman who started at least the course of conduct that we hope will not take place.

MR. STARNES. All right, give him the number of the car; I will give you mine.

MR. BALINT. NB-377, Ohio license.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Balint, did you ever speak for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

MR. BALINT. I do not recall that I have ever spoken for any organization of that kind.

MR. MATTHEWS. Would you testify that you did not speak for the American League for Peace and Democracy?

MR. BALINT. Yes, sir; I would testify that I did not.

MR. MATTHEWS. Do you believe that it is appropriate at this time of national emergency, for labor leaders, occupying positions as important as yours, to denounce communism?

MR. BALINT. I believe that all labor leaders at this time should especially urge the preservation of democracy here, in defense of civil liberties, in maintenance of the right to strike, in maintenance of all the civil liberties that we have.

MR. MATTHEWS. The answer is not responsive to the question.

MR. STARNES. Do you have any questions that are pertinent? I don't want any more speeches.

MR. MATTHEWS. I want to know how the witness stands with reference to the policies of the C. I. O.

MR. STARNES. He is not going to give you a direct answer on it and I think, Dr. Matthews, any further questions along this line is a waste of the committee's time.

MR. BALINT. Let me say—you asked me a question relative to the C. I. O. I stand foursquare behind the program and policies of the C. I. O. as was adopted at the last convention.

MR. MATTHEWS. Then why hesitate to say that it is appropriate for labor leaders to denounce communism?

MR. BALINT. I am. I stand on that program anytime and any place. It is a program that millions of American workers are proud of.

MR. MATTHEWS. Well, you are aware of the fact that the Atlantic City convention of the C. I. O. last year, adopted a resolution unanimously denouncing communism, aren't you?

MR. BALINT. I am.

MR. MATTHEWS. And yet you would decline to say that you agree with that?

MR. BALINT. I will say that I will follow out that policy all the way.

MR. MATTHEWS. You will denounce communism?

MR. BALINT. I will say that I will follow out the decisions of that convention.

MR. MATTHEWS. Will you denounce communism along with the C. I. O.?

MR. BALINT. The convention's decisions.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, that is sufficient.

MR. STARNES. You may be excused. Do you have any further need for this man?

MR. MATTHEWS. No.

MR. STARNES. You are excused from any of our processes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Vera Apergis.

## TESTIMONY OF MRS. VERA APERGIS

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand; Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before the committee, will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. APERGIS. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name?

Mrs. APERGIS. Vera Apergis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A-p-e-r-g-i-s?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mrs. APERGIS. Buffalo, N. Y.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your present occupation?

Mrs. APERGIS. Senior clerk on W. P. A.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Alex Balint in connection with your work on the W. P. A. at one time?

Mrs. APERGIS. He was a director.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Alex Balint?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was your position at the time you knew Alex Balint?

Mrs. APERGIS. I was president of the W. P. A. industrial organization of the C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what was his position?

Mrs. APERGIS. He was appointed as a director over me from the C. I. O., over the W. P. A.—over the men's division and the women's division.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Mrs. APERGIS. 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About what month?

Mrs. APERGIS. Well, I believe he was appointed sometime in February, by Mr. Stevenson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have frequent discussions with Alex Balint?

Mrs. APERGIS. Almost every day.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Alex Balint ever show you his Communist Party membership book?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes; one Saturday afternoon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he ever discuss communism with you?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir; since he was 14 years old.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He told you that he joined the Communist Party when he was 14?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you more than once that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. APERGIS. Quite a few times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he urge you to join the Communist Party?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir; he said if I wanted to be a good organizer and belong to a labor party I will never know what an organizer means until I belong to the Communist Party.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you you wouldn't get anywhere unless you joined the Communist Party?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, do you want to ask the witness some questions?

Mr. STARNES. I have no questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you worked with Mr. Balint, did you occupy the same office?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he came into that office was there an American flag on his side of the room?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir; directly in front of us, both of us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did he do with the American flag?

Mrs. APERGIS. The American flag was removed to the women's side and his side was for Communist literature for every Communist that run on the ticket and Yetta Lamb.

Mr. STARNES. Lamb—L-a-m-b?

Mrs. APERGIS. She run for Mayor—Lang. I think it is—L-a-n-g, if I am not mistaken.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did you yourself see the Communist literature which Alex Balint kept in your office?

Mrs. APERGIS. Oh, yes; because the office wasn't divided; we had the office combined. He had a desk on one side and I had a desk on the other side.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was this an office of?

Mr. MATTHEWS. C. I. O. union for workers on the sewing project, on W. P. A. Mr. Balint testified what the union was.

Now, Mrs. Apergis, are you absolutely positive that what Mr. Balint showed you was his Communist Party membership book?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have no doubt about that?

Mrs. APERGIS. Oh, no; because he wanted to show me what good standing he was in. We had a party on Thursday night and we had a bottle of whisky left over and after the tailors' meeting, which I held every Saturday afternoon, the tailors, after the meeting, dis-banded and Mr. Balint and one of these young men stayed and they had this bottle of whisky standing on the desk and they were discussing the Communists. The man was very much against them and Mr. Balint tried to explain to him and to me what a real Communist meant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Alex Balint call you by telephone one night and urge you to bring the members of your organization to a mass meeting which was to be addressed by Earl Browder?

Mrs. APERGIS. We had a meeting on Tuesday night and there was a meeting at the auditorium and I was directed to bring all the members down to the auditorium.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was speaking at the auditorium that night?

Mrs. APERGIS. Well, Earl Browder was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who directed you to bring the members of your organization there?

Mrs. APERGIS. Mr. Balint.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he call you by telephone or tell you personally?

Mrs. APERGIS. Telephone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He called you by telephone?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And instructed you to bring the women from your meeting to the auditorium where Browder was speaking?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you go?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes; we did. When we seen what was going on we left and, besides that, we didn't have 25 cents to pay. Some went in to see what was going on, but we left.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There was a 25-cent admission charge which kept some from going in; is that right?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you still president of this women's organization?

Mrs. APERGIS. No, sir. Mr. Balint and his Communist organization, some of the Communist leaders got the best of me and I had to resign.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you trying to destroy the union of which you were president?

Mrs. APERGIS. I did destroy it. I instructed everyone not to pay a cent of dues. I turned the minutes and all the records over to the W. P. A. investigation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did you do that?

Mrs. APERGIS. Because I wanted to see that the W. P. A. was cleared of all the Communists.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you convinced that this union, after Balint came in, had come completely under the control of the Communists?

Mrs. APERGIS. Well, I would say 30 percent of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean 30 percent of the membership was Communist?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What about the control at the top?

Mrs. APERGIS. It was controlled by me and my people but then they just couldn't stand it, to think that our regional director was a Communist and little by little they wouldn't pay dues.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whom do you refer to when you say "regional director"?

Mrs. APERGIS. Well, I meant Mr. Balint.

Mr. STARNES. Did you organize this union?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir; I did, with 14 members.

Mr. STARNES. What was the strength of it when Mr. Balint came into the organization?

Mrs. APERGIS. We must have had around eight or nine hundred members.

Mr. STARNES. At that time?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was your answer?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, you built it from 14 to eight or nine hundred?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then Mr. Balint came in and took charge?

Mrs. APERGIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he appointed by Mr. Stevenson?

Mrs. APERGIS. He was appointed by Mr. Stevenson.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Mr. Stevenson?

Mrs. APERGIS. He is secretary of the Cleveland Industrial Council.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. All right, the next witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next witness is Mr. Balunek.

### TESTIMONY OF ANDREW BALUNEK

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before the committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your name?

Mr. BALUNEK. Andrew Balunek.

Mr. MATTHEWS. B-a-l-u-n-e-k?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born, Mr. Balunek?

Mr. BALUNEK. Born in Pennsylvania.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. BALUNEK. August 8, 1902.

Mr. MATTHEWS. After your birth did you spend most of your youth in Europe?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were born in this country and spent your youth in Europe?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you come back to the United States?

Mr. BALUNEK. I came back February 18, 1923.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Alex Balint?

Mr. BALUNEK. I know him since 1931.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you meet him?

Mr. BALUNEK. I met him down at Seventy-ninth Street in the Communist hall and I see him often when he organize the people at the corner at Seventy-ninth and the hall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Hungarian district of Cleveland?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have seen him there in the Communist hall?

Mr. BALUNEK. Hundreds of times, and we go together downtown many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it at Seventy-ninth and Buckeye Road?

Mr. BALUNEK. Seventy-ninth Street and Buckeye Road are different. They cross. It is Seventy-ninth and Buckeye Road. It is cross-town. It is cross-town in the city of Cleveland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have seen him there?

Mr. BALUNEK. Many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At Communist meetings?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you know him personally?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you work with him at Republic Steel?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Mr. BALUNEK. 1934, '35, and '36.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever talked with Balint about communism?

Mr. BALUNEK. Every day, because I ride with him down to the mill every day. He takes us down to work and home.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You rode to and from work at Republic Steel with Balint?

Mr. BALUNEK. With Balint; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For a period of months?

Mr. BALUNEK. Oh, maybe 1 year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For a year?

Mr. BALUNEK. Maybe more.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And did he discuss communism with you?

Mr. BALUNEK. Oh, yes; communism and CIOism. First, communism. He says he is a member of the Communist Party and many times he asked me, he says: "Why don't you join? If you do you are going to get a job like I do, and if you work at Republic Steel and you are a Communist, don't worry about it, you are going to get the position."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir; he told me that many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he urge you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you you would get a good job if you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he tell you that more than once?

Mr. BALUNEK. Oh, a dozen times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the union at the present time?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What union?

Mr. BALUNEK. C. I. O.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the name of the union?

Mr. BALUNEK. C. I. O. organization—steel workers organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Steel Workers Organizing Committee?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you work in the aluminum plant which is now on strike in Cleveland?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir; I went to work and 2 o'clock the strike started and I went home.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do work at the plant which is now struck?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir; that is why I am not working now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are employed there?

Mr. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And are you a member of the union?

MR. BALUNEK. I joined the union 1 month ago because I am scared from the Communist racketeers, because I lost my job down in the Republic Steel—that is the way I lost my job.

MR. MATTHEWS. You mean the Communists maneuvered to get you fired?

MR. BALUNEK. Fired out for poor work. They put that dirty spot on me "poor chipper" and I had 5 or 6 years' experience in chipper work. Alex Balint do the job the same thing with me.

MR. VOORHIS. Could I ask a couple of questions: Do you believe that the workers in those plants need a union to protect them?

MR. BALUNEK. Yes, sir: I believe that a good union is good any time. I believe the union but not the communism and they force the men to join the union. That is against the law like they use it down in the United States Aluminum. They talk to the men: "You guys join the union, if not you are going to pay \$25 or \$50 admission."

MR. MATTHEWS. You mean they threatened the men with fines after the strike was won?

MR. BALUNEK. Yes, sir.

MR. MATTHEWS. If they didn't join the union they would be fined after the strike was won? That is what you mean to say?

MR. BALUNEK. Yes; have to pay \$25 or \$50 admission. That is why a lot of the people are scared and they signed the union just the same as I did.

MR. MATTHEWS. That is the reason you joined the union?

MR. BALUNEK. Certainly.

MR. VOORHIS. That is all.

MR. STARNES. Anything further, Dr. Matthews?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is all.

MR. STARNES. The Chair wishes to announce that additional testimony will be taken on this phase of the investigation on Thursday morning.

The committee will stand adjourned until that time.

(Whereupon, at 4:10 p. m., the committee adjourned until 10 a. m., Thursday, June 12, 1941.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 4:30 p. m., in the Banking and Currency Committee room, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), and Voorhis.

Mr. STARNES. The subcommittee will resume its hearings. This is a resumption of the hearings which were conducted on Tuesday afternoon, June 10, at which Mr. Voorhis and the chairman were present. Today the chairman is sitting as a subcommittee of the subcommittee, with the consent of the subcommittee, to hear this testimony.

Dr. Matthews, whom will you have?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. C. B. Cowan.

## TESTIMONY OF C. B. COWAN, FORMER MEMBER, COMMUNIST PARTY

Mr. STARNES. Come around, Mr. Cowan. Will you please raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COWAN. I do.

Mr. STARNES. All right, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name for the record?

Mr. COWAN. Claire Biglow Cowan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. COWAN. Williams, Oreg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. COWAN. In February 1902.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you reside at the present time?

Mr. COWAN. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where?

Mr. COWAN. At Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the time you joined the Communist Party, what was your occupation?

Mr. COWAN. Punch press operator in the Fisher Body plant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. Seven years; approximately 7 years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you quit the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I didn't quit the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you terminate your relationship with the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I was expelled from the party in March of 1936 by action of the control commission—national control commission of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you at the time of your expulsion from the Communist Party make any public statements with reference to your reasons for the conflict between yourself and the party?

Mr. COWAN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state briefly, if you wish to, for the benefit of the committee, what that public statement consisted of?

Mr. COWAN. I issued a public statement immediately upon the publication in March of 1936 by the Daily Worker as to my expulsion and those statements or excerpts therefrom were published in the three Cleveland dailies to the effect that I had been consistently opposing inside of the Communist Party the growth of a foreign bureaucracy that was taking control of the American Communist Party in the interests of a government—a foreign government—and that I could have no part of any such organization or group that was working against the interest of the American working class.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you were tried by the central control commission of the Communist Party of the United States, who was in charge of the central control commission at that time?

Mr. COWAN. Mr. Dirba, of the central control commission, was the chairman of that committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Charles Dirba?

Mr. COWAN. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether or not Mr. Dirba has ever used the alias of Lapin?

Mr. COWAN. On that I am not informed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about Mr. Dirba's background?

Mr. COWAN. Nothing positive. It was said among the inner circles of the Communist Party to me personally that Mr. Dirba was a representative here in the United States, in the American Party—of the American Commission of Communist International—this is merely statements made by other members of the Communist Party Central Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you do know personally that he had charge of the proceedings which resulted in your expulsion from the party?

Mr. COWAN. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And your expulsion was not a local matter but a matter of the national control commission; is that correct?



Mr. COWAN. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you give a brief description of Charles Dirba?

Mr. COWAN. Charles Dirba is a man who at first glance gives the impression of being very tall—approximately 6 foot 1, or 6 foot 2. In reality he is shorter because he is very lean, emaciated, slightly stooped; hollow checked and is about, I would say, 70 or 72 years of age.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At the present time?

Mr. COWAN. Yes; at the present time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What organizations affiliated with or under the control of the Communist Party were you assigned to work in during your membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. Various organizations, principally among which were the unemployed organizations in district 6. That is Ohio, east Indiana, Kentucky, and southwestern Pennsylvania; and later in the national fraction of the Unemployed Council of the U. S. A.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Before you leave the National Unemployment Council, U. S. A., I show you a photostatic copy of a letter on the letterhead of the National Unemployment Council, U. S. A. Have you ever seen that letterhead or a similar letterhead?

(Handing photostat to the witness.)

Mr. COWAN. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You can identify that as the letterhead of the organization as you knew it?

Mr. COWAN. Not as I knew it. This letterhead was printed at the time I had been transferred from the unemployed organization, in an active capacity, to the Workers Ex-Service Men's League.

My position in the organization had been taken by Andrew Onda, whose name is on this letterhead.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On this letterhead is the name of "Andrew Onda," national chairman. Are you acquainted with Andrew Onda?

Mr. COWAN. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where he is located at the present time?

Mr. COWAN. He recently was transferred from Cleveland, a matter of some 90 days or 4 months ago, as I understand it, to New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I recruited him into the Communist Party and trained him in the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About what year was that?

Mr. COWAN. In 1932.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Israel Amter?

Mr. COWAN. Israel Amter I know personally and I have known him for many years.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On this letterhead Israel Amter signs the letter as "National Secretary of the National Unemployment Council, U. S. A." Can you say whether or not Israel Amter is one of the top functionaries of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. COWAN. Israel Amter is a member of the central control committee of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and also a member of its political bureau.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter is addressed to Harold Hickerson, under date of June 1924, and reads as follows:

HAROLD HICKERSON,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR COMRADE: I met Comrade Cowan in Cleveland and gave him the address. It might be well if you got in touch with him directly. From what I gathered, this organization is made up greatly of veterans who used to be in the hospital in Dayton.

Would you say that reference is to yourself?

Mr. COWAN. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what connection are you referred to in this letter from Amter to Hickerson?

Mr. COWAN. I was at that time the national fraction secretary of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League, an organization set up by the Communist Party for the purpose of mobilizing and conducting the bonus march and later the rank-and-file veterans' encampment at Fort Hunt, Va., in 1932, 1933, and 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should have asked you at the outset, Mr. Cowan, but I ask you now, if you have ever served in the armed forces of the United States?

Mr. COWAN. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state what your service record is, Mr. Cowan?

Mr. COWAN. I joined the United States Marines in Cleveland, Ohio, and was sent from there to Parris Island, where I took my final oath in the United States Marines on July 25, 1918. I served until the 6th of September 1919 at the Navy Yard in Philadelphia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it because you had served in the Marines that you became one of the national leaders of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League?

Mr. COWAN. We, in the party, considered it good policy to put in the leadership of such an organization one who had had a service record; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who were some of the other national leaders of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League?

Mr. COWAN. Harold Hickerson, Walter Trumbull, Emanuel Levine, Peter Cacchione.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is C-a-c-c-h-i-o-n-e, is it not?

Mr. COWAN. Yes. These made up mainly the national leadership insofar as the party forces in that organization were concerned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, in March of 1934, a call was sent out to all posts of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League for a bonus convention to be held in Washington on May 10 of that year. Do you recall whether or not you, Emanuel Levine and Harold Hickerson, were the signers of that call?

Mr. COWAN. We were. We were the national leadership of the combined veterans' organizations then assisting in the fight for the bonus, known as the National Veterans Rank and File, and it was after a meeting of the party faction assigned to veteran's works that this letter was sent out and went to all posts of the organization in the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you have mentioned two organizations with which you were identified during your membership in the Communist Party—the Workers Ex-Service Men's League and the Unemploy-

ment Councils. Were there any others of particular importance, so far as your activities were concerned?

Mr. COWAN. I was also insofar as district activities were concerned, assigned to district agitation and propaganda as director and also during the absence of a responsible central committee representative, to the trade-union fraction of the district of Ohio, district 6.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever work in the Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. COWAN. I did. At one time I was the district 6 secretary for a short period and for a considerable time a member of the district fraction.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state whether or not, in your own personal knowledge, the Unemployment Councils were set up by, controlled by, and eventually liquidated by the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. COWAN. I can definitely state to my own personal knowledge, having taken a part in the decisions prior to March 6, 1930, and working through them until—through and in them until they were liquidated into the Workers Alliance at Washington—at a conference at Washington, that this organization definitely was conceived in the minds of the party leadership here and internationally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you speak of March 6, 1930, I presume you refer to the very large-scale demonstrations which resulted in rioting all over the United States?

Mr. COWAN. I would hardly say that the calling of those demonstrations resulted in rioting. I refer to them as the demonstrations of the unemployed and hungry people of that period who responded in answer to the call sent out in the form of leaflets by the party activities at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On that date there were large-scale demonstrations throughout the United States?

Mr. COWAN. On that date there were large-scale demonstrations throughout the United States, definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And attendant on those demonstrations there was a good deal of rioting in some cities, was there not?

Mr. COWAN. Some people may call it rioting. I think it was the protection of these people from unprovoked assaults by police in various parts of the country to disburse the gatherings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether William Z. Foster, and other top party leaders in New York, were arrested and convicted and served terms as a result of what, for convenience, I will call rioting in New York on March 6, 1930?

Mr. COWAN. I do know that these men that you mentioned were arrested, so tried and convicted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, do you know a paper called the Hunger Fighter, which was published by the Unemployment Councils? Did you ever see copies of that publication?

Mr. COWAN. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever write for that publication?

Mr. COWAN. Occasionally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If it will refresh your recollection, Mr. Cowan, I think you wrote an article for the Hunger Fighter in February of 1933?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The February issue of 1933?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the editor of the Hunger Fighter carried on the masthead of the organization, was Franklin Folsom. Did you happen to know Franklin Folsom?

Mr. COWAN. I never met Franklin Folsom. The Hunger Fighter was managed as a sort of independent printing establishment, separate and apart from the actual organizational structure of the Unemployment Councils, and certain individuals were put in charge there who were more or less interested in the financial aspects of the paper than they were in the campaigns that it ostensibly was created to chronicle.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The masthead, however, carries the statement that it is published fortnightly by the Unemployment Councils. In some respects it was the official publication of the organization, was it not?

Mr. COWAN. The Unemployment Councils had no publishing organization. This stuff was done outside for us. The entire content of the paper, however, was under the control of our national fraction and nothing appeared therein that was not first approved by us.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard of Michael Davidow?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that he is a Communist Party member?

Mr. COWAN. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you see that he is one of the contributors to this paper?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Richard Sullivan, another contributor?

Mr. COWAN. I don't know Sullivan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew of him?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew him as a party member in New York?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Ann Livingston, who was a columnist for the Daily Worker?

Mr. COWAN. I know the name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know her name?

Mr. COWAN. Yes; I know her name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. Yes; I knew her as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Apart from whatever technical relationship there was between this publication and the Unemployment Councils, would you say that the Hunger Fighter was definitely a Communist publication?

Mr. COWAN. No; I couldn't say that the Hunger Fighter definitely was a Communist publication, because there was permitted in the Hunger Fighter, through our national committee, material that definitely did not follow the party line, as a concession to those forces that were following what we considered a progressive line in the unemployed field.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But aren't concessions sometimes a part of the party line?

Mr. COWAN. In this instance we had no choice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The party line made the concessions, is that correct?

Mr. COWAN. The concessions that are found in this publication were dictated by the growing majority of those who were not members of the party in the various districts throughout the country, and the excessive amount of contributed material that came in, and the protest from nonparty forces who contributed but their material was not published.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know of Franklin Folsom being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know that?

Mr. COWAN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. During your membership in the Communist Party did you know a man by the name of Alex Balint?

Mr. COWAN. During my membership in the Communist Party I know no such man.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never knew of a party member whose name was Alex Balint or Al Balint?

Mr. COWAN. During my time in the Communist Party I never knew anyone who had the name Alex Balint, who was a party member, nor the name Alex Balint appearing on the party records to which I had access at the time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have access to party records?

Mr. COWAN. As a member of the district bureau I had constant access to the district's membership—just the district's membership records.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I show you a photograph which appeared in the Washington Post and ask you if you know the man whose picture appears on the right. Do you know that man by any name?

Mr. COWAN. Yes; I know that man.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you positive that you know the man?

Mr. COWAN. Very positive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what name did you know him?

Mr. COWAN. I knew him under the name of Al Barry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you please spell the name?

Mr. COWAN. Barry—B-a-r-r-y, Al Barry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Al Barry?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the witness has identified a photograph of Alex Balint, whose photograph appears with Andrew Balunek on the first page of the Washington Post for June 11, 1941.

Did you know Al Barry as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you positive of that?

Mr. COWAN. Very positive.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have personal association with Al Barry as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I called him to party meetings as a member of the party to discuss with him and outline to him various of the party campaigns in that period.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you state approximately what year it was that you first knew Al Barry as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. The latter part—not as a member of the Communist Party in the beginning. The man I knew as Al Barry was a member of the Young Communist League. That was in the latter part of 1930, and that status of Al Barry continued until approximately 1933, in the spring, when the party in the district—we decided to transfer him to the party but to send him back to do industrial trade union work in the Young Communist League as his party assignment.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you an issue of the Y. C. L. Builder—the Young Communist League Builder for September 1933. In your experience in the Communist Party did you ever see this publication?

Mr. COWAN. I have. I have often read this and seen it sold as a booklet of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On page 10 of this issue there appears an article entitled “Winning the Youth for the Y. C. L. Through Struggle.” The article is signed by Al Barry, Cleveland, and Mary Johnson.

You knew Mary Johnson as a member of the Communist Party, did you, or the Young Communist League?

Mr. COWAN. I knew Mary Johnson as a member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say it was about 1933 that Al Barry was taken into the Communist Party from the Young Communist League and then reassigned to work in the Young Communist League in industrial work, is that correct?

Mr. COWAN. In the early part of 1933 or the latter part of 1932—it was that winter, anyhow, he was assigned to remain—he was given party membership status from the league and graduated into the party from the league and assigned to remain therein, but to add to his usual youth activities certain youth trade union industrial work.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Cowan, I show you a copy of the Daily Worker for Monday, April 16, 1934. On page 2 thereof there is a signed article entitled “Five Thousand Workers in Otis Steel Ready To Act.” The date line is Cleveland, April 15, and the author of the article is Al Barry.

Is that, in your judgment, the same man whom you have identified from the photograph which I showed you a few moments ago?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, sir; because at that particular time a question had arisen as to policy in the steel mills and we instructed Al Barry at that time to investigate and report on the situation in the Otis, Corigan, Kenney Steel, Republic plants, and Newberg plant of the American Steel & Wire Co., and to write these up for the party press, and this is definitely one of those articles.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you happen to know whether Al Barry was a citizen of the United States?

Mr. COWAN. On that point I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know that Al Barry was assigned by the party to make reports on the progress of organization in the Otis Steel Co. around this date—

Mr. COWAN. Not on organization, on general conditions among the workers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On general conditions among the workers and that this article in the Daily Worker is one of the reports arising from that assignment?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the committee has come into possession of certain portions of the files of the secretary of the Communist Party in the State of Ohio, Herbert Goldfrank, which is in the handwriting of Herbert Goldfrank. There is a sheet which seems to refer to the American League membership and there is a notation on this sheet "Al Barry contacts." I wonder if you can advise us as to the best way to make that a part of the record?

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, if we could have someone who can identify the handwriting of Goldfrank, it may be accepted. Do you have anyone who can do that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The staff of the committee has no doubt about where the document came from. Apart from the question of the handwriting it did come from the brief case of Goldfrank in the State of Ohio. Also, in the brief case of the secretary of the Communist Party of Ohio there were certain letters. One letter is addressed to "Dear Comrade Goldfrank." The letter is signed "Comradely, G. Ellison." It is dated "Cleveland, Ohio, September 22, 1938."

The subject matter of this letter has to do with a Communist Party member who was being investigated by Charles Dirba of the central control commission and the correspondent is writing to Comrade Goldfrank and states that he or she has referred the matter for a follow-up to "Al Balint."

There is a series of letters that came from Charles Dirba, whom the witness has identified as the Communist International representative on the central control commission of the Communist Party of the United States, and from the correspondence it appears that Dirba, through his local office in Cleveland, is checking up on another Communist Party member through Al Balint.

Mr. STARNES. Well, if you have the information which you state you have, and I am informed by the secretary of the committee that this information was obtained by the committee investigator Randall in the year 1939 in Cleveland, Ohio, and that it can be identified positively as having been in the possession of this man Goldfrank, under such circumstances you may insert any or all of the correspondence in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I should like to call your attention to the fact that this appears to be indisputably documentary evidence making Al Balint, who appeared here as a witness and who has now been identified by this witness as "Al Barry," a member of the Communist Party, trusted by the highest authority in the Communist Party, Charles Dirba, of the central control commission.

Mr. STARNES. Under the facts as recited to me by the secretary of the committee as to the source of this material, it may be inserted in the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to suggest, Mr. Chairman, that this correspondence be not marked as an exhibit but copied in full in the record.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

LIFE HISTORY OF KENNETH ORVILLE GEMMILL, SUBMITTED JANUARY 3, 1938

My name is Kenneth Orrville Gemmill. Born December 20, 1904, in Orrville, Ohio. Mother born June 1885 in, I believe, Dunkirk, Ohio. Father born 1878 in Reading, Pa., I believe.

Father is dead. He was 32 years old when he died. He was an electrical engineer. Mother is living and is 52 years old. She is working part time for the Kellogg Korset Co., branch store in Cleveland. After my father's death, my mother worked for the National Carbon Co., 1910 to 1925.

My mother was born of middle-class parents, her father was an insurance broker until he had an accident which affected him physically and mentally. He then became an evangelical preacher whereupon my grandmother divorced him and went to work to support her family.

Economic status of family: After my father's death, my mother had to work in order to supply myself and my sister. By living frugally she was able to save a little money. The family had no other income until I went to work. My home environment has always been pleasant. My mother has always encouraged me to read and develop my own ideas. There were only two children, myself and my sister. I have never had any religious training. I have never had any religious affiliation. My parents never belonged to any political party that I know of.

I began to work in December 1919 for the Big Four Railroad. Mechanic and apprentice. Remained with the Big Four until December 1923, excepting the time out during the big railroad strike in 1922.

(The following places and time only approximate:) After leaving the railroad I worked for the Standard Oil Co. as station attendant in 1923; during the latter part of 1923 I worked for the Glidden Paint Co. in Cleveland. In 1924 I worked as a salesman for the Vance Motors Company, Smart Silk Hosiery Mills and for several months in 1924-1925 I was insurance agent for the National Life and Accident of Nashville, Tennessee, located in Cleveland. March 1927 to March 1929, I was with the S. S. Kresge 5-and-10-cent stores as stockman and floorman, located in Cleveland; Canton, Ohio; and Gary, Ind. After coming back to Cleveland from Gary, I took a course in mechanical dentistry which I practiced from 1929 to 1935, owning my own laboratory. From April 1936 to January 1937 I was employed at the Winton Engine Co., in Cleveland, as a mechanic. Since January 1937 I have been employed full time in party work.

I have never had an income other than my wages or profit from my work in my laboratory.

I have never had any military service (except military training in school). During the World War I was in school. I am not married.

I have one sister living. Married. Her husband (Dr. Karl Reischauer was killed in Shanghai bombing August 13, 1937). Since that time she has enrolled in Columbia University and is now in the graduate class. Economic condition fair. She has no children.

I have no children. My mother is quite sympathetic to our party. My mother reads the Daily Worker, Sunday Worker, sometimes the Communist and voted the Party ticket last national election. I have no relatives that I know of that ever worked for the Government. I have never traveled outside of the U. S. A.

I entered school in 1909. Finished grammar school and quit high school in my second year to go to work. I attended school for 10 years. I had two courses in political economy, one in Marxism-Leninism (Party education).

I am attending district training school now. I have read innumerable party pamphlets and Fucrbach, Anti-Duhring, Housing Question, Capital, vol. 1, parts of vol. 2, selected works of Lenin, and so forth; read the Communist C. I., imprecor, party organizer, Daily Worker also Leninism by Stalin. Of the above I studied (in party classes) Capital, Foundations of Leninism, Strategy and Tactics. The dictatorship of the Proletariat. Also Origins of Myths, and am writing a paper on the effect of the Art of Pottery on Mosaic Creation Myth.

Familiar with English only, though studied French and Latin in high school. Joined the C. P. in May 1936 in Cleveland. After joining recruited six to seven friends immediately, all of whom are continually active in branches.



Was member of unit bureau, elected membership director of branch. In December 1936 was placed in charge of arranging affairs for the party by the secretary of county committee, at the same time I was trying to reorganize the Daily Worker and literature departments. March 1937 I was placed in charge of D. W. Department for county. I am branch organizer at the present time.

Have never belonged to any political party other than the C. P. I came into the party through my contacts with party members in the A. L. A. W. & F. Comrade Williamson was the district organizer. Was recommended for party by Comrade Harry Rogers, who was at the time branch organizer. Was associated with league in Lakewood and Youth League. I have never been out of party. Have attended county convention—1936; Ohio State convention—1937; Mid-West Daily conference in Chicago.

Have recruited 14 members, and through written promise from Comrade Biebel of West Lafayette, Indiana, to join the Party an entire branch on the campus of Purdue University (9 members) of which Comrade Biebel is organizer.

I have never been associated with an opposition group.

During the time I was employed by the Big 4, I was member of the L. A. of M. Joined in 1919 in Cleveland. Remained in until 1923. Never held office in any union. Joined Auto-C. I. O. union and was partially responsible for the strong organization of the Winton Engine Co. when they were organized by the auto workers. After giving up my job at Winton Engine to do party work I have been dropped from union. Do not belong to any other organizations. I have never participated in any government bodies.

I took part in the R. R. strike in 1922, actively taking part in the picketing of the Lindale, Ohio, shops. I have never been arrested.

Comrade Carl Winters can substantiate most of the data given since I joined the party. Also Paul Guszits, member of Lakewood Branch, 2068 West One Hundred and Third Street.

(The second document is as follows:)

(CLEVELAND, OHIO, *September 22, 1938.*

DEAR COMRADE GOLDFRANK: I am enclosing the life history of Gemill, as well as the history of the case of Harry Howard.

The suspect, Harry Howard, was first reported to Carl by Gemill. I went out to Gemill's home and interviewed the source from where he received the information (Paul Guszits). By the way, these two members are very close friends, are a'ways in each other's company.

I sent inquiries for a follow-up to Al Ballat, A. S. & W. Branch, and to Comrade Winters, but never received replies from any of these.

Please return all this material for my files.

Regarding Gemill's history:

1. According to birth date, he went to work for the R. R. at 15 years of age (that might be possible), but he joined the L. A. of M. also in 1919 in Cleveland, and I don't think they accept members 15 years of age, even as apprentices.

2. No statement of where he worked between 1925 to March 1927; then for 2 years (March 1927 to March 1929) he worked for Kresge 5-10-cent stores in three different cities: Cleveland, Canton, and Gary, Ind. (The state he says that this Howard took a detective course.) He worked as a floorman and stockman in the 5-10-cent store, but does not state if the company sent him to the three different cities to work, and why. Couldn't they get employees there to do the work, or was he a special employee?

3. Then he took a course in mechanical dentistry (where?) which he practiced until 1935 (6 years in his own laboratory). (He started in 1929, during the depression, last through the worst part of it, and when things began to pick up, he went out of business.)

After which he secured a job at Winton Motor (through whom, and how was he qualified to go from dentistry to auto mechanics?)

he worked there 8 months (started in April 1936, joined the party 1 month later), then quit his good job, to take a full-time party job as D. W. agent 6 months after.

Why did he quit a good paying job when he only became acquainted with the party through some contact (?) in the A. L. A. W. & F.?

What was he doing politically during the time he was in business?

Where was he located while in business; who were some of his clients; what wholesale houses did he do business with?

What connections has he with Comrade Biebel, of West LaFayette, Ind.?

I think you will have to work out a questionnaire, based upon his answers to his life's history, and inquiries to Indiana party. I have emphasized certain paragraphs in red pencil.

Comradely,

G. ELLISON.

(The third document was in an opened envelope with the word "Personal" in the upper left-hand corner; in the center of the envelope the name "Goldfrank." The document reads as follows:)

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y., *September 27, 1938.*

DEAR COMRADE GOLDFRANK: We have just finished going through the many biographies we received some time ago and will need, as I told you previously, considerable information more on a large number of comrades. This time we would like to get further information to complete the biography of Kenneth Orville Gemmill. Please see that we get the following information promptly and inform the comrades that as many pages should be written out as necessary to give a full picture for our records. If this is done this time and in all other cases, we will have a minimum amount of requests to make.

We notice that it is stated that he worked with S. S. Kresge Co. as a stockman and floorman in Gary, Ind., Canton, Ohio, and Cleveland, Ohio. We are interested in knowing how he got the job with this company, where he was hired, exactly the location of the stores he worked in, and the exact month and dates if possible when he worked in each store. We are interested in knowing where he took his course in mechanical dentistry, since he practiced and operated as a mechanical dentist from 1929 to 1935, in his own laboratory. Where was this laboratory located, and just incidentally to complete the records on this point we would like some of the people he bought supplies from as well as names and addresses of the companies and names of one-half dozen of some of his clients.

Comrade Gemmill seems to be quite a competent person and we are wondering what the connection is between work as a dental mechanic and how he got his job and was competent to work at the Winton Motor Co. If possible, we would like to know through whom he got the job at Winton.

I want you to be certain, Comrade Goldfrank, to realize that out of the one-hundred-odd questionnaires which we received from you in Ohio of all leading comrades, that his is, I believe, the 18th that we have completed going through, and had to ask further questions about and if the rest are inadequately completed biographies, we will ask for further questions as we come to it. I am sorry that you didn't do a better job in getting a full biography in the first place. Because you know our records mean nothing unless they are completed. Awaiting your immediate reply after you have gotten Comrade Gemmill's full report.

Comradely yours,

(The fourth document is as follows:)

NEW YORK CITY, *October 7, 1938.*

DEAR GOLDFRANK: I have been working on the biographies that I received from you some time ago, and would like to get some further information on Kenneth Orville Gemmill.

As you know, the questionnaire has a point as to when one began to work, what kind of work, and what was the complete history of various jobs held, length of time in each job, name of company, where located, why changed jobs, if fired from jobs, for what reason, and so forth.

On this point, the biography of Gemmill is very fragmentary. We suggest that you see Gemmill and get a complete history on the point of various occupations and jobs held by him.

Yours,

CHARLES.

MR. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted from first-hand knowledge with any other assignments which Al Barry received from the Communist Party, Mr. Cowan?

MR. COWAN. Not any other general assignments. The other assignments, that is his other work would be but the execution of the general assignment given to him by the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with A. E. Stevenson, the chairman of the Industrial Union Council of the C. I. O. in Cleveland?

Mr. COWAN. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not A. E. Stevenson is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I do not positively know that Stevenson is a member of the Communist Party. It has been reported to me by certain persons that Stevenson 2 years ago joined the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you don't know that of your own knowledge?

Mr. COWAN. I don't know that he was definitely not a member of the Communist Party when I was in the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you satisfied from your own investigation of the matter that Stevenson has followed the Communist Party line in his activities generally of late?

Mr. COWAN. I have personally witnessed A. E. Stevenson attend fraction meetings of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council, which fraction meetings are composed exclusively of party members. These meetings have taken place in Cleveland, Ohio, on the west side.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Ben Gray?

Mr. COWAN. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you know about Ben Gray and his connection with the Communist Party, if any?

Mr. COWAN. Ben Gray was a member of the Communist Party when I became a member and when I left the party he was still a member, and I have positive knowledge in my conflicts with him in his work in the Workers Alliance in 1936 and 1937, in Cleveland, Ohio, that he is still a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever sent by the Communist Party to the west coast for any special mission?

Mr. COWAN. I was sent by the Communist Party's National Trade Union in New York to the west coast in June of 1934, and remained there during July of 1934 to work under the cover of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League during the coast-wide seamen's and long-shoremen's strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you say you were sent by the party to work under the cover of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League. Do you mean by that that fundamentally you were sent there to do Communist Party work?

Mr. COWAN. I was sent there to do party work; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But the auspices publicly were the auspices of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League?

Mr. COWAN. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you told whom you should make contact with when you reached San Francisco?

Mr. COWAN. I had my own list of contacts for my own office, of the various officers of the posts of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League in the coastwise cities, from Seattle into Mexico and up into Canada, and these names of the officers of the various posts were divided in my list into party and nonparty members.

This list was used by me for the purpose of building up mass meetings of veterans under a difficult situation in the coastwise cities.

I had been given an additional list of party members in leading positions on the west coast, attached to the strike situation, and told

definitely to get in touch with them and work with them in any activities that I might carry out through the fraction method.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you instructed to get in touch with any individual in particular before you began your work in the San Francisco area?

Mr. COWAN. These, of course, were individuals, individual members of the party—leaders of the party there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you instructed to get in touch with Harry Bridges when you went to San Francisco before you undertook your work?

Mr. COWAN. I was instructed to get in touch with Harry Bridges only insofar as my work concerned the San Francisco Bay area, but I was warned at that time to be very careful in my contacts with him because insofar as the party trade union apparatus was concerned, he was then considered to be more or less unreliable as to the party line. But, nevertheless, to work with him as he would attend the meetings of the party in that area and give reports on which we could base our own plans for activities in that region.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the activities of Henry Schmidt on the west coast at that time.

Mr. COWAN. I only know that at that time we were informed when we went to the west coast, that all of the orders that would come to us through the highest party committees, would reach us through Schmidt and that we were not to question his authority nor to expose his whereabouts.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you understand that Schmidt was superior to the local party organization.

Mr. COWAN. We were so definitely told.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you learn of the activities or anything about the activities of George Maurer on the west coast at that time?

Mr. COWAN. Not anything particularly. Arrests took place in Sacramento at the time that I was supposed to meet Maurer, that required me to go into southern Oregon for a time into hiding, and the contact with Maurer was interrupted by the Sacramento arrests and were never completed.

He did not figure to any great extent in the work that I did there nor had I met him previously in any conferences or conventions. His name did not appear on the party list that was given to me in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was George Maurer active according to the information which you received, in the party fractions of the trade unions on the west coast?

Mr. COWAN. That I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the significance of his name being given to you?

Mr. COWAN. I can only assume that since all such names given to me were names of individuals situated in strategic positions in the various unions, that he was one of those working for the party strategically in some of the unions or some of the activities surrounding the strike.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did I understand you to say that George Maurer was working more or less under cover at that time on the coast?

Mr. COWAN. As I stated before, it was interrupted and he had to go into hiding and so did I, because of the status—his status there of being ordered to keep under cover.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to call your attention to the fact that the committee has in its possession bank records which show that George Maurer, about whom the witness is now testifying, has in recent months received a sum of money approximating \$5,000 from the Soviet Government.

Did you know William Z. Foster?

Mr. COWAN. I knew William Z. Foster; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Earl Browder?

Mr. COWAN. I knew Earl Browder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Robert Minor?

Mr. COWAN. I know Robert Minor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever go to Moscow?

Mr. COWAN. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever urged to go to Moscow?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. By whom?

Mr. COWAN. First in 1931 by the district committee of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio. Later, on three different occasions, in 1934 and 1935, by the central control commission of the party in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that Dirba who suggested that you go to Moscow?

Mr. COWAN. Dirba was the representative of the control commission who made this, well, shall I say request. In fact it was an order.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Edward Cheyfitz?

Mr. COWAN. I know Edward Cheyfitz.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Edward Cheyfitz is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he a member of the party sometime ago?

Mr. COWAN. He was a member of the party in district 6, Ohio, in its Toledo section, shortly before I was expelled from the party.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this Cheyfitz you are talking about, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Cheyfitz has been identified here, Mr. Chairman, as the national executive secretary of the National Association of Die Casters.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the same Cheyfitz, Mr. Cowan?

Mr. COWAN. That is the same Cheyfitz.

Mr. STARNES. And you know him positively as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I knew him then in the Toledo section and up until 1935 as a member of the Communist Party in the Toledo section.

Mr. STARNES. Did you attend Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. COWAN. I did.

Mr. STARNES. Did you engage in Communist Party work with him?

Mr. COWAN. No; I did not. The only work that I had was this: I was sent from the center in Cleveland, Ohio, the district center, to various sections of the party, from time to time in our district, as the district representative, to speak to the party membership on the internal affairs and to lay down the line of the party to the section membership.

Cheyfitz attended those meetings in Toledo on two occasions that I was sent there as a district representative for the section prior to 1935.

Mr. STARNES. In that connection I think the Chair should call attention to the fact that Mr. Cheyfitz sent a telegram to the President of the United States in March of this year. I will now read it into the record. It was carried in all of the daily newspapers of this country. The telegram which Mr. Cheyfitz made public, which he sent to the President, who was at that time vacationing in Florida waters, and this was in connection with the strike in the Harvill Die Casting Union on the Pacific coast. The telegram was as follows:

In the interests of the Nation's welfare, I urge that the United States Government take immediate possession of the Harvill Aircraft Die Casting Corporation.

That is what Cheyfitz in his telegram to the President said; and I further quote:

Henry Harvill, president of the company, has deliberately flouted your representatives by refusing to sit down and negotiate settlement of the strike. In the name of the Harvill employees and the National Association of Die Casters, I now request you to exercise your Executive authority vested in you and take over this plant.

The same press carries a denial of that statement by the two mediators which Mr. Hillman sent to the west coast to mediate the difficulty. The Chair thinks it is highly important that this be made a part of the record at this time in connection with the testimony now being given by Mr. Cowan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Cowan, do you know Fay Stevenson?

Mr. COWAN. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not from press accounts that Fay Stevenson has been active in recent strike activities in the Aluminum plant in Cleveland?

Mr. COWAN. I know these things generally from observing certain parades of the trade-union movement, and the general press accounts, and other such sources of information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Fay Stevenson is or was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COWAN. I know that Fay Stevenson was, while I was a member, a member of the Communist Party, and I have positive knowledge that she still is.

Mr. STARNES. Can you further identify Fay Stevenson?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; I am going to ask the witness if he knows what relationship Fay Stevenson bears to Edward Cheyfitz.

Mr. COWAN. She is his mother.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Fay Stevenson is Edward Cheyfitz's mother?

Mr. COWAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was her former husband a Mr. Cheyfitz?

Mr. COWAN. Mr. Cheyfitz, yes, of Toledo, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Paul Martin?

Mr. COWAN. I do not personally know Paul Martin. I have seen him in certain activities, but never met the man.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you know from the situation in Cleveland that he is the president of the local that was on strike recently, do you not?

Mr. COWAN. I know that generally, from general sources.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, will you be able a little later to give further information about Paul Martin by another witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Mr. Chairman. That is all of this witness.

Mr. STARNES. That will be all, Mr. Cowan, and thank you.

Who will be your next witness, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next witness is Mr. Mosberger.

### TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. MOSBERGER, FORMER MEMBER, COMMUNIST PARTY

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand, Mr. Mosberger? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give before this committee shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MOSBERGER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give your full name?

Mr. MOSBERGER. My full name is John M. Mosberger.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. MOSBERGER. M-o-s-b-e-r-g-e-r.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. MOSBERGER. November 2, 1908.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you reside at the present time?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Yes; I was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. I joined in 1938.

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

Mr. MOSBERGER. No; I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When and why did you quit the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. I didn't quit. I resigned from the Communist Party because of a disagreement over parliamentary procedure.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that?

Mr. MOSBERGER. That was in 1940.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the month?

Mr. MOSBERGER. No; I couldn't tell you positively. It was in between March, April, and May.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Between March and May of last year?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you as a member of the Communist Party know a man by the name of Radden?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Yes, sir; I do know Edward Radden.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Edward Radden—how do you spell his name?

Mr. MOSBERGER. R-a-d-d-e-n.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Yes; I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How did you know that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Because I went to his home every Wednesday night to take him to the meetings. He was very hard to get to the meetings, so I went for him all the time. Also, I gave him instructions.

Mr. STARNES. Who is this Radden? Can you identify him for me?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. Edward Radden was one of the men who came to Washington last week to negotiate the aluminum strike with the Defense Mediation Board.

Mr. STARNES. Is that correct, Mr. Witness? Is he the same Radden?

Mr. MOSBERGER. The same Radden; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What position did you hold in your unit of the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. I was branch educational director.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As branch educational director of your unit of the Communist Party, did you have any supervisory relationship to Edward Radden?

Mr. MOSBERGER. (No response.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you instruct him or delegate him to do anything?

Mr. MOSBERGER. No; I did not. I merely gave him assignments for speaking.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You gave him assignments for speaking?

Mr. MOSBERGER. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he carry out those assignments?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Yes; he did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were those assignments for the Communist Party?

Mr. MOSBERGER. Absolutely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have absolutely no doubt then that Edward Radden—

Mr. MOSBERGER. No question about it at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was a member of the Communist Party at least up until the strike of 1940?

Mr. MOSBERGER. No doubt about it at all up to the time I resigned.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you, Mr. Mosberger.

Who will be your next witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Robert B. Barker.

#### TESTIMONY OF ROBERT B. BARKER, INVESTIGATOR FOR THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barker, will you please stand and raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARKER. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Barker, have you this date been in touch with the office of the clerk of the Criminal Court of Cuyahoga County, Ohio?



Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. On instructions from the chairman of the committee?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you obtain from that office a report on the criminal record of one Paul Martin?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Will you state for the benefit of the record what that report is?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir: Paul Martin, alias, is the local president—he is the president of Local 55, C. I. O., Die Casters Union at the Aluminum Co. of America in their plant in Cleveland, Ohio.

He has had six convictions for felonies, including three for automobile theft. The last conviction was for robbery with firearms for which he received a sentence of 1 to 25 years. He served 7 years and came out of the penitentiary and assumed the alias of "Paul Martin," and the Ohio State Parole Board at Columbus has revoked his parole and has sent a warrant to the sheriff of Cuyahoga County, Ohio, for this man's arrest and return to the State penitentiary at Columbus to serve the remaining 17 years of his sentence.

Mr. Chairman, I was also advised that a warrant has been issued for Alex Balint for false statements made in his alien registration statement, by the United States Commission at Cleveland, Ohio. That news just came in a few minutes ago.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you. In view of the present critical situation with reference to international affairs, and the extraordinary efforts that our own Government is making to place its house in order, and to provide security for the people of this Nation, the Chair invites attention to a statement contained in the committee's report which was written in the year 1938. I quote:

American labor has borne the brunt of the Communist efforts to pursue the policy of penetration of mass organizations in the past 4 years and, to the degree that that effort has been successful, American labor has a task of great seriousness and importance on its hands. The serious factor in the situation, from the standpoint of the Nation as a whole, lies not so much in the purely economic views which the members of labor organizations may hold, as in the foreign control over Communist Party members, which might in time of stress lead to sabotage and to espionage, and in the Communist rule-or-ruin policy so disruptive to the labor organizations themselves.

The committee believes that the American labor movement must, and will, as speedily as possible, free itself of Communist leadership and control wherever it exists.

The committee is emphatic in its belief that a strong and vigorous labor movement is an element of strength in the life of our democracy. But the committee must assert that the Communist Party is interested in trade-unions primarily for the purpose of attempting to utilize those labor organizations for the benefit of the Russian dictatorship and its foreign policies.

The Chair feels that the statement of the committee made more than a year and a half ago, which seemed to be so strong at that time, in the light of subsequent events is an understatement of the present situation. The events which have transpired in this country in the past 12 months have been so startling that they shock the conscience of this Nation. No longer are we a self-complacent Nation and no longer do we laugh and scoff at the threat which Communist penetration into the American labor movement holds for the safety and security of 130,000,000 American people; no longer is the committee

charged with being "red baiters," "witch hunters," nor an agency set up to destroy the rights of American labor.

Responsible labor leaders themselves now recognize the gravity of the situation and belatedly they are moving to cleanse their household of these subversive elements.

During the past 2 weeks the Nation has witnessed the spectacle of a rank-and-file movement in one of our great labor organizations in an endeavor to rid itself of subversive leadership which has the effect of sabotaging our defense program. Let us look for a moment at the phase of investigation before the committee during the past 2 weeks. Aviation constitutes one of our bottlenecks.

We find the North American plant closed and the President of the United States having to use the Army of the United States to open that plant so that it may produce for our security. We have sworn testimony of the president of the striking local out there that he registered as a Communist in 1938; we have additional testimony that other Communists were prominent leaders in that strike movement. During the past week we have the spectacle of a strike in the aluminum industry in the city of Cleveland, closing down a plant out there vital and essential to our national defense.

Kenneth Eggert, a leader in the Harvill Aircraft Co. strike in March of this year, a student in the school of Lenin at Moscow, an expert in sabotage and labor organization, pulled a strike in that plant and Mr. Cheyfitz, who has been identified today by competent witnesses as a Communist Party member, telegraphed the President of the United States urging him to take over the Harvill Aircraft Co. plant in the name of the Government of the United States and operate it. That strike was led by Communists; the North American strike was led by Communists.

The Attorney General of the United States says that the Vultee Aircraft strike was led by Communists, and here we find the strike at the Aluminum Co. of America at Cleveland led by Communists.

Alex Balint, identified here by competent witnesses who have no interest to serve other than the best interests of their country, as being a Communist, regional director in that area of the Die Casters Union; Mr. Cheyfitz again appears on the scene in this particular strike and we have the unusual spectacle of the regional director of this union in the Cleveland area being not only a Communist but being an alien and admitting here under oath that he had served in a penal institution in the State of Illinois for the theft of an automobile.

The chairman is informed by the committee's investigator in the Cleveland area, Mr. Jackson, that Paul Martin, who was identified here this afternoon as a Communist, is the president of the local union which went on strike out there, and that Mr. Martin has a record of being six times convicted and having served 7 years of a sentence for armed robbery in the State of Ohio. This is an unusual spectacle. It is a spectacle that does no credit to the American labor movement and it does no credit to the United States of America.

It is a sad commentary when alien Communists and Communists with long prison records lead local unions on a strike at this critical hour against their Government. These strikes are directed at the most vital bottlenecks in our defense program.

The chairman feels that responsible labor leaders in America and the rank and file of the labor movement in America should move heaven and earth to rid themselves of these barnacles. If they do not they will surely deserve the public disfavor and the public contempt which they would so richly deserve by failure to act.

The Chair also feels it is incumbent on every agency of the Federal Government to cooperate with this committee in an effort to expose the activities of labor leaders who are agents of foreign governments and who are slowing down and sabotaging our defense program to the end that there will be a cession of such activities and to the end that America may have the security which her citizenship wants and to which she is entitled.

I might say that it is also a sad commentary on current events when ex-convicts, aliens, Communists, and agents of foreign governments are permitted to come to the capital of this Nation to negotiate labor disputes with American business management before the United States Conciliation Service and the National Defense Mediation Board.

The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 5:40 p. m., the committee adjourned without date.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, AUGUST 11, 1941

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

The subcommittee met at 10 a. m., in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Hon. Joe Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), presiding.

Present: Messrs. Starnes (chairman of the subcommittee), Voorhis, and Mason.

Also present: Mr. Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator, and Dr. J. B. Matthews, director of research.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order.

The subcommittee is meeting this morning for the purpose of hearing testimony regarding Nancy Reed and others.

It appears from information which has come to the chairman and to the subcommittee, that Nancy Reed is evading an appearance before this committee.

A subpoena has been served and proper notice has been given of the hearing, but she fails to appear, therefore, it will be necessary to use the testimony of the committee investigators concerned in this investigation, plus the documentary evidence that is in possession of the committee, in order to proceed with this particular hearing.

Now, if it is agreeable with the subcommittee, we will establish the fact for the record that the subpoenas were issued.

Mr. Stripling, will you stand and raise your right hand and be sworn.

## TESTIMONY OF ROBERT E. STRIPLING, CHIEF INVESTIGATOR, SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Mr. STARNES. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you shall give shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STRIPLING. I do.

Mr. STARNES. As secretary of the committee, did you cause a subpoena to be issued for Nancy Reed to appear before this subcommittee?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir; on June 18.

Mr. STARNES. That is June 18, 1941?

Mr. STRIPLING. 1941; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What did you do with the subpoena?

Mr. STRIPLING. It was sent to Investigator Stephen Birmingham, who served the subpoena.

Mr. STARNES. Sent to Investigator Birmingham in New York City?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes, sir; who served the subpoena.

Mr. STARNES. Does the subpoena show it has been served?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What happened after the service of the subpoena, did Miss Reed get in touch with the committee in any way by her attorney or personally?

Mr. STRIPLING. The subpoena was a forthwith subpoena and Mr. Nathan Witt of the law firm of Witt & Lighter called me in Washington and stated that he would like to get a continuance.

I conferred with the members of the committee and it was agreed that Mrs. Reed could appear at a future date providing she was given 48 hours' notice by the committee.

Last Friday I was instructed by the chairman of the subcommittee, Mr. Starnes, to notify Miss Reed and also Mr. Witt to appear here today.

For the record I would like to put these telegrams in evidence. The telegram to Nancy Reed was addressed: "36 Union Square, New York City."

In response to the subpoena served on you, you are hereby directed to appear before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Room 531, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m., on Monday, August 11, 1941.

That is signed: "Robert E. Stripling."

A similar telegram was sent to Nathan Witt at 9 East Fortieth Street, New York City, N. Y., which read:

You are hereby directed to notify your client, Miss Nancy Reed, that in response to a subpoena served on her, she is to appear before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in Room 531, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 a. m., Monday, August 11, 1941.

Mr. Chairman, this morning when neither Mr. Witt nor Miss Reed appeared I called Mr. Witt's office in New York City and was told that he was in Corning, N. Y. I asked to speak to Mr. Lighter. I was told that Mr. Lighter was not in, but a gentleman in the office told me that he would have Mr. Lighter call me.

Mr. Lighter did not call. However, the gentleman in the office called and said that he had contacted Mr. Lighter and that Mr. Lighter said that they were making every effort to locate Miss Reed. I reminded him of the agreement of the committee of the 48 hours' notice, and so forth, and told him I would submit that information to the committee.

Mr. STARNES. The telegrams were delivered so far as you know?

Mr. STRIPLING. They were delivered; yes.

Mr. STARNES. Any questions, Mr. Mason?

Mr. MASON. No questions.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MASON. I would suggest we proceed with the hearing based on the evidence that we have present and the testimony of our investigator.

Mr. STARNES. Whom will you have Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Birmingham, will you please stand and raise your right hand.

**TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN W. BIRMINGHAM, INVESTIGATOR,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

Mr. STARNES. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Stephen W. Birmingham.

Mr. STARNES. And you are an investigator for the committee, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I am.

Mr. STARNES. And you have been connected with the committee since 1938?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Did you serve a subpoena on Nancy Reed at any time, to appear before this committee?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did, at 30 Lafayette Street, New York City.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, will you please state briefly your experience in investigative and detective work?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. From 1910 to 1920 I was first-grade detective in the New York Police Department in the safe and loft squad. In 1917 I was a special agent in the military intelligence in the War College in Washington in charge of the field agents—German propaganda and spy activities in the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia.

I was with the McCormick committee as the chief investigator in 1934, with the lobby probe in 1936, and with the Dies committee from 1938 to 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, in the course of your work as an investigator for this committee, did you come into possession of numerous documents which pertained to the activities of one Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you obtain these documents by properly drawn subpoenas?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state where you obtained these documents—that is, give a general geographical account?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. In December 1940 I received some information from a confidential source that a ring of agents of the Communist Party was operating in the United States and Europe. I was informed that in the vicinity of Seventieth Street, buried in a cellar were some records. I contacted some people and took those records by serving a subpoena on the person in whose custody they were.

I received some additional information and on February 19, 1941, accompanied by George Hurley, I went to Sandwich, Conn., looking for seven boxes of records in wooden boxes. After digging under a house under the dirt and a lot of canvas we uncovered three out of the seven boxes, which are some of these records that Dr. Matthews has.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were there physical evidences that four or more other boxes had been buried there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the same vicinity?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There were imprints in the dirt showing other boxes had been there and had been removed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, have you familiarized yourself with the documents obtained in the manner which you have just described?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you be able to identify those documents one by one?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I would. I read them and had them photostated in my New York office—every one of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you spent a period of months examining them?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. And I have cataloged them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you spent a period of months examining these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. For the past 4 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say, Mr. Birmingham, that others beside Nancy Reed are prominently involved in these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. They are.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, when one of the committee aides brings the original documents into the committee room, have them identified by Mr. Birmingham, and then you can use the photostats for the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, will you please come over here to the table and look at this collection of folders and state whether or not these are folders prepared by you and contain the documents to which reference has been made in your testimony?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. They are and they were all prepared by me and put in the folders.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are these the original documents obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; at Cape Cod and in the seventies in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you serve a subpoena on the caretaker of the property at Sandwich, Cape Cod, when you obtained the documents there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did; she was a Miss K. Ellis.

Mr. MATTHEWS. K-a-y?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No; the initial "K" Ellis.

Mr. STARNES. She was the custodian of the property at the time?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir. It was a summer resort up there. There was nobody there when I went up.

Mr. STARNES. Now, from time to time, Dr. Matthews, in referring to these it is all right to use the photostats?

Mr. MATTHEWS. At any time the committee desires it will be a simple matter to produce the original for the photostats, which will be offered in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. All right. But before we go any further, are you going to show by Mr. Birmingham or by Mr. Hurley or by your own testimony who Nancy Reed is?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct. Mr. Birmingham, have you, in the course of your inquiry ascertained something of the background of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have.



Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you tell the committee who Nancy Reed's mother is?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Her mother is Mrs. Fernanda Reed of Cambridge, Mass., originally, and one of the third owners of the New York Daily Worker.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that Fernanda—F-e-r-n-a-n-d-a W. Reed—R-e-e-d?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She with two other persons are the owners of the Daily Worker?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know approximately how long Fernanda Reed has been one of the owners of the Daily Worker?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Positively I couldn't tell you—about a year and a half, but these records will show when she took that position.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, did you discover from these documents that Nancy Reed has a sister?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is the sister of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Mary Reed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where does Mary Reed reside at present?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Her married name is Mary Copeland. She lives at present in Leningrad, Russia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Mary Reed Copeland prominently involved in these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Fernanda Reed, the mother of Nancy and Mary Reed, prominently involved in these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ascertain whether or not Fernanda Reed has a son?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She has.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what is the son's name?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Willard Reed, Jr.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where Willard Reed, Jr., has been employed recently?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. With the American Airlines.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any information that he has severed his connection with the American Airlines?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have some information which I haven't checked.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you a report that he is now residing outside of the United States?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And where does that report indicate that he is at present employed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Supposed to be in New Zealand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is he doing in New Zealand?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Training airplane flyers—that is the story.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, does the information involved in these several hundred documents show conclusively in your opinion, Mr. Birmingham, that Fernanda Reed, the mother; Nancy Reed, the daughter; Mary Reed, the daughter; and Willard Reed, Jr., the son, have all been Communists?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it show that they have been actual members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it show they have been extraordinarily active as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Referring particularly to Nancy Reed, have you ascertained where Nancy Reed is presently employed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. In the State Welfare Department, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a division of the Department of Labor of the State of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you know the exact title of her position?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She is a senior investigator of handicapped people, is my understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is she in the division of placement and unemployment insurance of the department of labor?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is where she is in charge of handicapped persons.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know, Mr. Birmingham, whether or not charges have been brought against Miss Nancy Reed in the Department of Labor of the State of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I believe they have by Commissioner Godfrey Schmidt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your information that a hearing has been held at which a Nancy Reed testified in a proceeding under oath?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There have been several hearings before Commissioner Schmidt.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify this document as the transcript of the hearing to which you refer?

[Handing manuscript to the witness.]

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can. That is a copy of her testimony at the hearing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this entire document be received in evidence in the matter pertaining to Nancy Reed.

Mr. STARNES. What is the document, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The document is a transcript of the hearing before Deputy Commissioner Godfrey Schmidt of the Department of Labor of the State of New York, at which Nancy Reed was a witness under oath.

Mr. STARNES. Does it have any pertinency to the inquiry that we have under way at the present time, and will you offer documentary proof and oral testimony here which would be in conflict with that or contradictory of some of her statements?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The relevance of this document is that Miss Reed under oath made numerous statements before the Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Labor for the State of New York, which are in conflict with the documentary evidence which is in this committee's possession.

Mr. STARNES. Does that deal with or would it have any relevancy with un-American and subversive activities?

MR. MATTHEWS. The hearing before the deputy commissioner of the department of labor dealt, I should say, exclusively with the question of Miss Reed's connections with the Communist Party and her activities in the Communist Party.

MR. STARNES. It will be received and the reporter will incorporate it in the record.

(The transcript of testimony above referred to is as follows:)

MINUTES OF INFORMAL HEARING HELD IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR BEFORE DEPUTY COMMISSIONER GODFREY P. SCHMIDT, ROOM 457, 80 CENTRE STREET, NEW YORK CITY, ON JUNE 3, 1941, AT 3 P. M.

Present: Mr. Jacob H. Mason, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City; Mr. A. Victor Hansen, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, Albany, N. Y.; Miss Nancy Reed, Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, 80 Lafayette Street, New York.

By MR. SCHMIDT:

Q. I suppose, Miss Reed, that you have read these various newspaper clippings about your alleged affiliation with the Communist Party [handing clippings to Miss Reed]?—A. (After examining clippings.) Haven't seen this one [indicating].

Q. Haven't you?—A. What is the newspaper?

Q. I really don't know the name. Is that one of the Long Island papers?—A. It doesn't say at the top. Before I go any further, may I ask a little more about this inquiry?

Q. Surely; you may ask any questions you want.—A. What it is about, and what it is for?

Q. Yes. In the first place, there is no charge against you, and the only reason for the inquiry is to ascertain facts beyond the basis of these newspaper rumors, and since you were the one directly mentioned in the newspapers, I felt that it would be only fair to give you a fair opportunity to acknowledge them or to deny them or to make any statement in reply to them that you felt called upon to make, because you can appreciate that there is a law that—the Devaney law—that in effect forbids Communists from being in the employ of the State, or at least in express language forbids the State from employing persons who advocate the overthrow of the Government by illegal or violent means. Now, I want you to understand that so far as I am concerned, and I am the one who is conducting the hearing, I conduct it without any prejudice whatever, and without any presumptions for or against you. Frankly, I want to get the facts, and I know that since you are an employee there is every reason to suppose that you are willing to cooperate in giving me all the facts. Now, does that satisfy you as to the purpose of the hearing? As I say, it has nothing whatever to do with any charges against you at the moment. Obviously, if you were for example to acknowledge membership in the Communist Party or acknowledge advocacy of the doctrines prescribed by the Devaney law, then we would have to consider, possibly, the institution of charges against you, but as of the present moment, my purpose is purely fact-finding, and I ask your cooperation.—A. Is it for the press at all? I mean, is it for the administration to give to the press?

Q. This is entirely for the administration.—A. You see, I didn't know. I didn't know Mr. Hansen's name, and the request came to me without going through Mr. Davis (phonetic), and I really was at a loss to know quite what it was about.

Q. Maybe that was really my fault, but I don't think we have ever met before, and therefore—you understand that I am Deputy Industrial Commissioner, and I have just given you my card. Now, have you any other question to ask before we proceed to the investigation?—A. No. I would like to answer any questions.

Q. Now, I have just shown you a sheaf of newspaper clippings.—A. I have seen this one [indicating].

Q. I asked whether you had seen any of them before?—A. I have seen this one from the New York World Telegram, on Tuesday [indicating]. I haven't seen this one [indicating].

Q. Would you mind reading that?—A. Surely. (Witness reads clipping.)

Q. Now, are there any misstatements of fact in those articles that you just read?—A. Yes; the first one.

Q. Would you mind identifying for us the mistatement? Just read it into the record we are making?—A. That "her sister is now employed by the Comintern."

Q. Do you have a sister, Miss Reed?—A. I have a sister. She lives in the Soviet Union now, but she is not employed by them.

Q. She is not employed by whom?—A. By them.

Mr. HANSEN. But she is living there?

Miss REED. She has lived there for years.

Mr. MASON. Has she ever been employed by them?

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. MASON. When did she cease her affiliations?

Miss REED. About 6 years ago.

Q. What is your sister's name?—A. Mary.

Q. Mary Reed?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, is there any other statement in there that's not accurate?—A. Well, a good deal of the union material I would criticize. I didn't know whether you meant just what affects me personally.

Q. You can criticize any part that you feel is inaccurate.—A. I never remember at all hearing anyone on the executive board say that Mr. Rosenfeld was a union buster, and that, "We haven't got the goods on you yet, and we will keep you under surveillance." I know of no committee whatsoever that was ever appointed to do any such work of that sort. It is pretty hard to pick out these things.

Mr. MASON. How many members are on the executive committee?

Miss REED. Seventeen.

Q. Well, of course, one of the statements in one of those clippings says that you are a Communist, is that true?—A. It doesn't say that here. It says that I was asked over the telephone, and to which I refused an answer.

Q. Well, let's go into that. Frederick Woltman, of the World Telegram, said he telephoned your office, and asked you whether you were a Communist, and I believe he said you refused to answer?—A. Right.

Q. Well, are you a Communist?—A. No.

Q. Were you ever a Communist?—A. No.

Q. That is to say, you never were, and are not now a member of the Communist Party, and never belonged to any fraction of the Communist Party?—A. If you belong to a cell or fraction you would automatically belong to the Communist Party.

Q. May I ask why, Miss Reed, you refused to tell Woltman that?—A. Well, really, when he asked me about the union business, it was not my business to answer him, and I referred all such questions to James King, who is our local president, and as far as giving any newspaper reporter any statement on my political affiliations or personal life in any way, I saw no reason to make any answer to him at all. He just slid that in as fast as he could after he asked me the first question about the executive board.

Q. Did you ever write any articles for the New Masses?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. For the Communist Monthly?—A. No.

Q. For the Third International, the quarterly?—A. No; I am not a writer.

Q. Or, for the Daily Worker?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. You see, the fact that you are not a writer doesn't necessarily mean that you didn't write, because as you probably know, there are a lot of people writing today who are not writers. Is that statement true, to the effect that your mother is Mrs. Fernando Reed, and she is part owner of the Daily Worker?—A. She is one of the three old ladies who took over—The Freedom of the Press is the name of the organization.

Q. Is that a corporation, The Freedom of the Press?—A. Yes.

Q. And who are the other two?—A. Mrs. Woodruff, Susan Woodruff (phonetic), and a Mrs. or Miss—I don't know which—Pennypacker.

Q. Pennypacker?—A. Yes.

Q. Is your mother president of that corporation?—A. No; I think it is jointly owned by those three.

Q. You don't think it is a corporation?—A. Well, isn't that a corporation?

Q. No; joint ownership isn't necessarily a corporation, it may be a partnership.—A. I don't know the term. I know the three of them took it over, the ownership, last summer.

Q. They bought it from the faction of the Third Internationale, known as the Communist Party of the United States?—A. I really don't know the transaction that went on. I really don't.

Q. Are you an officer of The Freedom of the Press?—A. No; not at all.

Q. You live where? I forgot to put that down.—A. I live at 101 East Sixteenth Street.

Q. And you live there with your mother?—A. No; my mother doesn't live with me.

Q. Are you married?—A. Not now.

Q. Now, do you believe in the "dictatorship of the proletariat," or do you know what that means?—A. Well, I don't know if—I don't know if it is necessary to discuss that at this point. I mean, to do so, it really needs my general philosophy of life. It really comes into that.

Q. Well, I think it does for this reason, that after all you and I know that in this world of ours men do beguile themselves, and women too, with name-calling, tags, slogans. Now, I am not so much concerned with a tag or a slogan, because very frankly I have been called a dangerous radical by some people, and I have been called a Fascist by some people, and I think that any person who is honest and outspoken about his views on certain matters will at one time or another get, without deserving maybe, a tag or a name. Now, beyond the name and the tag there is a reality, a belief, an advocacy that should really be the proper foundation for the name or tag and often isn't, and therefore, I am not interested so much in whether you say, "No; I am not a Communist," or, "Yes; I am a Communist," because even if you said, "Yes; I am a Communist," I wouldn't be satisfied with that, because that is a word that has been used ambiguously and vaguely by very many people, and so for that reason I would like to go into some of the questions that to me reflect the reality rather than the mere names. You understand my purpose?—A. Yes. Well, I think perhaps we ought to be clear, first, that we mean the same thing about dictatorship.

Q. I appreciate that very much. You mean when we talk about the very name "Communist"?—A. No; "dictatorship of the proletariat," the first question you asked me, because you might have quite a different conception of it from what I have. All I know really is that I believe in a much better world for all of us to live in.

Q. Than the one we are living in today?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, I think all of us can say that.—A. It is not quite easy to agree to.

Q. If we didn't there would perhaps be something wrong with us; but to get back to my question, you find difficulty about understanding what I mean about "dictatorship of the proletariat." You appreciate that in history of a current logic, or history as we know it today, the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" have a technical significance in some circles, or do you appreciate that?—A. In some circles; yes.

Q. You and I have read about Communists; we have read about the Soviets, and so forth, and we know that they, par excellence, used the expression "dictatorship of the proletariat." Maybe in other forms men like Kautsky used it, but Kautsky would be reprobated by Stalin today in the use, and those who participate in the Fourth Internationale, as distinguished from the Third Internationale, they, too, might use the words "dictatorship of the proletariat," but I am now talking about the meaning of the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" in the Third Internationale. Are you familiar with the meaning of those words in the Third Internationale?—A. Not as excepted from any other. Perhaps I have a very lay person's interpretation of it.

Q. What is your interpretation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as you have read about it?—A. As a government whereby the proletarian composition of the population does have control over the government.

Q. As exemplified in Soviet Russia today?—A. Yes; I would say so. I mean, that at least is their objective.

Q. Well, now, have you anything else to add about your understanding of the term "dictatorship of the proletariat"?—A. No; but your question was whether I believed in "dictatorship of the proletariat." Well, now, that might—firstly, we might have different conceptions of it, and, secondly, do you mean here or do you mean there, or do you mean for the world, or just as a general philosophy, or what?

Q. Well, as you know, the words "dictatorship of the proletariat" as used, for example, by Lenin and Stalin, had a primary significance for Soviet Russia, but through the Third Internationale had a world-wide significance, too, so that we can take both, and we will begin with the world-wide significance. Do you believe in the world-wide mission of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?—A. You know, that's still ambiguous.

Q. Well, I want you to be perfectly frank, and tell me—A. (Interrupting.) The world-wide mission—mission would involve a revolutionary approach to it, doesn't it, from what you say?

Q. Well, I don't think that mission necessarily means or involves a revolutionary approach.—A. Is this necessarily a discussion of what I would like to see, my philosophy, or is it just to be of this union business?

Q. It would be a discussion of what you believe in your philosophy. You see, I am asking it of you for the same reason that I asked your cooperation before, because I have been asked to make this investigation, because of the rumors in the papers, and so forth, and we are living in a particularly fevered time, as you know.—A. Yes.

Q. And, there is public pressure to get this thing ironed out. Now, it is to your advantage as well as to mine that we go into it as thoroughly as possible, so that if there is no justification for some of these rumors, we can lay the rumors once and for all.—A. You mean you must answer, for instance, to what my philosophies about the "dictatorship of the proletariat" are? I mean, is that really going to come up? I really think I would like to discuss it with you at length. I am not trying not to cooperate. Please don't misunderstand, but I think it is rather far-fetched because it is—if you are going to be asked to give an answer to somebody on just that point, then it perhaps is worth going into all this, but it is a big question, and I would modify it, and I would—I would say that perhaps eventually there may be a happy ending, but I can't say for today, and I can't say that I am for stirring up any revolutionary war all over the world to produce it, so I think it has to be carefully analyzed before answering it. Don't you?

Q. I certainly do, and if you prefer that I ask you no questions and that you just give me extemporaneously, and without any interruptions from me, your own slant on these things, that's all right with me, but my purpose in asking that detail is precisely in order to go into it carefully, as you suggested, because I don't think myself that you can go into this question carefully and thoroughly unless you hit all of those basic ideas which are right behind, and which are the reality behind communism, dictatorship of the proletariat, revolutionary class warfare, and so on, you see?—A. Yes; but since I am not so well versed in this thing, not being a member, I don't have such a lot of political information at my finger tips to go into a long discussion with you about it.

Q. Well, if you don't know the answer, Miss Reed, you just tell me.—A. I am quite a lay person in this matter of wanting to have a better world than what we have. As I said before, I feel that unions are a must, and I have always been active, and—

Q. (Interposing.) May I interrupt, Miss Reed, before you go on? I don't want you to give me an answer that you don't know. If I ask you a question you don't know, you just frankly tell me. On the other hand, I don't want you to take it that I will believe or anybody has a right to believe that simply because someone is informed about the general line of Soviet philosophy, for example, that therefore they are Communists, because just taking my own case as another instance, I have studied something of Soviet philosophy for some little time now, and I feel that I am rather more informed about it than a lot of people, but that doesn't make of me a Communist. Do you see?—A. Yes.

Q. When I ask these questions about the ideological panoply of communism of the world today, I am asking it simply in order that I might find out basically from you in your own words whether there is anything to this rumor, No. 1 that you are a Communist, No. 2 that will keeping you on the pay roll amount to a violation of the Devaney law. Now, we can start with that right at the beginning and say, Do you believe in the overthrow of the Government of this country by violent means?—A. No.

Q. Do you believe in the overthrow of the Government of this country by illegal means?—A. No; I don't.

Q. Have you ever distributed literature that advocated the overthrow of this Government by either violent or illegal means?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. Have you ever belonged to an organization that had for one of its purposes, at least, the use of violent or illegal means to obtain political objectives?—A. No; I don't believe in it.

Q. Remember, I haven't put you under oath.—A. I know. This is the Devaney law.

Q. Yes; that's right, and I haven't put you under oath for the very good reason that I take it that you are going to tell me the truth without the necessity of being put under oath, at the moment, and I want this to be a free and untrammelled investigation, and I don't want you to have any hesitancy about anything you say, and therefore I haven't attempted to put you under oath, and you have never

printed, published, edited any book, paper, or document that advocated the attainment of political objectives by violent or illegal means?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. You will have to speak up, or it won't be on the record.—A. I am sorry. No; I haven't.

Q. And you have never organized, or helped to organize, any society or group of persons which desired or advocated the overthrow of this Government by violent or illegal means?—A. No.

Q. Do you know whether there are any Communists at the office in which you work?—A. That I don't feel I should—I have no definite knowledge. I have never—I had people called "red," and pointed out to me, but I wouldn't vouch for it because I have never had any proof.

Q. In other words, there have been cases when persons in your office have been pointed out to you?—A. Labeled "red," just as I have been, but I wouldn't take any stand, or vouch for it, because I have no proof of it.

Q. Has any fellow worker in the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance ever admitted to you that he or she ever was a Communist?—A. No.

Q. At no time?—A. No; I can say so.

Q. Now, would you care to give the names of the persons who have been pointed out to you as Communists, even though you have no particular reason for relying upon that information?—A. No; I don't think that's quite fair.

Q. In other words, you don't want to give that?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever observed any conduct or listened to any conversation by employees of the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance that would give you the basis for suspecting or believing that there were Communists in the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance?—A. Well, as I say, I have heard many people labeled as I have been, and I have tried to feel toward them as I felt about this whole name-calling episode down there. I felt that sticks and stones can break one's bones, so to speak. I don't like to indulge in it myself, and I don't like to have it practiced on me.

Q. Well, tell me, Miss Reed, do you suspect there is any particular nefarious reason or scheme behind the name calling that affects you? Have you reason to suspect that there is some malicious thoughts, take these newspapers, for instance? I would very much appreciate to have your views on that?—A. Only insofar as it is an attempt to break the union we have fought so hard to build up. I think that when this group was not given, in their estimation, enough of the floor, and enough chance to express their minority opinion that they resorted to this low form of "red baiting," even to the extent of going to newspapers which they knew in advance would seriously affect the union's growth and ability to do its job, and also hurt the administration, which was entirely uncalled for, and when Mr. Rosenfeld came to me after the meeting and said he was sorry that my name had appeared, that he had nothing to do with it, I answered him that if he was interested in building a union he would certainly not find this way of going to the papers and getting one member exposed as a "red," because he knows what consequences that can have.

It indicates to me just one thing, and that is that he is not genuinely interested in helping this union grow, and I might say one thing here that sounds a little boastful, perhaps, but I want it to go in the record. That part of the business—part of the meeting that we had last week, just after this article had appeared was given to business reports, and I am the chairman of the committee, the social committee, and I stood up to make my report, took the floor, and suddenly a burst of applause came from the union, without any instigation on my part or any of my friends. I assure you it was simply an acknowledgment of the rank and file membership that what I had done for the union and meant to the union stood out far and away above any name-calling. The executive board hasn't made any attempt to dignify this sort of thing with an answer. We are going right along doing our job, as I am in my own office as best I know how, and disregarding this sort of name-calling, and that's all I think it deserves.

Q. You spoke of "this group." I think that was the phrase you used. Who are the persons comprising "this group"?—A. The names are Ullman Rosenfeld. He is the editor of the group's paper. They call the paper "We Pay Dues, Too," and I know four other names of that group. They, I think, were mentioned in one of the papers. At least, they had all their names on the editorial board on this sheet. I haven't got a sheet with me.

Q. Can you get us one?—A. Yes; I think I can, surely.

Q. Is that the group?—A. Yes. Those are the leaders of the group. I don't know all of the names. I don't know who they are. I guess I got off the trail there.

Q. That's all right. Did you have anything else at the moment?—A. No.

Q. A moment ago you said that you were—you were asked, and I think in fact that you refused to give the names of persons pointed out to you as Communists. Would you give us the name of the person who pointed out these persons as Communists?—A. Well, you see, it has been over some time, and perhaps it has been many, not by one. There has been name-calling by one, and name-calling by another. It hasn't been any one special person.

Q. You mean there have been several persons that have pointed out other people to you as Communists?—A. You know as I do that in an active group in a union there are always people branded as Communists, and if a rumor goes around that so and so is, why I don't remember. I couldn't remember offhand to tell you who had told me one thing and who had told me another, about the thing. It is just generally conceded that there are Communists in the active leadership of unions, because they are very hard workers for whatever they believe in, and they very often are the most self-sacrificing, and I have never known a union yet that hadn't been called names. Beyond that, I can't say.

Q. In other words, you don't remember the names of any of the informants on this point?—A. No.

Q. Well, now, have you reflected in this connection that if these rumors are bandied about the persons who are the subject of those rumors are exposed to a kind of martyrdom that they don't deserve if they are not Communists, and that therefore if we conduct a real investigation we might be able to put an end to that rumor mongering?—A. I don't think you ever will, because of just such people that find this "red-baiting" as the most effective and the most dramatic way to get recognition of their points of view. I have seen it happen so many times, I really don't have any interest in it. The sooner "red-baiting" wears itself out and we get down to business, the better off I feel, and I am sure the union feels the same way about it.

Q. Precisely. I feel myself that unwarranted rumors should subside and should be made to settle as quickly as possible, and just because of it, I feel that you would be doing those persons a service if you gave us those names so that we could settle the question one way or the other, because it is not "red baiting" if these people are veritable Communists. It is "red baiting" if they are not. One way or the other, we ought to know the truth so that when these rumors are bandied about in the newspapers or given to us by word of mouth, we can give a very definite answer. We can say to the person who publishes these things or to the persons that write us letters—after all, you know we are presumably going to receive a letter from somebody, and we haven't received it yet, although the papers have carried an account of it yesterday. Now, I feel, briefly, that I would be in a very strong position if when somebody made charges I could say first of all, "Don't be vague and general. Give us the names", and then if they gave us the names of these persons to whom labels had been improperly attached, we could say, "Sorry: we investigated that and found it is not true." Or, if we found it is true, then we have certain duties under the law. Now, don't you think from that angle you would be doing yourself, the other people, and us all a good turn by giving us those names?—A. Mr. Schmidt, you said yourself that you had also been branded as a dangerous radical. How, may I ask, did you handle that? Did you give it the dignity of an answer, or did you simply ignore it and go ahead about your work?

Q. On one occasion, when I couldn't find out who it was that gave me the title, I didn't acknowledge it. On another, I did. In fact, on two occasions I did acknowledge it. I went right to the person.—A. Well, I have gone to Mr. Rosenfeld, who is responsible for this information being put into the papers, and I told him what I think, and I would lots rather let it go at that.

Q. Well, I don't want to bring you in it, naturally, in the future, and I won't disclose the fact that you gave the information, if that's what you are worrying about, but I just want to be in a position—A. (Interrupting.) I positively couldn't tell who. I know in a general way that there are rumors that go around in any union that so-and-so must—because they believe in peace—that so-and-so must be a member of the Communist Party, because the Communist Party believes in peace, and that sort of talk is so loose that I don't believe in listening to it, and I try to go right about my business. Now, you try and remember who said that about so-and-so—I am not prepared to say.

Q. In other words, you are unable to remember the names of the persons that were pointed out to you as possibly being a Communist: is that it?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, let's get back to the Communist ideology, if you please. You have referred to class warfare?—A. Yes.



Q. You understand the technical significance of those words in more or less Communist circles?—A. Well, I can interpret it by my own—

Q. Well, can you tell me what you understand by it, if you don't mind?—A. There are two classes of people in the class struggle.

Q. In other words, do you believe that there is a class struggle today?—A. Yes; I think that's quite acceptable.

Q. And you think that there are two antagonists in that class struggle?—A. You mean all over the world?

Q. Well, I don't care where.—A. Or do you mean some place special?

Q. All over the world, we will put it?—A. I would say all over the world.

Q. And, that would mean in America, too?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, would you identify the antagonists as the proletarians, on the one hand, and the capitalists, on the other?—A. Not wholesale; no.

Q. Not wholesale? Well, how would you identify the antagonists of this world-wide class struggle that you speak of?—A. I would say that those who are interested in some form of socialism where the wealth of the—the production, the means of production, are owned by people who make the things, and then the other people who do not want to have it distributed, but who prefer to make profit from them. That is as simple as A B C.

Q. Do you believe in the institution of private property?—A. Oh, my goodness; this is —

Q. Well, I asked you to be patient with me, because I told you before that I think the only right way to go about it is to go about it thoroughly, and I think you see the logic of that yourself. Do you believe in the institution of private property?—A. Today or —

C. (Interrupting.) Today?—A. You see I hesitate because perhaps I haven't thought these answers out sufficiently and intelligently, and if I say something I would hate to see it in print that I would regret afterward, because it really might not be exactly what I meant to say.

Q. Well, you can qualify what you say in any way you see fit.—A. Private property is one person owning something—just what do you mean, really?

Q. Well, there are two kinds of property basically, aren't there? There is capital property and consumers' property. I mean, the property like butter and clothes that are consumed in the use; and capital property, which is the property that is more permanent. It is used in the making, usually, of consumers' articles. Now, I want to know, do you believe that there is a place for the right of private ownership?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you believe that the Government should control all of the means of production or should own all of the means of production?—A. Well, I think it would be worth trying. I mean—I am not a Marxist. I don't know if that's what you are getting at, to get me to commit myself to a philosophy that I am not prepared to.

Q. No; I don't want you to commit yourself to anything except the truth, Miss Reed. I am just asking questions that in my opinion go beyond tags.—A. But there are some very, very deep questions that can have a good deal of discussion one way or another.

Q. That's right. Now, maybe it might be that you haven't ever discussed them or talked about them. If you haven't, and you don't have any opinion on them one way or another, say so.—A. I had better say that it is over my depth on that one.

Q. I suppose you have heard that in the Communist scheme of things the state is the instrument of the exploiters. Do you believe that's so today? Have you ever heard of that?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever heard of the doctrine of the wasting away of the state?—A. Yes; I have heard that expression.

Q. Do you know what it means?—A. Only what I can imagine what it would mean.

Q. Well, what do you imagine it would mean?—A. That is where the state set-up will eventually be—well, it won't be called a state; it would be called something else; that is, it would be a system of society that won't have a state set-up. It would be more of a communal set-up. I am not very good at this.

Q. That's all right. I don't know whether you answered the question I first asked, about the "dictatorship of the proletariat"—if it is the best political and economic and social arrangement for the attainment of the classless state?—A. I don't know about that, Mr. Schmidt; I don't believe in any dictatorship.

Q. You have heard of the classless state of Karl Marx, for example?—A. Well, I have heard of it, and it all seemed pretty nebulous to me.

Q. You have heard of the Third International, I believe?—A. Yes.

Q. You know what the Third International is?—A. I know it is not the fourth, and I know it is not the second, and I don't know where it comes in.

Q. Well, did you know that the Communist Party in the United States was at least once a section of the Third International?—A. Yes; I think I can tie it up as part of it—yes; I would say so.

Q. And, as a matter of fact, the Daily Worker of some years ago used to carry in its masthead the legend to the effect that "Published by the Communist Party of the United States, a section of the Third International." Isn't that so?—A. I don't remember.

Q. Well, is the Daily Worker published by Communists today?—A. When you say "published," do you mean written—do you have to be a member to be on the staff, do you mean?

Q. No. I mean, so far as the ownership of that publishing outlet is concerned, is that Communist?—A. I haven't any idea of the constituency of the persons running it. I know only that they would be apt to be, some of them. I don't know who they are.

Q. Well, is your mother a member of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever read the Daily Worker?—A. Yes; I did.

Q. Wouldn't you say that most of the writers in it are members of the Communist Party?—A. I would say it is the mouthpiece and the paper of those of Communist leanings, but I have no official knowledge of how it is worked, and that part is my mother's business. I don't really know the technical end at all.

Q. Have you ever read the monthly called the Communist?—A. I know there is such a thing, but I don't remember reading it.

Q. Have you ever read the quarterly called the Third International?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. Have you seen it?—A. I don't remember ever seeing it. A quarterly?

Q. Yes. Published in several different languages by the Comintern?—A. I may have seen it, but I don't remember it.

Q. Have you read some or all of the books in the Little Lenin Library?—A. No; I have not.

Q. Would you be willing to sign a statement repudiating communism?—A. Repudiating communism? For who, for what? I mean, when you—

Q. (Interrupting.) For me?—A. You see that I am not very well informed. You mean as a theory, as a basis?

Q. As a basis for political and social action?—A. Well, I don't think I know enough to say that, Mr. Schmidt. I mean, because my mother is suddenly a 1-year-old, and goes off on a tangent as she has, and undertakes to do a job, and offhand I am not as well informed about those things nearly as she is, and—

Q. (Interrupting.) Do you believe in the political general strike? You know what a general strike is?—A. Yes; I have heard of it. We have had some.

Q. What's that?—A. They have had some in certain sections of the country.

Q. You don't know what the political general strike is?—A. No; I don't know that term.

Q. Do you advocate for political and social action the use of revolutionary mass movements?—A. I will have to say that I don't know on that one.

Q. Well, you mean you don't know what I mean?—A. You are using a good many terms that are pretty—sound like as if they had a lot of meaning to them, and I am not prepared to understand offhand what those terms mean.

Q. Well, they do have a pretty settled meaning in some circles.—A. Well, I don't feel that I can answer that, when I don't understand all the significance of an answer.

Q. Well, now, you feel that you would hesitate about signing a statement repudiating communism because you don't know enough about communism to repudiate it; is that it?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, suppose instead of asking you to repudiate communism as a tag, I set down on a piece of paper certain of the basic dogmas of communism and ask you to repudiate them. Would you sign that kind of a statement?—A. It depends on what they are, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. That's right, but I said the dogmas of communism?—A. Well, when I see what they are, I will know whether I would sign such a thing, but I don't know again what your purpose is. Is it to be able to answer the press by saying that I have been up to this office and made a flat statement, and then you will feel that everything is all right? Is that the purpose of this?

Q. Well, now, we are not so trammelled by the press that we feel we owe them a duty to divulge to them what you are saying. We feel that we have a certain responsibility of section 12-A of the civil-service law.—A. Yes.

Q. Once we have satisfied ourselves that we have discharged that duty properly, then it doesn't matter particularly to us what rumors float about, so long as they don't spoil public relations or corrupt personnel morale.—A. Right.

Q. And, wherever we think it is necessary to use any information you give us to prevent the deterioration of the public relations or of internal morale, you can understand we would feel free to use it. Now, does that answer your question to me?—A. Yes; I wondered if you have felt any repercussion from this incident that you felt would interfere with your public relations or any internal morale?

Q. Well, you are what, an employment investigator?

Mr. MASON, Senior employment investigator.

Q. You have some knowledge of the actualities of today's conditions from the placement angle?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, I ask you as a senior employment investigator, do you think it helps relations or hurts them, these newspaper articles?—A. It is not good, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. You indicated it before when you said before that you thought the underlying motive was to damage the administration?—A. No; I said to Mr. Rosenfeld that this might hurt the administration.

Q. Oh, I am sorry.—A. And, I didn't indicate that that was his motive, but I felt it was his motive to damage the union, but—I have forgotten what I was going to say.

Q. Do you approve of the dominant economic system called finance capitalism or the capitalistic system?—A. The capitalistic system, as I understand it, has outlived itself, and certainly the world is calling for something better than that.

Q. Well, do you think that the only way of getting rid of it, or one of the available ways of getting rid of the capitalist system is direct struggle or the general strike, or class warfare?—A. It has been proposed, but I don't agree with any form of force and violence, if that's what you mean. Is it?

Q. Yes. If you have any doubt about the meaning of any question, I will rephrase it in another way.—A. Yes. Would you say it again.

Q. Surely. Did you ever hear of the expression "dialectic materialism"?—A. Yes; I have heard of it.

Q. You know what it means?—A. No; I never did find out.

Mr. MASON, You are not a stranger to dialectics, however, I take it?

Miss REED, You are better than I am, because I don't know what it means.

Q. Well, for your information, and in order that you might understand future questions, I will tell you that in the general line of Communist philosophy, the basic concept was a materialist conception, let's say an evolutionary materialist conception, a conception that denied spiritual functions, the primacy of the spiritual, and a conception of history based somewhat on Hegel, who held that history unfolds itself according to certain patterns. There was a time when the highest development of that evolutionism was feudalism. Then, there might have come capitalism that we know today, and in the future the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and the termination, the end, the goal of that ceaseless development of history was called the classless state. Now, these Communist theoreticians held that nothing men could do would interfere with that process. We lived in a deterministic world, a world that was not influenced basically by free will, but we were swept forward on the surge of history. They qualified that at least to this extent, by saying that there was a dialectic that could be used to speed up that evolutionary process, and that dialectic they held was class warfare, so that everything that ministered to the bad feelings of the two antagonistic classes was helpful in the long run for revolutionary impacts, was helpful in the long run because they simply sped the day of the coming first of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and ultimately of the classless society. Now, that is a rough and ready approximation that I suppose some Communist theoreticians might find fault with.—A. I am glad to have you explain it.

Q. I wondered now whether you believed in the usefulness of the class struggle to speed the day of ascent of a better political and social system?—A. That would assume that I really knew what I was talking about, and had thought out what you have explained beforehand, and I haven't.

Q. Therefore, you have no intelligent opinion on it?—A. I have no intelligent opinion on it.

Q. Have you any knowledge of what is the basic criterion of Communist ethics?—A. No.

Q. I know in some Communist circles that would seem ignorant, to use that phraseology, but I use it advisedly, because away back in the early 1920's, Lenin, in addressing a group, asserted that there was a definite Communist ethic, and that it consisted of this, that everything which advanced, or helped, or favored, or facilitated the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was good, and everything that hindered, delayed, or hurt the prospects of that dictatorship was bad. Would you agree with that as a standard of what is good and what is bad?—A. Offhand, no; but I really am faced with a lot of questions that you assume I know a lot about, and I can't answer them intelligently, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. What questions, for example?—A. Well, I mean as far as it sounds like a very deep question, and it involves a lot of thinking, and I haven't done it, and I don't know how to answer it. You can't answer those things offhand. I go back to my first statement about thinking that this situation we are in today is not good, and could be better, and I am doing my job as well as I know how, and have always loved my job, and consider myself as having done a good job on it, because I believe in the State employment service and working in my union that I think is a necessary job to be done through the workers that are members of the union, and I haven't gone into these things that you bring out in these deeper questions, and I—if I answered them yes or no, I would thereby be telling you that I really knew what I was talking about, if I answered them, and I don't.

Q. Well, do you believe that one of the advisable methods for social betterment in the future for the attainment of a better world that you spoke of before would be an intensification of the revolutionary crises in various countries, in our own particularly?—A. No; I wouldn't say offhand. That implies that I want revolution in various countries, and think that that's going to solve things? No; I would say no.

Q. Are there any conditions under which you would advocate revolutionary action in the sense of unlawful and violent action?—A. No; I say again that I do not stand for violence or illegal means.

Q. Why?—A. Because I don't believe that that is the way of handling any situation. I don't believe in fighting when you get mad. If you can't use your head and discuss the thing out, well then, you had better not get into it.

Q. Do you believe that it is advisable to develop in the proletariat a class consciousness?—A. I think the workers should know their rights and be aware of them, surely, if that's what you mean.

Q. No; I don't mean that exactly. By class consciousness I mean a sense of solidarity against a common enemy which is the antagonist class, which is variously known as bourgeoisie, or capitalist, or exploiters?—A. Well, I believe in unions, and unions are an example of solidarity for getting their workers' rights, and I believe in that; yes.

Q. Well, do you believe that an enmity should exist between the unions or any proletarian group and the antagonist class?—A. I don't think enmity does any good anywhere.

Q. I suppose you would concede that Stalin and Lenin are Communists?—A. Lenin was, I guess.

Q. That's a correction that I deserved. Lenin was a Communist, and Stalin is?—A. Yes.

Q. Well, here is a statement that Lenin made about the "dictatorship of the proletariat." I quote: "The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is the most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against the more powerful enemy, against the bourgeoisie." Then, he says, again I quote: "The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is a persistent struggle, sanguinary and bloodless, violent and passive, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society." Would you agree with that statement or repudiate it?—A. I can't absorb a thing as deep as that and say yes or no to it right away.

Q. Shall I read it again?—A. No; I think that I might agree with some of it, and not all of it. I can't say yes or no. I really don't think it is quite fair to ask me a "yes" or "no" answer on a thing like that. I mean, all of it assumes a great deal of reading and philosophical study on this matter.

Q. Well, I don't know whether that is altogether so. I am picking out statements that I thought were pretty elementary, so that when a person heard them he would understand their significance. May I quote another one to you? This

time I quote from Stalin in his booklet called "Foundations of Leninism." "To put it briefly, the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses." I will read it once more so that you can think about it.—A. May I ask what answer you would expect for that, whether I agree to it?

Q. Yes; that's right, or whether you would repudiate it. I will read it once more to you. "The 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is the domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling and exploited masses." Now, my question in relation to that is, if that is the definition of "dictatorship of the proletariat"?—A. Does it include statements on force and violence?

Q. It says, "domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie untrammelled by law and based on violence and enjoying the sympathy and support of the toiling masses."—A. Well, that's not my conception of what the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is.

Q. Well, in other words, you would not agree with that?—A. It doesn't seem to coincide with my ideas of force and violence. If there is anything that I don't—offhand I wouldn't say that I agree with it; no.

Q. Well, if you don't agree with it, are you just neutral about it, or do you repudiate it? In other words, I want to find out are you passive about it, or do you actively repudiate it?—A. As I understand it now, I would repudiate it, if that's what you call it; but it is because these things are meaty, and they might have a wealth of meaning there that I don't get at first, and I might agree with some of it or not all of it. As it stands now, I wouldn't agree with it. That's not my interpretation of what I have ever heard of the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

Q. Where have you heard about the dictatorship?—A. [Interrupting.] Mr. Schmidt, I feel that I am blocking you, and I don't want to, but you are asking me a great many deep, deep questions on theory that I cannot answer, and since I cannot answer, and since I cannot answer them, you ask me, am I passive or do I repudiate them? Now, I don't do either. I am not informed. I don't want to answer a question as deep as that. That is worth a lot of study, I imagine, and I have not done it.

Q. Well, now look; remember before when I asked about repudiating communism as a tag, that I would be glad to get some of the dogmas of communism and ask you to repudiate them. Now, obviously, I meant I would get them together on a written paper, and I would assume that Stalin and Lenin knew what communism was, just as well as I assume that the Pope knew what catholicism was, and on the basis of what they say communism is, I would ask you to sign a statement repudiating communism as represented by the dogmas that I will have quoted to you. You can take those dogmas and consider them very carefully and study them, if you say they are very meaty, and distill from them whatever is right in your opinion, and wrong, and you can qualify your answer as you deem proper. Now, that might be one way of doing it.—A. It would have to be the only way, because I think it is quite a stiff test to put me to.

Q. This is not an examination paper in political economy, or anything like that.—A. It sounds like an oral one.

Q. It is not an oral examination for the very reason that you are not being rated, for one thing, and for the other thing, I told you all you would have to say is "No," and I wouldn't press it.—A. Well, may I say "no" to that, then?

Q. All right, whatever you want. However, you said that this text that I read from the Foundation of Leninism and which is nothing but a paraphrasing of a text found in Lenin's work *The State and Revolution*, did not accord with your understanding of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," is that right?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, what is your understanding of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and where did you get that understanding? That's two questions.—A. Yes; that's two. Well, I think it is rather a childish picture, really. The word "dictatorship" means control, necessarily, and control by the proletarians, by the proletarian people in the community. Now, if they control everything, then they are their own employers and bosses, and then there is no class that can exploit them, and can operate against them, and all people who work shall share, and the whole thing ought to be a lovely little pattern of people getting what they deserve in this world. I think that that's a good thing to have because I think that there are such evils created by people exploiting other

people and working against them, and the things that are exposed all the time as happening, it is because there is an under dog that is being trodden and downtrodden, and that sort of thing would be over. I would like to see a world where that is all over. Now, that's very simple and childlike, and I feel that there are three—I used to think of three sides to a triangle that I feel should be, and they are better health in the world, and I feel there should be free education, and I feel there should be a chance to work at whatever they wanted to work at. I thought that would be the principles of a millennium.

Q. Of course, it wouldn't be a millennium unless we know what was the content of that education. Isn't that significant there? For example, if you had a lot of Nazi propaganda as the content of that education, you wouldn't consider we had reached the millennium, would you?—A. At least, I think all education should be free. I wouldn't go into it any further than that.

Q. Well, suppose the education consisted of an explanation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" by Marx and Lenin and Stalin, would you consider that as the millennium?—A. Well, that's assuming that I know what their interpretation is, and I have not studied it and I don't know.

Q. I see—A. I mean, that is my childhood picture and it is what I have been working toward and when I couldn't be a nurse as I wanted to, and didn't want to be a teacher, I chose employment work, and I have been in it ever since.

Q. Well, to get to the second question that was included in my compound question before, what is the source of your knowledge of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?—A. Well, as you know, my mother is part owner of the Daily Worker, so that I have seen that paper, and, as it states in here, I went to the Soviet Union myself and I have visited there and visited my sister, and I have thought a good deal about it as an experiment that I think is very, very fine, the things that I have seen done. My mother has traveled there and told me many things, and I have read some of the literature, the radical literature.

Q. Well, what have you read in the field?—A. I have read the Daily Worker.

Q. The New Masses?—A. Sometimes I see that.

Q. Any books on the subject?—A. I have read autobiographies. I haven't read Lenin's works, though.

Q. What autobiographies?—A. Well, I read Foster's book on his life. I have forgotten the name of it. I am not a very well read person, actually.

Q. Did you read Lyons' book?—A. Eugene Lyons' book? No; I didn't read that.

Q. Did you read any of the basic Communist documents, like Kapitolov [phonetic]?—A. No.

Q. Or Legotha's Statement [phonetic]?—A. No.

Q. Strachey?—A. I think I remember one pamphlet or something of his.

Q. Howard Lasky?—A. No; I haven't read his articles.

Q. You don't remember any books devoted to communism that you have read which might be the source of your concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?—A. I think it is because I have been around among people who were interested in the labor movement and left-wing things for a long time; and if I see my mother, when I do see her—

Q. (Interrupting.) Would you consider yourself a left-winger, if that has any connection?—A. I presume being in the C. I. O. is so labeled a left-winger, but I don't know what I would call myself. I know what I am but I don't think it is the label—I don't like the label myself, because everybody has so many interpretations of labels. I am a strong union person and always have been. I believe in unions.

Q. You have kept informed about the experiment in Russia, as you called it?—A. Yes.

Q. You know something about its constitution and its government, do you?—A. I did read its constitution once; yes.

Q. Would you agree with the principles of the constitution of the Soviet Union?—A. I remember particularly that it gives everybody the right to work, and my whole angle being on that slant, I was interested in that particularly.

Q. Well, was that actually being carried out according to your observation of Russia in your visits there?—Yes. I tried to find an employment office to see if there was a problem in employment, and if there was one, and I was allowed to visit as a tourist, and it didn't seem to be a problem of employment, it was a problem of finding the workers and not the workers finding the jobs.

Q. Would you consider Soviet Russia, according to the pattern that you studied, a democracy?—A. In what sense of the word?

Q. It isn't a democracy in our sense of the word, because it is not a capitalist democracy, is it?—A. No; but then you have to interpret what you mean by democracy. It isn't our type of democracy here.

Q. But you do consider it a democracy, and not a dictatorship?—A. As far as I could see it is; yes.

Q. So that you would say that Stalin is not a dictator even if Hitler is?—A. Yes; I would say that.

Q. Why do you say that?—A. Well, I know that the elections are very—the basis for election is from the very smallest unit in a factory.

Q. That's a cell, isn't it?—A. No.

Q. The smallest unit?—A. No. When I say that, I mean the smallest group of workers in any factory, and it goes up and up to a supreme court that is the basis of their government. So, I think that's very democratic.

Q. In other words, you think that Stalin's government and the Supreme Presidium in Russia is responsible to the people?—A. I would say so.

Q. And that the people of Germany do not enjoy that responsiveness in Hitler? You see, I am asking you how you distinguish Hitler from Stalin?—A. Well, you see, I don't know the German situation and I don't know how—my interpretation of what Hitler does is very, very different from that, because I don't think the set-up is like that, from the shops and factories.

Q. You think it was any response to public opinion there that Stalin permitted his soldiers to gobble up Finland, or Estonia, or Lithuania, or part of Poland?—A. I don't know, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. What is that?—A. I don't know that.

Q. When you say you don't know, you mean you don't know enough about the facts to say whether or not Stalin was justified in taking—A. (Interrupting.) Well, I don't know what measures he took. You are asking a military question. I haven't any idea.

Q. Well, did you disapprove of his conduct in resorting to military measures to take over part of Finland, for example?—A. I don't think I can answer that. I mean, whether I approve of what he did or not is beyond me. I wouldn't presume to—he must have had some reason that I have never—

Q. Well, would you presume to disapprove of Hitler's action invading Holland?—A. I hate war. I hate war of any kind, and I wouldn't approve. I don't know anything about military tactics, and I don't know this whole game of checkerboard, and killing each other off and fighting each other. It is horrible to me. I don't presume to approve one's military step.

Q. But the killing and the horror of struggle is just as near and actual where the fight is between the Finns and the Soviets as it is between any other groups of combatants?—A. Well, I don't know. I don't take any brief for Hitler or war in any capacity. I am not sticking up for one bit of military strategy against another.

Q. So that you hate war even when the warrior is Stalin?—A. That assumes that I think the warrior is Stalin. I don't know. I hate war.

Q. Here is a statement I would like to read to you from one of the Communist texts, "Democracy under the capitalist system is capitalist democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based on the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority, and directed against this majority." Do you believe that that is a correct statement of democracy in this country? Shall I read it again?—A. Would you mind, please?

Q. "Democracy under the capitalist system is capitalist democracy, the democracy of an exploiting minority based on the restriction of the rights of the exploited majority, and directed against this majority."—A. Exploited majority?

Q. That's right, and it goes on. I will read further. "Only under the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' is real freedom for the exploited and real participation in the administration of the country by the proletarians and peasants possible. Under the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', democracy is proletarian democracy, the democracy of the exploited majority based upon the restriction of the rights of the exploiting minority, and directed against this minority." You see, that juxtaposes two democracies, one called capitalist democracy, and the other called proletarian democracy, and it obviously sets forth the proletarian democracy as the desirable and preferable kind. Is that your opinion, or do you have a third alternative in between these two? Would you like to see the thing in front of you?—A. I can see that I will have to study it to know all the implications.

Q. It is marked right here. [Handing book to witness.]—A. [Witness examines book.]

(Discussion off the record.)

By Mr. HANSON:

Q. Money Reed, did you ever make a contribution of any kind to the Communist Party?—A. Well, I—

Q. Money contributions?—A. Not under any name. If I put in some money in a collection, it is the most I ever did.

Q. Well, have you put money in collection plates?—A. Well, for many causes!

Q. Where?—A. I think at Madison Square Garden.

Q. When they were having a Communist rally?—A. Mass meetings of different kinds I have put in the plate.

Q. But, I am speaking of contributions to the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever made a contribution that you knew would find its way to the Communist Party?—A. Well, if that part of the contribution went to the Communist Party—

Q. Well, you speak of a rally at Madison Square Garden, what kind of a rally was it, who fostered it?—A. A. P. M. I went to one under the auspices of the American Peace Mobilization. I am trying to think of more. The last one I went to was the transportation workers. I have not put in any money that was earmarked for the Communist Party; no.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Have you ever signed a petition for the Communist Party?

MISS REED. No; I have been very careful not to do so.

Q. Now, did you ever take part in a rally, or a meeting, or a gathering where Communists predominated, known to you to have predominated?—A. I have sometimes gone to Madison Square Garden to meetings called for various big rallies. I haven't done it very much. I have done it occasionally.

Q. What are those various things that you would go to?—A. I think the Soviet Union recognition. Now that was a long time ago, but such big public mass rallies, I have attended, sometimes.

Q. And, they were mostly of communistic tendencies, let's say?—A. As far as the content of the public there, you mean, of the audience?

Q. Either that or fostered by members of the Communist Party?—A. That may have been. That may have been. I have been to big rallies at Madison Square Garden of a general nature.

Q. Didn't you say you lived down on Twenty-sixth Street?—A. No; On Sixteenth Street.

Q. Sixteenth Street?—A. That's right.

Q. Did you ever have known Communists visit you down there at small meetings?—A. Well, through my mother's work; I know she has friends among them, and she has invited them to our house.

Q. But your mother doesn't live there?—A. Not now, but she has been living there at times. When she took over the paper she stayed with me for a short time.

Q. I see, and those men were there at whose invitation, yours or your mother's?—A. My mother's.

Q. Never at yours?—A. I would say not.

Q. Did you ever entertain in your residence down there, some of the "left wing" members of the Maritime Union?—A. Left wing members of the Maritime Union?

Q. Well, let's say known Communists in the Maritime Union. Did you ever entertain them down there at your residence? I mean, at small meetings?—A. Well, I know members of the Maritime Union, of the National Maritime Union.

Q. Do you know them to be Communists?—A. I know them to be left wingers, strong union men.

Q. Do you know them to be Communists?—A. I have never heard proof that they were. I have heard them called, but as I have been called.

Q. Did you ever satisfy yourself in your own mind as to whether or not they were Communists, or didn't it make any difference to you?—A. It didn't make any difference.

Q. You would just as soon entertain Communists in your home as you would union members?—A. Yes.

Q. I can understand your activities in connection with the union that you are a member of, but what were your activities in connection with the Maritime Union?—A. My activities in connection with them?

Q. Yes.—A. Well, that's a bit personal. I was very much in love with somebody in the Maritime Union.

Q. Is that the reason meetings were held at your home for the Maritime Union members?—A. Well, I know that sometimes they ask me if they could go there.



Q. And, do you participate in these meetings?—A. No; not at all. It was always when I was away.

Q. Always when you were away?—A. Yes.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I have no further questions today, because I think you have had enough questions for the time being.

Mr. HANSON. Well, these are not quite as deep as yours. These do not require as much thought. I thought it would be refreshing.

Miss REED. Did you learn something too?

Mr. HANSON. I felt as if I had taken a postgraduate course.

Q. Coming back to the question Mr. Schmidt asked about some of your co-workers down there, it was clear that you didn't want to give the names of those that had been branded, but without telling me the names of those persons, can't you tell me the names of those among your coworkers that you definitely know that are Communists?—A. Not in my office. I have no proof of anyone in my organization.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Will you just keep your voice up a little, because we have some competition.

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Thank you.

Mr. HANSON. All right, that's all I wanted to ask.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, thank you very much, Miss Reed, and I know that it is kind of putting you at a disadvantage and on the spot to have you come here without forewarning and ask you a lot of questions that you perhaps didn't anticipate were going to be asked, but you appreciate that my job is to get at the facts, and you have nothing whatever to worry about if I get the facts.

STATE OF NEW YORK, DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, INVESTIGATORY HEARING OF THE  
INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONER

Nancy Reed, witness.

Hearing held at 80 Centre Street, New York City, June 23, 1941, before Godfrey P. Schmidt, Deputy Industrial Commissioner.

Witnesses: Thomas R. Owens, A. Victor Hanson, J. Henry Waldman, Jacob Mason.

James J. Denike, senior hearing stenographer.

Mr. SCHMIDT. In the first place, Miss Reed, I understand there was some suggestion that you might be deprived of your vacation because of my questioning.

Miss REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Now, will you explain that to me? I want to try to straighten that out, because I don't see any reason why, because of my questioning, you should lose any of your vacation.

Miss REED. My vacation was scheduled to start on Friday at 5 o'clock, and when I was served with a subpoena from the Dies committee as of Thursday afternoon I explained that this schedule had been worked out very carefully, and that since the subpoena said "forthwith" I would like to be able to arrange my schedule according to the Department's convenience, that way. So Mr. Birmingham, I think his name was, said he would call you up and straighten it out. Now, what he meant by that I think was a little confusing, because when I called him the following day he said, "It's quite all right. You can take it later," and I said, "Well, that isn't really what I mean."

Mr. SCHMIDT. What is that date? Friday, June 20? Is that the day you were supposed to start vacation?

Miss REED. Last Friday, yes; the 20th.

Mr. SCHMIDT. How long were you to go?

Miss REED. Three weeks.

Mr. SCHMIDT. And with whom do you make those vacation arrangements?

Miss REED. My local office. You see, I'm head of the department, and I have to arrange for someone else to take my supervisory work. That means dovetailing with just one person, and there was a good deal of confusion in my office suddenly because Mr. Davis was suddenly called to handle the B and C department, and that through the deputy managers mixed their vacations all up, and the person that I was dovetailing with was going to pinch hit for them. So it was most important that I take it as scheduled and there had been a great deal of confusion all week, so that's why I asked particularly.

Mr. SCHMIDT. You didn't answer my question. With whom do you arrange to take your vacation? What is the name of the person you—

Miss REED. Mr. Davis, the manager.

Mr. SCHMIDT. And you arrange with Mr. Davis?

Miss REED. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHMIDT. And you file a schedule, is that it?

Miss REED. Yes; a month in advance, and it had to be juggled somewhat.

Mr. SCHMIDT. You had to file your schedule a month in advance? With whom did you file it?

Miss REED. I turn it in to the manager. He in turn sends it to the district superintendent.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Who is that?

Miss REED. Miss Kennedy. And, I thought it went from there to Albany, but I'm not sure.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, I can tell you, Miss Reed, that I'll see to it personally that you don't lose any vacation on the score of my questioning. Of course, I want to explain that I had no knowledge of the Dies committee preparation of a subpoena. I didn't have anything to do with that, and I take it that the Dies committee acted because of the newspaper publicity.

Miss REED. Yes; that's right.

Mr. SCHMIDT. So that—

Miss REED. I simply told them to phone you, because they asked who would have authority to arrange it, and I said, "Well, Mr. Schmidt knows the case very well."

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes. Well, just ease your mind about that. I'll tell you that I guarantee you won't lose any vacation just on the score of my asking you a series of questions.

Miss REED. Well, it's a matter of being there at a certain schedule, you understand. What's bothering me, because—now we have no way of dovetailing it.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, if necessary, I'll see to it they import somebody with similar qualifications into your local office, and I think that will take care of it.

Miss REED. Yes; one isn't so indispensable.

Mr. SCHMIDT. That's right. And now, Miss Reed, if you'll raise your right hand, I'll swear you in.

NANCY REED, having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Now, first I'll ask the formal questions under oath regarding the Devaney Act.—A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever at any time, by word of mouth, willfully and deliberately advocate, advise, or teach the doctrine that the Government of the United States or of any State, or of any political subdivision thereof, should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever willfully and deliberately advocate, or advise, or teach, in writing, that doctrine?—A. No.

Q. You understand what I mean?—A. Yes; I have been reading this over very carefully.

Q. In other words, it will make it short if I say—that doctrine, if you understand my referring back to the doctrine as described in the Devaney Act?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you ever print, publish, edit, issue, or sell any book, paper, document, or written or printed matter, in any form, containing or advocating, advising or teaching the doctrine that the Government of the United States or any State, or any political subdivision thereof should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever advocate, advise, teach, or embrace the duty necessary, or the propriety of adopting such a doctrine of unlawful means, of violence?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever organize or help to organize, or become a member of any society or group of persons, which teaches or advocates that the Government of the United States or any State or any political subdivision thereof, should be overthrown by force, violence, or by any unlawful means?—A. No.

Q. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?—A. No; Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Were you ever a member of it?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Did you ever participate in any meeting of a fraction or nucleus of the Communist Party?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. You were never arrested in your life?—A. No. Would you call an automobile casualty, where I was brought into the police station and immediately released, or something like that?

Q. No, no. Did you ever assume any alias?—A. No.

Q. Or pen name, or other kind of name?—A. No.

Q. Were you ever known to the Communists, to your knowledge, by any other name than the name of Nancy Reed?—A. Nancy Reed only.

Q. Do you belong to the Trade Union Educational League?—A. That doesn't exist any more.

Q. Did you belong to it?—A. Well, I had—I think in 1929 there was an office worker's local that I had a card in for about a month or two, as I recall. It was just before I went to the Soviet Union.

Q. That was a Communist organization, wasn't it?—A. I don't know. Not to my knowledge—the Trade Union—there was no requirement in any way political about it. Just a straight union.

Q. Did you ever belong to the International Labor Defense?—A. I have contributed sometimes to it, and I think a little drive they had I remember a dollar, giving me a card. I kept it for awhile. I have never—I don't know whether that was considered membership, but I contributed to it.

Q. Well, when did you contribute to that?—A. I think that time I gave a dollar was in 1934, as I remember.

Q. In 1934?—A. It was a long time ago.

Q. Would you be good enough to write your name three times on that sheet of paper?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I'll introduce this into the record as exhibit A, as of this date.

Q. At the time that you contributed to the I. L. D., did you know it was a Communist organization?—A. No. I still don't know it is.

Q. You don't think it is a Communist organization today, or was at that time?—A. No, no.

Q. Were you born in this country?—A. Yes; I was.

Q. In what city were you born?—A. Dmstable.

Q. Is that in Massachusetts?—A. Yes.

Q. Were you a member of the League Against War and Fascism at the time when it existed under that name?—A. (No response.)

Q. Do you recall?—A. In my memory, it's the same situation as the I. L. D., that I contributed. I certainly didn't keep a card as a member. I'm not sure whether I was or not, but I would have been if I—if I understood its principles correctly.

Q. That is the same organization which was later known as the League For Peace and Democracy, if you recall?—A. Yes; but I never was active in it, so I don't remember whether my contributions were considered as membership.

Q. I believe you said, in answer to my questions based on the Ievany Act, that you did not believe in the use of force, violence, or unlawful means for the attainment of social or political ends?—A. Are you referring to the United States, or anywhere else?

Q. Yes; in the United States.—A. No.

Q. In other words, in no case would it be justified in the United States?—A. (No response.)

Q. Were you ever known by the name of Anne McLoughlin, to your knowledge?—A. No.

Q. Are you sure of that?—A. Yes.

Q. Would you write Anne McLoughlin on that paper, three times, please?—A. Yes. How do you spell the "Anne"?

Q. We'll spell it A-n-n-e.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I'll introduce into the record of this proceeding specimens of Miss Reed's handwriting of the name of Anne McLoughlin, as repeated three times on this document.

(Received in evidence and marked "Exhibit B" as of this date—June 23.)

Q. Does that name mean anything to you at all, the name Anne McLoughlin?—A. I have heard it.

Q. I mean, does it mean anything particularly to you?—A. No.

Mr. HANSON. In what connection have you heard it, Miss Reed?

Miss REED. I think it's a very common name.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know any person that went by that name?

Miss REED. Not offhand; no.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know any person that used that name?

Miss REED. No.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Do you believe the Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the working classes, composed of the self-sacrificing section of the proletariat?

A. I remember in my last testimony, speaking about self-sacrifice and, that is—that is—I think that could be said of them. I think it could be modified, too, so I don't—

Q. Well, for your information, I'll tell you that in case you don't know it, the Communist Party, of course, in this country, as is true of the Communist Party all over the world, all the sections of the Third International, claim that they are the organized vanguard of the proletariat, and I wondered whether that agreed with your view.

Mr. OWENS. You couldn't answer that question "Yes" or "No" could you, Miss Reed?

Miss REED. I think it's a matter of opinion.

Mr. OWENS. You—

Miss REED. And belief.

Mr. OWENS. Couldn't answer it "Yes" or "No"?

Miss REED. No.

Q. Would you be willing to deny that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a leader and organizer of the proletariat, leading the working class in the fight for revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and for the establishment of the Socialist Soviet Republic in the United States?—A. No.

Q. You would not be?—A. Excuse me. When you said that—I'm sorry, I didn't hear the first part of it. Would you—

Q. I'll withdraw that question and answer, and I'll start fresh.—A. Mr. Schmidt, may I ask one thing, too?

Q. Certainly.—A. Is this to be a continuation of my beliefs and my philosophies? Is this to be a test of the Devany Act, or—I feel, really, that I went through a good deal the last time, that I was very willing to cooperate in what you wanted to find out, and I think I did it to the best of my ability. And I'd like to make a statement or two on my own, since you did all the questioning before.

Q. Go ahead, I'll welcome any statement you want to make.—A. And, I should have asked before this thing began, just what was the purpose of having me testify again, as I did before, since we had gone into great detail at that time. The statement I'd like to make is to the effect that if I have been colored, red or pink, by my mother's activities—who is not a member of the Communist Party, but is considered one by the average thinking person—and because my sister did once work for the Comintern as I stated before, I certainly could be colored lily-white by the other half of my family—my father being a minister of the Gospel, headmaster of a school previously, my brother being an executive in a conservative organization, and every one of us living in different parts of the world, and having very different ideas on life, and none of us being able to live together more than 24 hours at a time, because of our individual beliefs, perhaps. So, this thing seems to have stemmed from the fact that the article appeared in the paper about my mother, which was common knowledge a year or so before. The fact that I went to the Soviet Union five times total, and worked there a year was very well known by the administration of the State department of labor before I was taken on as a worker 6 years ago. I came in on a civil-service list as No. 5 on the list, and I stand on my work record from that point on. I never let my outside interests interfere with my work. When it comes to questioning to this extent, as a result of a newspaper article, and I understand from Frieda Miller's letter to us in the union that an investigation was already in process before.

Q. Well, if you understand that, then you'll understand it wasn't the result of newspaper publicity solely.—A. Well, when I came in the last time you presented me with the newspaper article and asked me if I had read it and if the statement were true. I know what sort of thing the foul Hearst Press, and equally foul World Telegram are apt to do to an incident of that sort. You seem to have come to a conclusion in your minds just after that time, and you took the thread of my mother's interest in the Daily Worker to call me in and question me.

Q. You make a mistake when you say we have come to a conclusion. If we had come to a conclusion you wouldn't be here now in the course of an investigatory hearing.—A. Well, then I'll take it back about the conclusion. I mean you did go into this matter as a result of this newspaper statement. At least, it was timed apparently so. And, in regard to the union, I have

been unfortunately connected up with this episode in the union just because of this incident of my mother a year ago, and I think that it's completely covered in my past remarks.

Q. Well, some things might not be covered in your past remarks, but for one thing, since I didn't put you under oath at that time, I felt that when I did put you under oath I'd have to repeat some of the past stages of the investigation.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the other thing, I might say that in determining the scope of my examination, and therefore the scope of the questions which I propose to you, I am guided by my interpretation not only of the Devany Act, which is an important aspect of the whole problem, but also my interpretation of the administrative order, and so forth, that affect you. Now, let's consider for a moment the Devany Act. Your counsel, Mr. Leider, came in here and suggested to me that I might possibly be mistaken in my interpretation of that act. I told him that I disagreed with his interpretation, and I thought that he was mistaken. But this much I'll tell you, of what I told him. I don't feel that I am bound only by direct questions that pertain to the Devany Act. I feel that inferential and circumstantial evidence can be used. Obviously, they must be used with caution, and I propose to use that necessary caution. I'm not going to victimize anybody just because of beliefs. It is not my purpose at all. But, in testing the statement of whether someone is a member of the Communist Party, it seems to me that I can go beyond that and test the ideology, because after all what is the C. P. except a system of ideologies?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you see?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, that's the point of departure of my questions, and—A. May I ask one thing, if you will?

Q. Surely.—A. The statement that appeared in the foul Journal American last Thursday—

Q. I have that here, somewhere.—A. It had a quote from me that I had by my own admission worked in the Soviet Union as a labor investigator. Now, that, of course, is not my words at all, and I'd like to know how they got so much information.

Q. That's the very question I'd like to know. Did you speak to anyone?—A. I certainly did not.

Q. Well, I know they didn't get it from me. They didn't get it from me.—A. Well, I don't answer any newspaper reporters.

Q. I recall very well when Woltman called you he repeated in his column that you didn't answer him, and I might put this on the record now—Do you recall you were telephoned by Frederic Woltman of the World Telegram sometime ago?—A. I do.

Q. And he addressed you certain questions, first about the union, isn't that right?—A. Right.

Q. And, after that, he asked you a question that you considered personal to yourself?—A. Right.

Q. And that question was, in effect—I don't remember the words used. In fact, I know that the words used were. He asked you whether you were a Communist at that time?—A. Yes.

Q. Is that right?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And what was your answer to him?—A. I don't answer questions at all.

Q. You did not deny at that time that you were a Communist?—A. Well, I certainly didn't, because I don't give any newspapers any information, except with or on advice of counsel. That's reasonable, I'm sure.

Q. And that is the reason you gave me when I questioned you heretofore, on that point?—A. Right.

Q. Now, were there any other statements you wanted to make, Miss Reed, before we went on?—A. Well, perhaps you'll let me interject them as they—as I think of them?

Q. Certainly. Feel free to do that throughout. Now, you have already said you never registered as a member of the Communist Party; is that right?—A. When you say "registered" you use that word in relation to—

Q. To the Communist Party records?—A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever registered as a member of the Communist Party? In voting?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever participated in the meetings of any shop unit, street unit, or town unit, or branch of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?—A. Well, I have been to an awful lot of meetings in my life.

Q. You don't remember—A. Especially in the last 10 years.

Q. You don't remember whether any were branches of the Communist Party?—  
A. I may have come, as an invited guest, to some of those.

Q. You say you may have. Do you recall whether you did attend a branch meeting?—A. I don't recall, offhand.

Q. Did you ever attend a section convention of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Not to your knowledge?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the section committee of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the section bureau of the Communist Party?—A. No, no.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the unit bureau of the Communist Party?—  
A. No.

Q. Of the branch bureau?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a district convention of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the district committee of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a national convention of the Communist Party?—A. I think there was a mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, as part of that, I did go to it.

Q. When was that?—A. I think it was in June, because it was very hot, but I don't remember exactly what year. Approximately 4 years ago, but I'd like to say here that when Mr. Hanson questioned me the last time about attending Communist-controlled meetings I believe he said—and Madison Square Garden, I didn't remember that one, and I do now remember it.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever attend a meeting of the political bureau of the Communist Party of the United States?—A. No.

Q. Were you ever invited to attend any meetings such as the ones I have indicated, that is to say, meetings of groups, meetings of the branches, of the sections, of the section committee meetings, of the national conventions, of the central committee, any of those?—A. No. As I said before, if I was invited as a guest to some of those small groups—

Q. Was it a shop unit?—A. I don't know. I don't remember.

Q. Where was the meeting held? Do you remember that?—A. No.

Q. What kind of workers were there? Do you remember that?—A. No; I don't, frankly.

Q. Who was the section organizer who invited you?—A. I don't remember the name either. It was a long time ago, if it happened, and I'm saying, because it's vague in my mind, and if I went to those as—

Q. Would it be a section, I mean a unit organizer, who invited you, or the "ad-prop" director?—A. I don't know, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. You don't know that?—A. (No response.)

Q. You don't know?—A. No.

Q. When you went to Russia, did you attend, or were you invited to attend the World Congress of the C. I., the Communist International?—A. No; I was not.

Q. Did you attend, or were you invited to attend, the enlarged plenum of the C. C. I., that is the Executive Committee of the Communist International?—A. No. May I say something here that I thought of in regard to that newspaper article?

Q. Yes.—A. It has in italics, that is, the one I saw did.

Q. Yes; this has the italics.—A. "That only trusted members of the Communist Party are allowed to work in the Soviet Union". Is that right?

Q. So it says here. Is that correct?—A. Well, I think you know as well as I do that that is absolutely incorrect. You know the job I did there in the Commissariat of Labor?

Q. No; I don't know, exactly.—A. I thought I mentioned it the last time. Well, I interviewed all the foreigners coming there applying for jobs.

Q. You worked, then, in the Commissariat of Labor, rather than in the Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers?—A. I worked there for about 2 or 3 months before this other job was organized, and it was necessary, and then they transferred me from that job.

Q. I don't quite follow that. You worked—A. At the Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in U.S.S.R.

Q. Before you worked in the Commissariat of Labor?—A. That's right.

Q. Now, was it necessary for you to be a Communist Party member, or a sympathizer of communism, with the Communist doctrine, to work in the Coop-

erative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U. S. S. R.?—A. No; it was not. I was never asked. I was never asked before they hired me, whether I was or not.

Q. Was it necessary for you to show credentials that you were a party member, or to adopt the party line, or the line of the Communist International, for you to obtain and hold a position in the Commissariat of Labor in Soviet Russia?—A. No.

Q. What was that?—A. No; I say. No credentials whatsoever. I was not asked that question.

Q. Your sister, Mary, did work for the Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., is that right?—A. No. She worked for the Comintern.

Q. I'm sorry. Just what was her position in the Comintern?—A. Translator.

Q. And when was that?—A. She has been there since 1927, I believe. Still there. She's not working for them, as I said before. For the last 5 or 6 years, I think. I think it was 1935. She has been ill with heart trouble. She is doing a little free-lance writing for the publishing—for the State Publishing House.

Q. Which is the same as the Cooperative?—A. No.

Q. What is the State Publishing House?—A. Well, I think it's the State—I really don't know. I know they have one big central publishing house in Lenin-grad and one in Moscow.

Q. Did you ever at any time conduct propaganda or agitation to induce people to correspond with the programs and the decisions of the Third International?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Was your sister known by any other name, except Mary Reed?—A. No.

Q. She has no alias, to your knowledge?—A. No.

Q. Would you reject the Communist doctrine and program if it is the Communist doctrine and program which is embodied in the following language?: "The class struggle in almost all of the countries of Europe and America is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the Communists can have no confidence in bourgeois law. They must everyone create a parallel illegal apparatus which, at the decisive moment could assist the party in performing its duty to the revolution. In all countries where, in consequence of martial law or exceptional laws the Communists are unable to carry on their work legally, a combination of legal and illegal work is absolutely necessary."

MISS REED. May I ask first, who is this gentleman here?

MR. SCHMIDT. This is Mr. Waldman, Mr. Hanson's assistant.

A. You say—"if this is the Communist doctrine." Now, there are things about the Communist philosophy that I agree with very heartily. There are also things that I don't. I have not read this myself. I would want to study it before I'd say yes or no to that. And I can't say offhand, so I won't.

Q. Well, can you say, if I show it to you, to read?

A. I'd rather not. It's very meaty thinking, as most of those things are, and it can require modification or elaboration.

Q. Well, the meat of it is very simple, if you read the English; it simply means that in furtherance of the revolution Communists must be prepared to combine legal and illegal work.

A. I'd rather not answer that, because I'm not—I don't feel qualified. I have said before, there are parts of their philosophy that I agree with.

Q. Do you acknowledge any duty to revolution? That was the phrase here.

A. No. All of this is assuming a good deal, Mr. Schmidt, and I don't.

Q. All right. That's the answer, then. And, of course, if you don't acknowledge a duty, a revolutionary duty, then you can't consider yourself guilty, as Communists have considered other guilty, of a betrayal of revolutionary duty?

MR. OWENS. I'm not sure that Miss Reed clearly understands that question. Do you understand that question, Miss Reed?

MISS REED. That last one—it is very confusing.

MR. SCHMIDT. I'll withdraw that question. I'll put it in again.

Q. Since you say you acknowledge no duty to revolution, it would follow, I take it, that for you at least, there is no such thing as a betrayal of revolutionary duty, even if the Communists talk about such a betrayal?—A. I think that is still involved, Mr. Schmidt, and I think it isn't answerable by "yes" or "no." And I think I cannot go into the whole breadth of the philosophy and beliefs and discuss with you just which part of it I support in my own mind and those that I don't.

Q. Do you believe that without revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no democratic reorganization will save mankind from imperialist war?

A. No, I don't believe that. I really think, to pick out—as you have all through these documents—little pieces that you think would analyze just what I agree with and what I don't agree with, is a mistake. I, perhaps, can pick out for you some that I do agree with and some that I don't and do it better than—

Q. Well, the only reason why—A. This is a long process of picking out parts, all of which are related to the whole article, and which in themselves don't really substantiate anything. I think it's a mistake to continue this, really I do.

Q. I'm going to ask you to be patient with my method of procedure. I have a special reason for quoting language, rather than using my own. I could easily use my own language.—A. I think it would be a lot simpler for me to understand, Mr. Schmidt, that those, some of those passages, all of which are tied in together with the whole thesis. I'm sure a great many people who have been to the Soviet Union would agree with a lot of those things in there, and not with everything, and it seems to be your point is to prove either that I believe in everything or not.

Q. Oh, no. I'm not a bit impressed with that as my point. As a matter of fact, I'll be frank to say there are some things in the Communist doctrine that I myself believe.—A. Well, I think that is very creditable. I know a lot of people who have been there and come back the way I feel about it—interested in the thing—and I think this whole war situation puts a very different slant on things too.

Q. I have no doubt it puts a very different slant on things—it makes patriots out of the Daily Worker and—A. I don't believe that. I mean, when I heard John Steele speak yesterday over the radio from London, he praised the Soviet Union for many things, he even praised Stalin. He said he was no fool, and said other things equally complimentary. And he said "Now I suppose I'll be called a Bolshevik, and I'm not." And that's the thing that I have been called for so long that I'm practically immune to it, because I have been interested in the Soviet Union for 10 or 12 years and I have helped on that Committee for Recognition at the time before we recognized them, and I have consistently seen things that I value very highly in the Soviet Union. Now, the trend of events and the whole war hysteria, and this accusation about my being my mother's daughter, and she being connected with the Daily Worker, all puts a very black light on me at present. And there are people who know me for years and years as a good worker. And I have not—

Q. Have I given any evidence that I have thought the less of you because you are your mother's daughter?—A. Well, it certainly has been brought in, and my sister has been brought in.

Q. Well, that—A. I'd like to bring in something about my father, if you are interested in that, I mean.

Q. Certainly, go ahead.—A. In all my family—

Q. I have no objections to your bringing in something about your father. That's perfectly agreeable to me.—A. Well, I mean, it's all part of the picture, and you want to get a whole picture. Perhaps I'm suffering a little bit, not having had a vacation, but I seem to be going over this ground so many times. I frankly don't see—and I thought after last time, we went over all this, and that this business of picking spots out of all these periodicals and things—really, didn't tell very much, did it? I mean, when I tell you definitely that I believe in some of it and I don't believe in other parts of it, and I'm not a Communist, and I—and that I'm my mother's daughter, etc., etc.

Q. Well, I think, Miss Reed, that statement of yours is the very basis why I would continue this line. You say that you believe in some of it and don't believe in other parts of it. That's precisely what I understood up to now, and because I wanted to isolate what you believe in from what you don't believe in, I felt the only way I could do it is to give you excerpts from acknowledged Communist sources, and ask you whether you did believe or did not believe in them.—A. Well, excerpts which are part of a whole, documents which in themselves as picked out cannot be good proof of anything at all. I can read these things through and believe in part of it and not in another part of it.

Q. That's right. That's right. And I just want to find out what you believe in. That's why I'm asking you.—A. Well, I stick to the Devaney law. I know it practically by heart, and that seems to be involved in all these questions that you are asking me.



Q. That is involved, but that is not the only thing I'm considering.—A. That, I understood, was what you told me in the very beginning was the reason for your questioning, when I first came in.

Q. It was, at that time; yes. Here, let me ask a general question before I again address myself to these articles. Do you know enough about the Communist doctrine, the Communist line in this country to be able to tell me whether or not Communists advocate revolutionary means, means of violence and lawlessness if the dictatorship of the proletariat can be advanced by those means?—A. I don't think I know that question; no.

Q. To put it more simply, does the Communist Party line and the Communist program, and the decisions of the Comintern, do all of those sources repudiate the doctrine that the end justifies the means, in all cases?—A. (No response.)

Q. The end, of course, being the dictatorship of the proletariat, or socialism, or communism, depending upon what stage of advancement you pick.—A. I don't know that.

Q. You don't know that, either?—A. No.

Q. Well, you will concede, won't you, that Stalin knows as well as any man living what the Communist program and the Communist line entails?—A. I should judge so; yes.

Q. In an article in the Communist of February 1935, volume 14, No. 2, the article being called the Socialist Revolution in the United States, Stalin is quoted as having said: "Is an upheaval of this kind, is a radical transformation of the old bourgeois system, possible without a forcible revolution? Is it possible without establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat? Obviously not. To think that such a revolution can be carried out peacefully within the framework of bourgeois democracy, within the framework of the system that is adapted to maintain bourgeois rule, means one of two things; it either means madness, an inability to understand the ordinary significance of words, or else it means a cynical repudiation of the proletarian revolution." That's one quotation, and it refers in this quotation to a previous part of the article, where it said: "The fundamental task of the bourgeois revolution is to seize power, and to adapt that power to the already existing bourgeois economy. The fundamental task of the proletarian revolution is, on seizing power, to construct a new socialist economy." [The publication is handed to the witness.]—A. Will you let me see that?

Q. Surely.—A. I am—I never have taken to politics in any way easily. It is very difficult for me. Right now, I have—I think you can appreciate the week end heat—and I would have to study very very long and arduously before I could answer, Mr. Schmidt. I'm not in any mental state, with all this thing I have been through, to go and put my mind on answering these very deep theoretical questions.

Q. Well, I brought that quotation out because you had admitted a moment ago you didn't know that the Communist Party and the Communist Party program, the world over, stood for revolutionary means, force and violence, and illegal means, when they were deemed necessary by the vanguard to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.—A. I understood you to explain last that the Communist Party of America was separate from the International. Now, I'm not prepared to go into this theory. I have told you before what I stand for and what I believe. You're much better at this sort of stuff than I am. I—read this first—

Q. Do you believe that the Communist Party is out to carry on a systematic and persistent communistic work in trade-unions, and workers' industrial councils, and cooperative societies, and in mass organizations?

A. That all depends on how it's done. I don't believe in it offhand.

Q. You acknowledge no duty on your own part to devote your entire activity to the interest of really revolutionary propaganda and agitation, along the Communist line?—A. No.

Q. Do you acknowledge any duty to give all possible support to the Soviet Republic publications?—A. No. None, other than what Churchill has just issued—Out to Fight the Nazi System.

Q. When you were here the last time you took the position I think that you were opposed to all war.—A. I hate war.

Q. You still are opposed to all war?—A. I still hate war, Mr. Schmidt. I said that rather glibly about Churchill's statement, that we don't question who our neighbor is, as long as they are fighting a common foe, and when you said

all aid toward Soviet, I meant in this respect—not less than any military aid at all.

Q. Do you believe that the Communist Party in the United States has become the trusted vanguard of the working classes?

A. No; I don't think I can say that.

Q. Do you think the working class ought to regard it as their trusted vanguard and beloved organizer?—A. No.

Q. Do you believe that the proletarian dictatorship is the way out of social, political, and economic ills today?—A. Where?

Q. In America.—A. No; I think they have done it in the Soviet Union. That is their business and entirely apart from this country.

Q. Do you think it is the historic mission of the working classes to effect a revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system in this country?—A. No.

Q. Do you think the Communist Party is the only party that fights uncompromisingly for the interest of the workers in this country?—A. No.

Q. Do you acknowledge any obligation to fulfill the decisions of the World Congress and the committees of the Communist International?—A. No.

Q. Have you read the program of the Communist International?—A. I remember starting it once, but I certainly never got through it.

Q. Do you acknowledge that program as an outline of your duty in handling political or social or economic problems?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Where did you receive your high-school education?—A. Cambridge.

Q. England?—A. Massachusetts. I had so many schools. That was the only actual high school that I went to. I went to other schools.

Q. You went to high school in England, too, didn't you?—A. Well, it was called Oxford High School for Girls, but I don't think it was the same as our high school here.

Q. I see. You went to Smith College, then, for a while?—A. I did.

Q. And Radcliffe?—A. Right.

Q. And Simmons?—A. Right.

Q. After that, where did you go?—A. I went to work.

Q. You worked first for whom?—A. William Filene & Sons.

Q. After that, for whom did you work?—A. The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities was my next big job. I may have had quite a few little ones in between there.

Q. And after that?—A. Then I worked for Miss Odenkrantz in the employment center for handicapped, approximately 4½ years.

Q. And you stopped that around 1931?—A. No; it was before that. I think—yes; 1931, that's right.

Q. And after that, where did you work?—A. I went to the Soviet Union for that year; that was the winter of 1931 and 1932.

Q. And that was the time when you worked at first for the Cooperative Publishing House?—A. Yes.

Q. And later for the Commissariat of Labor in Russia?—A. That's right.

Q. What, exactly, were your duties in working first for the Cooperative Publishing House and then for the Commissariat of Labor?—A. A very minor job. I did some typing and proofreading for the publishing house.

Q. In English?—A. Yes.

Q. Do you speak Russian?—A. No. Then I was asked to be transferred to this Commissariat of Labor job, because they needed someone to interview incoming foreigner workers and I had had employment service and they were very anxious to have me do that, so I was transferred to that job.

Q. And you did interview American workers?—A. American engineers and workers of all kinds. I had a job for 1,200 Canadian coal miners 1 day and I sent to Miss Odenkrantz, to put into clearance.

Q. And that was the brunt of your work for the Commissariat of Labor?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Placing experienced technical people?—A. I really didn't place them. I sent them with an interpreter, after I registered them, with an interpreter to the Trust itself, which is the way the thing is set up there, and they in turn selected them and sent them to jobs.

Q. Were you guided by an employer specifications in making those selections?—A. No. They were so hard up for people at that time they—they, as I say—I sent 6 Canadians to this coal trust, and got an order back for 1,200 more just like them.

Q. Weren't they careful at least to try to keep out Fascists or Gestapo?—A. No; not at that time. The people could come in as tourists and change over to a worker's visa very easily.

Q. All right. Then after you came back from Russia you worked where?—  
A. (No response.)

Q. In November 1932 you came back, didn't you, or thereabouts?—A. Along in there; yes. I worked for the New York State Employment Service, on their temporary pay roll, in the Brooklyn office for about 6 months. I think it was May when they were through at that particular job.

Q. And, after May, did you go back to Russia for awhile?—A. No; I was out of work for about 5 months, until the fall again. Then I worked—I had picked up jobs, but the next big job was with the Federal Interviewer Transient Bureau and that was until about a year—I think it was.

Q. Was it September of 1934 that you worked as a placement interviewer?—  
A. Yes; in the Home Relief Bureau, until my appointment to the State.

Q. And after your appointment to the State, in the division of placement, did you go to Russia again?—A. I went on one more trip, I think it was in 1937, my last trip, or was it—I know I went in 1937 for my vacation, I made five altogether—1929, 1930, 1931, and in 1935 I believe I went for 2 weeks—I was there and then 1937. Yes; that's right, that's right.

Q. When you went in 1935—A. It was before I took the State job, that's right.

Q. Just immediately before you took the State job?—A. Yes; I had a month's vacation, and I went over and back.

Q. You didn't work in Russia at that time?—A. No; I went there for a vacation.

Q. Well, when you made out your application for civil-service employment you didn't set forth your employment in Soviet Russia, did you?

A. I don't remember that—whether I did or not. But it was—mainly because I left the job with Miss Odenkrantz to be married, and I left that year out.

Q. I don't understand what your marriage has to do with your employment record.—A. Well, I left Miss Odenkrantz to be married.

Q. Is that the time you went to Russia?—A. In 1931, or—yes; I went in 1931. Then my plans changed and I got a job over there, and I stayed there for a year.

Q. But, you see, you made your application out for civil-service employment in 1935 or 1936, as I recall it.—A. That's right.

Q. Now, at that time you did not insert the record of your employment in Soviet Russia?—A. Well, if I didn't, it was, perhaps, because I felt it had no bearing on my personnel work, and I still don't see that it was required. I don't remember at all my reason for it. I just know that I have made out a good many of those blanks and just put down at that time which was true, the reason for leaving. That's what it was there.

Q. You don't know of any other reason why you omitted it except what you have just given?—A. No; I don't, because it was common knowledge, everybody knew it—when I came back—that I had worked there.

Q. You suggested that you didn't think that your employment in Russia had anything to do with your job, the job you were looking for.—A. Well, I don't think to this day that it would have any particular bearing. If you're indicating that I left it out for a reason, that it would be misunderstood—I don't have any recollection of doing that—doing it for that reason.

Q. I'm not indicating anything. I just want to know.—A. Well, I don't really know why I did it. Maybe there wasn't room on the page. I have so many—

Mr. HANSON. But the work you did in Russia was the same type of work that you were trying to locate here.

Miss REED. Yes; that is true, but certainly not according to the American system.

Q. I don't understand your suggestion that it had no bearing. Since it was personnel work, it would have a direct bearing, wouldn't it?—A. Well—think what you like about that omission. But I really don't know why I did it, and I see no reason to have omitted it for any other reason than I left to be married, and I gave that as a reason for leaving my other job, and I have nothing to hide about that experience. I don't know that I put it in. As a matter of fact, it was about 3 months' work. I did a short-time job, and so—

Q. Well, you worked for the Soviet Union for a year?—A. I was there a year. I began to work in—in October, and I know I had 5½ months' employment on the publishing house, because I was eligible for a vacation and it was while I was on the vacation that I started to work in the Commissariat of Labor. Now, the Commissariat of Labor job stopped because the war situation grew very severe

and they did not allow people any longer to come in as easily as they had been, and my job was completed, and because I had been taken from one job to another, my employer was required to—Borodin—to find another niche for me where he was working on the Moscow News and I worked there about a month I think before I went on my vacation, and after which I returned to America.

Q. Is that the Borodin that subsequently was physically liquidated?—A. I don't think so. I think he is still managing editor of the Moscow News, I'm not sure.

Q. You said you were married in 1931?—A. I left to be married, Mr. Schmidt, and my plans changed.

Q. You didn't get married?—A. No.

Q. Now, did you at any time ever maintain in your office a list of Communist comrades, for placement?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever tell anybody that you had such a list in your desk?—A. No.

Q. And that you were using that list to help place "comrades" in positions?—A. No.

Q. Do you know Grace Hutchins?—A. Yes; I know Grace Hutchins.

Q. Who is Grace Hutchins?—A. She works in the Labor Research Association.

Q. Is the Labor Research Association a Communist organ?—A. Not to my knowledge. I don't know.

Q. Who else works there?—A. I know Bob Dunn, or Bill.

Q. Is he a Communist?—A. No; I don't think so.

Q. Well, aren't you familiar with the fact that he has written in the Party Organizer, and other Communist organs?—A. No; but I don't think that's the requirement to be a Communist, to write in those journals. I don't—I think he is another one that has always been branded as a "red," because he has been associated with the left-wing radical movement all the time. I know he works there. I know him slightly.

Q. Is Grace Hutchins a Communist?—A. I think she was on a public office as a Communist.

Q. Didn't she once run for comptroller of the State on the Communist ticket?—A. Yes.

Q. That would make her a Communist?—A. Yes.

Q. Did she ever send names to you, or refer to you comrades for employment in the State service?—A. I don't know if they were comrades. She has sometimes sent me people with research experience to see if I could steer them to the right department for jobs. This, I want you to know, has been done by so many organizations, and I think I am particularly susceptible to being asked by organizations, clinics, and hospitals, particularly because I have worked in handicap work for so long that I have become what is known as an information bureau for a good deal of the State jobs for handicapped people.

Q. When you went to Russia the last time—I believe you said it was 1937 or 1938?—A. Yes.

Q. You met Dorothy Rehm in Russia, didn't you?—A. No; I think we just missed each other. No; she didn't go at the same time I did. I know she was going around that time.

Q. Well, you gave her a letter to your sister, didn't you?—A. I believe so. I very often did—use my sister to show people the things around there. She speaks Russian very well.

Q. Didn't you and Dorothy Rehm go to Russia at the same time, although not on the same boat?—A. No.

Q. Didn't you meet Dorothy Rehm in Russia?—A. No.

Q. You didn't?—A. What year did Dorothy Rehm go to Russia? I don't remember. I know she was going, but I didn't think she went at the same time.

Q. Didn't she talk with you before she went?—A. Well, I knew she was going. I knew she wanted to know about the price of tickets and what not, of that sort, prices, and tickets.

Q. Did she make arrangements and booking through you?—A. No.

Q. But you're sure you didn't meet her in Russia at that time?—A. No; I have no recollection of it, because I think she was—she went at a different time. I can't remember, but I don't remember seeing her there.

Mr. HANSON. Did you meet anybody else over in Russia that worked with the division at that time, or is still working with the division?

Miss REED. You mean Dorothy Ryder, maybe? I think Dorothy Ryder came in at the same time I came in.

Q. You met her in Russia?—A. I saw her one day; yes. We were in the same city; that's right.

Q. At breakfast with her and your sister?—A. I don't think so. I don't remember.

Q. Did you give Dorothy Ryder a letter to your sister?—A. I don't remember. I know, she knows I have a sister there, and if she could—

Q. Do you know Roy Hudson?—A. I know who he is.

Q. Do you know him personally?—A. No.

Q. You've never met him?—A. I have talked to other people where he was around, shaking hands with him—

Q. Who is he?—A. He is a member of the Communist Party.

Q. On the Central Committee of the Communist Party, isn't he?—A. I don't know.

Q. Did you ever attend any fraction of the Communist Party when he was present?—A. No.

Q. Any fraction of the Communist Party in the N. M. U.?—A. No.

Q. Were you active in the N. M. U.?—A. No.

Q. Do you know what I mean?—A. What do you mean? C. I. O.? I know that, but what do you mean by being active?

Mr. HANSON. Do you belong to the women's auxiliary?

Miss REED. I helped them in their organizing, in the food kitchen particularly.

Mr. HANSON. Would your helping them bring you to frequent the union headquarters, or the headquarters at 230 Seventh Avenue?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. HANSON. Were you ever in the building?

Miss REED. Not to my knowledge. I have been in a number of offices, I think, once or twice. Where is that? On Eleventh Avenue?

Mr. HANSON. But you have never been at 230 Seventh Avenue, the Communist headquarters for the water front?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. HANSON. Where did you meet—the women's auxiliary?

Miss REED. I didn't meet with them. I was much too busy at that time. They used to invite me to some of their meetings, and I could never go. I just know that if I could help them at all in organizing food kitchens, I helped, and raising money for food supplies.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Do you know Joe Statchell?—A. No.

Q. Know who he is?—A. I have heard the name Statchell, but I don't think it's "Joe."

Q. He's a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and was at one time chief of their labor policy in the United States.

Did you ever meet Earl Browder, personally?—A. No. I saw him once at a meeting at which he bowed to me because I recognized him, and that's all I know of him.

Mr. WALDMAN. Miss Reed, did you ever direct the activities of the Young Communist's League on the water front?

Miss REED. No; I didn't.

Mr. WALDMAN. Do you know Blackie Meyers?

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. WALDMAN. How well do you know him?

Miss REED. Not very well. I knew him in the strike.

Q. Winstone—do you know him?—A. No.

Q. Bedacht?—A. No. These names are all familiar to me, but I don't know them personally.

Mr. WALDMAN. How well do you know Beth MacHenry?

Miss REED. Oh, I have known her for—she was a writer—I know her.

Q. On the Daily Worker staff?—A. Yes.

Mr. WALDMAN. Is she a known Communist?

Miss REED. Well, I don't know whether you have to be a Communist to be a writer on the Daily Worker.

Mr. WALDMAN. That wasn't the question I asked.

Miss REED. When you say "known Communist," are you assuming that everyone who is working on the Daily Worker is a Communist?

Mr. HANSON. No. He is asking whether you believe her to be a Communist.

Miss REED. No; I have—it's commonly assumed that she is.

Mr. HANSON. Well, you know now what he wants.

Miss REED. She probably is. Everyone—that is not my understanding, but—everyone who works on the Daily Worker is assumed—

Mr. HANSON. But you share the general assumption that she is a Communist?

Miss REED. I would; yes. I share it, but I have no way of knowing.

Mr. WALDMAN. Do you know a man by the name of Goldwater?

Miss REED. No.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Do you recall working with him in Russia?—A. No.

Q. Do you know George Mink?—A. No; I don't know him.

Q. Did you ever get an invitation, from him or anyone else, to attend a meeting in Detroit or Chicago?—A. No; to my knowledge, I didn't— at all.

Q. Did you have a summer home in Massachusetts?—A. No; I haven't.

Q. Did you have one?—A. I don't own any property.

Q. Did you have?—A. No.

Q. Did you have some friend, or some relative of yours there?—A. Yes; I come from Massachusetts.

Q. Where did you live in Massachusetts, besides Dunstable?—A. I was brought up in Cambridge, Mass.

Q. What was the address?—A. Lived on Walker Street, most of the time.

Q. What was the address at Dunstable?—A. There wasn't any. I don't even remember the house where I was born—just a little house.

Q. Any other address in Massachusetts that you lived at?—A. Why, I guess I have lived a good many places in Massachusetts.

Q. What were some of those addresses, if you recall?—A. I visited Springfield; my mother has a house.

Q. Where is your mother's house?—A. At Sandwich, Cape Cod.

Q. Sandwich, on Cape Cod?—A. That's right.

Q. While you lived there, were—to your knowledge—any records of the Communist Party found hidden on the premises of any of those houses?—A. No.

Q. Do you know Tommy Ray?—A. I have heard of him; his name is familiar.

Q. You don't remember where you met him?—A. No; I don't.

Q. Do you know Arthur Thomas?—A. No; I think his name is connected with, or was, with the N. M. U. at one time.

Q. Did you meet him?—A. I—probably in strike situations—I did.

Q. You don't remember the situations under which you met him?—A. No; I don't.

Q. Do you know Bella Dodd?—A. No; I have never had the pleasure of meeting her.

Q. Ferdinand Smith?—A. I know he's secretary of the National Maritime Union.

Q. Have you met him?—A. Yes; I have met him personally; yes.

Q. Is he a Communist, to your knowledge?—A. I have no knowledge of it. It's the same as the other people—they are labeled.

Q. Do you know Howard Mackenzie?—A. Yes.

Q. Where did you meet him?—A. During the strike. I couldn't tell you the day, or the time, or the place, at all.

Q. Is he a Communist, to your knowledge?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. William Howe?—A. Never heard of him.

Q. He was also known by the name of Jamieson.—A. No.

Q. Never heard of that?—A. No.

Q. You don't recall receiving any invitation from Mink or from anyone else in the Communist Party, in the spring of this year, to attend—A. Of this year?

Q. (Continuing.) To attend a meeting at Detroit?—A. I certainly didn't. I would know that. It's very recent.

Q. In any other year, or at any other time?—A. No.

Q. You would be sure about that, too?—A. The name Mink is only a name to me. I surely would know if he had written me a letter, and I haven't received any.

Q. Who is Mink? Do you know?—A. No, I don't. I know he is connected with the seamen in some way—I don't know anything more.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know Rose Waters?

Miss REED. I know the name.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know her?

Miss REED. No.

Q. You understand that she is a Communist?—A. I understand that she worked for the Communist Party.

Q. She is a member of the Central Committee, isn't she?—A. I don't know.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know Andrew Overgaard?

Miss REED. No. I have heard the name, but I don't know him.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know a man by the name of Joe Zaek?

Miss REED. No. I saw his name in some paper, but I don't know him.

Mr. HANSON. Do you remember the occasion?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know Thomas Ray?

Mr. SCHMIDT. I asked her that.

Mr. HANSON. Oh, I'm sorry. You say your mother had a summer home in Sandwich, Cape Cod?

Miss REED. That's right.

Mr. HANSON. Did you visit there?

Miss REED. I have; yes.

Mr. HANSON. At any time that you visited there, did you ever see Earle Browder there?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know, of your own knowledge, whether or not Earle Browder was ever there?

Miss REED. To my knowledge, he never has been.

Mr. HANSON. And you met Earle Browder only once?

Miss REED. I didn't—I wasn't even introduced to him. I remember recognizing him, because of seeing his pictures, and bowing to him and he bowed back to me. Now, if that's knowing a person, I don't know—I don't agree with it.

Mr. HANSON. But that's the extent of your acquaintance with Earle Browder?

Miss REED. That's right.

Mr. WALDMAN. May I ask a question? Are you married now?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. WALDMAN. How well do you know Ted Lewis, or, his regular name is Albert Edward Lewis?

Miss REED. I really think this is getting personal. I should like to consult counsel before I make any statements about my very personal life.

Mr. WALDMAN. I'm not interested in your personal life, Miss Reed.

Miss REED. Well, but you're asking—

Mr. HANSON. We ask that in the same connection we ask all these other people here. It might be personal to ask you whether you know these other people here.

Miss REED. He said "how well," not if I know him. I do know him.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, we'll change that.

Mr. WALDMAN. Do you know Ted Lewis?

Miss REED. Yes; I know him.

Mr. WALDMAN. Have you heard from him lately?

Miss REED. No, I really don't think that that ought to be asked, Mr. Schmidt.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I'm in control of the meeting, and if you give me a good reason why it shouldn't be asked I'll withdraw the question. Why are you so—

Miss REED. I'm a little emotional about that because the last I know his ship was torpedoed, and I feel very keenly about it and I'd rather not go into it.

Mr. WALDMAN. Don't you hear from him through somebody in Halifax?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. WALDMAN. You don't?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, I don't understand the source of this emotion you speak of.

Miss REED. I mean—after all, that is getting pretty personal.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I can't know it's personal any more than I would—

Miss REED. You know, by the way I react, that it's a little, a little difficult for me to be quite unemotional.

Mr. SCHMIDT. You see, Miss Reed, if I conducted an investigation, and every time somebody said "I get emotional about that question" and I withdrew that question, then, of course, I'd have to stop my investigation.

Miss REED. Well, of course, my being emotional about it—after all, it's about 2 hours I have tried to hold my temper, and I'm very, very tired. And you hit a subject that is very close to my heart.

Mr. SCHMIDT. All right. If you mean by that that you have a special place in your affections for him, then I won't press my questions about Mr. Lewis.

Mr. WALDMAN. Except one question, please. Do you know of him being a Communist?

Miss REED. He has been called that, just like everybody else, but I don't know.

Mr. WALDMAN. To your knowledge, he was lost on that ship?

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I don't think it's necessary to go into that.

Mr. OWENS. Miss Reed, are you familiar with the 21 points of the Communists International?

Miss REED. No; I'm not.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Are you familiar with O. Piatnipsky's manual on that?—A. Is that what you have been reading all this from?

Q. That's one of the things.—A. Then I am familiar with it to that extent.

Q. Did you ever know a man by the name of MacQuiston?—A. Yes.

Q. What do you know about him?—A. It's almost difficult for me to say what I think of him. I met him—during the strike, as I met so many of those National Maritime Union people. The strike was in 1936 and 1937. I haven't seen him since and I never want to see him again as long as I live. You know as well as I do what his record has been.

Q. No; I don't know as well as you do, apparently.—A. Well, he has been fired from his own union for 99 years.

Mr. HANSON. That's a long time.

Miss REED. It isn't long enough.

A. (Continuing.) He has been proven to have been one who actually had a part in the slaying of one of the best union men in New Orleans, or—I don't remember the southern Gulf port.

Mr. SCHMIDT. You made a statement there, under oath, that I would just advise you as an attorney might subject you to—if it ever got out—

Miss REED. I beg your pardon.

Mr. SCHMIDT (continuing). To penalty, as slander. If it's true, I'm interested, but I want you to be very—

Miss REED. No; I'm—

Mr. SCHMIDT. Strike it out, then.

Miss REED. Yes; I want to start again. That he has been accused publicly, because I know he has had a trial.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Was he acquitted?

Miss REED. He was in jail as a result of it.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, he could be in jail awaiting trial, you see. I'm wondering—

Miss REED. No; it was after the trial. I'd better not be getting into this thing, because I'm not clear enough of the facts.

Q. You're quite sure?—A. No.

Q. Well, it would be easy enough to check.—A. I know he has appeared before the Dies committee many times, and I think—I don't know, if he's around New York. I heard recently that he was, and that its how he makes his living.

Q. How?—A. By working for the Dies committee.

Q. You said you heard recently he was in New York. From whom did you hear that?—A. I don't remember that. I'm sure I heard his name mentioned.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know Conrad Jones?

Miss Reed. No.

Mr. HANSON. You don't know Conrad—

Miss REED. I know a Jones that was in the strike, but I don't know his first name. It might have been that one.

Mr. HANSON. Would it refresh your memory if I told you he handled all of the relief cases for the N. M. U.?

Miss REED. No; I didn't know him as that.

Mr. HANSON. From 1937 to 1939?

Miss REED. I didn't know him as that. A Jones I remember in the strike case, that's all.

Mr. HANSON. Didn't he send people down to you?

Miss REED. No; he didn't.

Mr. HANSON. When you were on the relief bureau, or whatever you call it?

Miss REED. No. I was with the relief bureau for 6 months in 1934, before the strike, before even N. M. U.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. I'm going to refer you to this article that was the latest reference to you in the newspapers, to my knowledge. There might have been others that I didn't



follow that appeared in the New York Journal on the date indicated there. What date is that?—A. Yes; this is the one.

Q. What's that date?—A. June 13.

Q. That makes certain reference to you. I'd like to find out from you whether those references are true, insofar as they affect you, and what would have been the source of this, according to your knowledge or opinion?—A. I wish I knew the source. I'll admit, Mr. Schmidt, that I couldn't figure out how this labor investigator's statement came out other than through my testimony here. In the first place, I never called myself a labor investigator, and it isn't the Kremlin State Publishing House either, and I don't know at all how this got here.

Q. Well, if you recall, your record before me the last time, you did not go into the nature of the work you did in Soviet Russia.—A. I remember saying to you that I worked in the Commissariat of Labor.

Q. Did you? I didn't know anything about the type of work.—A. Okay, okay.

Q. Now, is there any source that you have an opinion about that we might investigate?—A. No; it's not labeled with anyone's writing—civil-service employee since '26, which is incorrect—it should be '36. Lives at 16 Union Square, which also is not correct. Senior interviewer, and so forth, 50 Lafayette Street—already has been called by the Labor Department as a witness. I wish I knew where it came from, Mr. Schmidt. I haven't any idea. I certainly tried to keep it as quiet as I could that I have been called here.

Q. You weren't interviewed by anyone?—A. No; I was not, and I would not be. I considered this private and I want to keep it so.

Mr. WALDMAN. Have you stated for our record where you live?

Miss REED. It's two addresses, to be exact. It's 101 East Sixteenth Street, because it's on Sixteenth Street. It also has an address 36 Union Square because it faces that way, too.

Mr. WALDMAN. You still live there now?

Miss REED. I have lived there 5 years.

Mr. WALDMAN. Still living there now?

Miss REED. Yes.

By Mr. HANSON:

Q. Miss Reed, did you ever at any time try to bring back into the fold of the Communist Party any ex-Communists?

A. Now, Mr. Hanson—

Q. That's simple.—A. To bring back assumes that you are there.

Q. Well, you take an ex-Communist. That means he is thrown out of the party. Now, did you ever persuade anybody to change their mind and go back to the party?—A. I don't know. I don't remember doing anything like that. I should say "no," offhand.

Q. Would you ever find yourself in a position—A. Who are you referring to?

Q. Just generally, anyone at all.—A. No; no.

Q. You never tried to induce some party that had been expelled, or had left the party—the Communist Party—to return to the party?—A. No.

Mr. OWENS. Miss Reed, is it possible for a Communist to leave the party?

Miss REED. Oh, I believe so, of course. I have heard of plenty. MacQuiston, for one.

Mr. OWENS. He was expelled?

Miss REED. Yes.

Q. I'm talking about anybody that has either been expelled or that left the party.—A. I know Granville Hicks left voluntarily. He disagreed with something, and there have been plenty of people like that.

Q. You haven't asked him at any time to return to the party, or you haven't asked anybody else, that you know of, to return to the party.—A. No; no.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Did you ever ask anyone who wasn't a member of the party to become a member?—A. Well, I might have said that I believed in certain things that I believe in, that I have admitted to you I believe in, and asked them to believe in it, too.

Mr. HANSON. That would be believing in the party, wouldn't it?

Miss REED. No.

Q. You couldn't just ask them to believe in certain excerpts of this doctrine?—A. No.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Off the record.

Mr. WALDMAN. May I ask just one question?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes. For the record.

By Mr. WALDMAN:

Q. Do you know David Mapes—M-a-p-e-s?—A. No; I don't know any David Mapes.

Q. Do you know any "Mapes" at all?—A. There is a Mapes that works up in the Bureau.

Q. Where does he work?—A. At 342.

Q. That's 342 Madison?—A. But it isn't David.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. This is your picture?—A. Yes; it is. May I ask where you got it?

Q. Mr. Hanson got that. It's an enlargement of a picture?—A. I know the original very well.

Q. Yes? But that's you, isn't it?—A. Well, what do you think?

Q. I know. I'm asking you.—A. (No response.)

Q. It's you?—A. Why certainly it's me.

Q. All right.

Miss REED. May I ask where you got it?

Mr. HANSON. I wouldn't know.

Miss REED. May I ask this question, too? Do they go to people's homes with a badge and say they are an investigator for the Department of Labor?

Mr. HANSON. They have done that a number of times.

Miss REED. They have badges; I mean, to warrant that?

Mr. HANSON. All inspectors have badges, in the Labor Department.

Miss REED. On this sort of a private hearing case, you have investigators with badges going around investigating? Is that so?

Mr. HANSON. That's true. Naturally, we've got to have some means of identification, but they also know the proper use of a badge. They are all instructed in the proper use of a badge. They don't just use the badge for any—

Miss REED. I was interested because a friend of mine was approached and when he asked the man's name he said Waldman, and I associated it right away.

Mr. HANSON. No; I'm sure, we can account for all our men and our badges.

Miss REED. I think if he has, you'd better investigate it.

Mr. HANSON. Well, I'm sure—

Miss REED. Is Woltman one of your investigators?

Mr. SCHMIDT. He has been the man on the World-Telegram.

Miss REED. I know, that's why I thought—

Mr. HANSON. We don't have him.

Miss REED (continuing). I thought you ought to know something about him assuming that role.

Mr. HANSON. We can account for all the badges, Miss Reed.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Would that person be willing to testify against this fellow?

Miss REED. Sure.

Mr. SCHMIDT. What's the person's name?

Miss REED. The name is John Davis.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I'd very much like to go to the bottom of this, because, if anybody from the World-Telegram is passing himself off as an investigator—

Mr. HANSON. Miss Reed says he has a badge and gave his name as John Davis.

Miss REED. No; excuse me. He gave the name as Waldman.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Well, what about John Davis? What's his address?

Miss REED. It's One Hundred and Second Street. He's on the old-age pension. He's a handicapped man.

Mr. HANSON. I see.

Miss REED. Do you know if he was approached, Mr. Hanson?

Mr. HANSON. That, I don't know. I have a sheath of names here, Miss Reed.

Miss REED. I imagine. I have been around New York a long time.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Miss Reed, if we sent somebody to see this Davis, might we use your name, or is it better not to?—A. Oh, certainly. He was the one that told me that this thing had happened; did I know anybody named Waldman, and I said, "Well, if it's Waldman, he's misusing his authority."

Q. Do you think he'd recognize the person?—A. Oh, I'm sure; yes.

Q. Because I have met Woltman already.—A. I haven't.

Q. I met him some months ago, when Miss Miller was appointed.

Mr. HANSON. Excuse me, just a moment. I asked if you knew Conrad Jones. He was then liaison officer of the N. M. U., handling relief cases. Now, do you know a man by the name of Kelly, who fulfills a similar position?

Miss REED. No; I don't know him. I know when the matter of getting jobs for the seamen, when they didn't have any unemployment insurance and the fight went on in Washington about it. I know the State Department set up some kind of arrangement to get them jobs, but I don't know—I know Kelly was working in one of our offices, there was a picture of him in the papers as working in the State employment office as a representative of the seamen. Wasn't that right?

Mr. HANSON. I didn't understand him to be in the employ of the department.

Miss REED. Well, he was just working as their representative.

Mr. HANSON. As the Union's?

Miss REED. Yes; but seated in the offices of the State employment, I think at 79 Madison. I'm not sure.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Do you know Robert Meers?—A. No.

Q. Or Marty Garnier?—A. No. Are we going to continue?

Mr. WALDMAN. One more name. Do you know A. I. Van Dyne?

Miss REED. I have seen the name in print, too; I know the name.

Mr. WALDMAN. You don't know her personally?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. SCHMIDT. All right. We'll recess now for lunch. We'll resume at about 2 o'clock.

(At 12:15 o'clock Deputy Commissioner Schmidt declared a recess for lunch.)

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Miss Reed, I show you a copy of a publication called the Active File, and I ask you whether you have ever seen that or similar copies before?—A. I remember seeing copies of the Active File when it came out. I don't happen to remember this particular cover.

Q. I'll show you another copy of the Active File and ask you whether you have ever seen that issue, or similar issues, of the Active File before?—A. Well, as I said before, I remember seeing them as they came out. I don't know if I saw them all or just a few of them, but I think I saw them—everybody that I know received them in the mail.

Q. You received your copies in the mail, did you?—A. Yes.

Q. Did you have anything to do with preparing any part of that?—A. No.

Q. (Continuing). Active File?—A. No.

Q. Do you know who were the authors and editors of the Active File at any time?—A. No.

Q. Do you know how the Active File was distributed in general?—A. Only through the mail, I believe, and I think in some offices they put it on the desks, but I don't remember exactly.

Q. And do you have any idea how the mailing list was obtained or prepared?—A. No; I don't, definitely.

Q. Did you know a man named Homer Brooks? Homer Brooks?—A. That name is not familiar.

Q. Did you ever visit Soviet Russia in company with your mother, Mrs. Fernanda Reed?—A. No.

Q. Do you know David Wahl—W-a-h-l?—A. Yes, I know him.

Q. Who is David Wahl?—A. Well, I used to know him—I haven't seen him for a long time. He's a library worker.

Q. A library worker?—A. He worked in the Public Library.

Q. Where did he work?—A. In the Public Library in New York.

Q. Do you know whether he was a Communist?—A. No.

Q. You don't know?—A. No.

By Mr. HANSON:

Q. What's the name of that man you were so bitter about this morning—MacQuiston?—A. You mentioned MacQuiston this morning.

Q. That's the man you were so bitter about?—A. Well, if you call it that.

Q. I mean, that's the man you said, aside from all the others, that you didn't like, that you never wanted to see him again; is that right?—A. Yes.

Q. How did you get to know that man?—A. I told you before, I met him in the strike, during the strike season, which went on for about 4 or 5 months.

I don't recall where I first met him. I know him as a name, as part of that group that I met at that time in the strike situation.

Q. I mean, in what way were you so closely associated with him that you could become so bitter?—A. I became bitter because I know the circumstances around which he was fired from his own union, and for that reason—it's nothing personal about me, at all.

Q. Was he a known Communist?—A. I know he had once been called a Communist, and been expelled from the Communist Party, but I don't know his status as of any date or other, and I don't know what he is today.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. When you say "his status" what are you referring to?—A. I know it was—

Q. (Continuing.) His registration with the party as a member, with dues paid, and so forth?—A. No, no. I know he was called a Communist and his being suspended from the union was public information. More than that I don't know.

Q. Well, of course, you know—A. And, I know he was expelled from the union.

Q. (Continuing.) The Communist Party, as you know, has a constitution and bylaws, and article 3, section 2 defines a party member as "One who accepts the party program, attends the regular meetings of the membership branch of his place of work, or his territory or trade, who pays dues regularly, and is active in party work." Now, according to that definition, you have, I believe, denied that you were a party member?—A. Yes.

Q. And you say you were never at any time in your life a party member, according to that definition; isn't that right?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, when you deny knowing much about whether so-and-so was a party member—for example, MacQuiston—is that what you have in mind?—A. No; it isn't. I remember hearing that he was expelled from the Communist Party, and that I believe it was for drinking. I'm not absolutely sure. Then, the things that he did in his union which warranted his being expelled for 99 years—

By Mr. HANSON:

Q. What union was that?—A. The National Maritime.

Q. And what was your interest in the National Maritime Union?—A. Well—

Q. I mean that you should grow so embittered over something he did to the union?—A. Well, he has proved himself, as I have told you—before—this morning—as I told you, I didn't know the circumstances about the—slaying in New Orleans, but he was accused of that. And, to my knowledge, was convicted of the slaying of a young organizer.

Q. Organizer of what?—A. The National Maritime Union; and then he gave up all kinds of information to the Dies committee, I believe.

Q. On what?—A. You know, they had a great deal of trouble in that union.

Q. But the thing I can understand—A. He was very much involved with them, and I don't know the circumstances, but I know he has a very bad name, and was expelled from the union for 99 years, after a membership trial.

Q. But what interest is there. Miss Reed, that makes you so embittered, because he was expelled from a union that you have no interest in, or at least—A. No; I never said I had no interest in the National Maritime.

Q. Then, do you have an interest in the National Maritime Union?—A. I do have.

Q. And to what extent is that interest?—A. I think it's a very good union. I have helped in the strike struggle, and so I have known a lot about it from its birth, and naturally I'm interested in it as a labor union—as my own union, as any union that has done a good job of organizing the unorganized workers in the trade.

Mr. OWENS. Is that a C. I. O. union?

Miss REED. Yes; it is C. I. O.

Q. Is it also true then, because of Ted Lewis being associated with that union—isn't that a possible reason why you took so much of an interest in that particular union? I mean you can't go around fostering all unions, because they do a good job.—A. No; but I happened to be very much interested in this. I knew people personally in it and believed in them and I think it's quite plain that I have always been interested in it since it was born. I still am.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Have you at any time attended the workers' schools, any of their schools in the United States?—A. No.

Q. None of these schools conducted in the United States under the auspices of the Communist Party?—A. I think I took a course in Russian, just before I went to Russia in 1931 there.

Q. Where did you take that course, at Thirteenth Street?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you take any worker's courses in the Lenin Institute or any other school in Russia?—A. No.

Q. Not even in the evenings?—A. No.

Q. Did you ever explain or teach the mass policies of the party, or policies of socialism to any persons or groups?—A. No; never had classes.

Q. Did you accept the party program in its entirety?—A. No.

Q. Have you ever at any time been active in the party work?—A. You mean—

Q. (Continuing.) Even though you were not a member of the party? Have you at any time?—A. You asked me this morning if I was a member of the I. L. D., and of the League Against War and Fascism. If I have been interested in left-wing organizations, and been in a small way a part of them, I have always given most of my time and energy to my union.

Q. Have you ever signed any pledges to remain true to the principles of the Communist Party, to maintain its unity of purpose, and action, and to work to the best of your ability to fulfill its program?—A. No.

Q. At no time?—A. No.

Q. Under the name of Nancy Reed? Or any other name?—A. No.

Q. Do you belong to the I. W. O.?—A. Yes.

Q. Just the mortuary?—A. I have the sickness, the doctor—medical service along with it.

Q. When did you join the I. W. O.?—A. I think it's about 5 years that I have been a member.

Mr. WALDMAN. Do you know anyone in the Workmen's Circle?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. WALDMAN. Nothing about the Workmen's Circle?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. WALDMAN. It's similar to the International Worker's Order, except that it's fostered by the right-wingers, as compared to the I. W. O., which is fostered by the left-wingers, and is a Communist front.

Q. You have at no time ever attempted to establish a branch or fraction in the N. M. U.? I don't remember whether I asked you that.—A. You didn't ask me, but I have not.

Q. You were never used as a delegate to a State convention of the Communist Party?—A. No.

Q. When you visited Russia, did you take with you a transfer card, signed by any official of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt. I wasn't a member. Why should I take a transfer card?

Q. Well, is a transfer card necessarily given only to a member?—A. I don't know, I'm sure.

Mr. WALDMAN. Could anybody get a job? If I had gone there, would they have given me a job?

Miss REED. If you qualified, yes; Mr. Waldman.

Mr. WALDMAN. They would, if I was qualified?

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. You mean independent of whether you are a Communist?

Miss REED. This came up this morning; I think you weren't here. That story in the Journal simply isn't true.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. I'm going to read to you a question that Stalin put to the American delegation of the Communist Party on May 14, 1929, which I'll ask you to answer to the best of your ability: "Can you picture a Communist, not a paper Communist but a real Communist, avowing loyalty to the Comintern, and at the same time refusing to accept responsibility for carrying out the decisions of the Comintern?"

Do you know enough about communism to essay an answer to that question?—

A. Would you mind repeating it?

Q. Here it is, it's written there, underlined in red—Stalin's speeches.

(At this point the subject piece was handed to the witness for perusal.)

A. How did you phrase your question, Mr. Schmidt?

Q. I said I was going to put to you the question which Stalin asks there, and ask you to answer it to the best of your ability.—A. No.

Q. This pamphlet [indicating], published by the International Publishers, on the subject of political education, entitled "The Communist Party," says, on page 26: "The Communist Party must put the conquest of the proletarian dictatorship as their first and most immediate task." Now, would you put the conquest of the proletarian dictatorship as one of your first and most immediate aims, in political or social action?—A. No, Mr. Schmidt. May I ask a question?

Q. Yes.—A. Is it permissible to have a copy of that written statement?

Q. Well, I'll think about it. It might be permissible in the end.—A. All right.

Q. When I spoke to you on June 3 in my office you said to me, among other things, if you belonged to a cell or a fraction you would automatically belong to the Communist Party. I asked you this question, that is to say, you never were—you are not now a member of the Communist Party, and you never belonged to any fraction of the Communist Party?—A. Yes.

Q. And your answer was that if you belonged to a cell or fraction you would automatically belong to the Communist Party. Is that the correct answer?—A. I (Miss Reed is handed a copy of the transcription of her testimony of June 3 to read)—that should be modified, I should say, to mean—though you are referring, of course, to the Communist Party—that if you belong to a cell or a fraction thereof as a member, as a duly authorized member, I suppose you'd understand that; yes. Is there anything contradictory there, now?

Q. No; you didn't say anything contradictory. I just wanted to find out whether that was the correct statement, according to your view, and then I wanted to ask you how you knew that was true?—A. Well, you forget that I have been around the left-wing movement—as I said before—for several years, and have a sister who worked in the Comintern, and have a mother who has been interested in all these things, and what information I have about the left-wing movement has been absorbed over a long period of time, in that way. I have known Communists, people who are called Communists, associated with left-wingers, as well as a very great variety of opinions.

Q. In the course of picking up that kind of information about the organization of the Communist Party, didn't you also pick up from Communists and from left-wingers some of the more basic doctrines of the Communist Party, and of the Comintern?—A. Some of the beliefs of the Communist Party action I have certainly learned through my association, and as I have told you before, I do agree very heartily with some of them, Mr. Schmidt. I don't accept them all.

Q. Well, take for example the basic one on the dictatorship of the proletariat. Do you have some notion of what that means?—A. Yes; I have a notion of what that means.

Q. You know what it means, I mean, in Communist circles?—A. What it means, you mean, in the Soviet Union?

Q. That's right.—A. Well, when you work there and hear about it, you absorb a certain amount of information, but it isn't first—I mean, it isn't—it isn't definite. I'm not, as I told you once before, a well-read Marxist by any means, and my interpretation of it sounds very much like a lay person's point of view. That's what it is. I know we went into some discussion about it before, and I didn't have really half as well-grounded information about it as you apparently did, and I wasn't prepared to go into a long discussion of it.

Q. Well, look. In the course of your peregrinations with Communists or Soviet Russia, didn't you have pointed out to you the place which revolutionary tactics have in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat?—A. No; my job was not of any political nature at all, you know.

Q. I understand that. But, I'm now talking about the things you might have picked up, by osmosis, from your surroundings. Didn't you have it pointed out to you, for example, that there was a vast difference between the Social Democrats and the Reformists on the one hand, and the Lenin-Marxists on the other?—A. No; I did not have that pointed out.

Q. Have you ever heard the phrase "Social Democracy" or "Social—A. Yes.

Q. What does that mean?—A. Not very much.

Q. Well, doesn't it mean, in Communist circles, that group which relies on parliamentarism as a means to achieve the preliminary stage of communism, which is socialism?—A. I can't say—I don't know, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Hasn't it been pointed out to you that that is the point on which the Marx-Leninists differ from the Social Democrats, precisely that? That the

Marx-Leninists talk about the inevitability and the necessity for the use of force and unlawful means for the initial achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a prelude to the—to both socialism and communism?—A. No; it hasn't.

Q. You have heard of the Trotzkyites?—A. Yes.

Q. Now, you know enough about communism and about Soviet Russia to know that the Trotzkyites were never—certainly not in recent years—regarded with high favor by the present regime in Russia, or by the Communist Party in the United States? Isn't that so?—A. I believe so.

Q. Do you know what was the basis of the difference?—A. I think we went into it a little the last time.

Q. I don't think so, not on Trotzky.—A. Well, perhaps it was in my conversation with Miss Buchanan. I know only there is a difference on the basis of world revolution, or revolution in one country or another. That was my understanding.

Q. Well, that's precisely what I'm getting at. In other words, you indicated, did you not, that revolution is necessary for both, only for the Trotzkyites world revolution was the prerequisite, whereas to the Marx-Leninists of the Stalin school, it was revolution only as indicated by the zigzag course of the weakest link?—A. Well, this is your interpretation, and I told you all I know about it, and if you interpret it that way that should stand as your interpretation, not mine, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. I wanted to know what your interpretation of the revolution was.—A. I don't know.

Q. You used it a moment ago, when you said—A. I know the theory between the Trotzkyism and the other ism is based on the difference between world revolution, all over the place, and revolution in one country. That's as far as my understanding goes of the difference between the two.

Q. Now, what's your understanding of revolution, as used in either or both of those theories?—A. Well, again it goes into a long discussion, doesn't it?

Q. I don't think it's too long, necessarily. You can make it short.—A. Well, I'm afraid I can't make it short.

Q. Well, then, make it long—A. Well, is it—I mean I'm—rather, I've taken this information out of—from hearsay, and it means to me—activity of a revolutionary nature in one country at a time, versus revolutionary activity all over the world at the same time. Now, more than that I don't know.

Q. Have you ever heard Communists talk about the type of revolution that would convert the so-called imperialist war into a civil war?—A. No; I don't believe I have. Isn't it perfectly possible for a person to have heard—it puzzled me for a long time about what the Trotskyites wanted—I asked, and that was my—the explanation. I don't remember who I asked, but that was as far as it went in my own thinking, and that was what I carried in my mind.

Q. Make no mistake, I'm not blaming you for knowing that, or I should have to blame myself too. I have no blame for anybody wanting to study these matters. I'm off that subject for a moment.—A. I'm not worried about knowing it—it's what I have come to understand as what it means. But you asked, now, what's my idea of revolution. That goes on and on and on. I'm not prepared to discuss it because I don't know.

Q. Well, have you heard the phrase "imperialist war" discussed among Communists. Do you have any understanding what the Communists mean by the so-called imperialist war?—A. I have heard the phrase, Mr. Schmidt, but I can't go into an explanation of it.

Q. Would the war that Russia is fighting to keep the Nazis out of Russia be considered—in your opinion—an imperialist war by the Soviets?—A. I don't know.

Q. If the Comintern asked the comrades in the United States and other places in the world to do everything they could to attempt to convert any capitalist war into a civil war, would you consider that illegal?—A. Illegal for them to—since they are not—

Q. To convert a capitalist war into a civil war?—A. Your question was if they asked them? Would it be—would it be illegal for them to ask? For them to do it, when you yourself say that, or have said, there isn't a connection any longer between the Russian Communists and the American Communists?

Q. When did I say that?—A. I understood you to say that in the last meeting we had.

Q. I don't think I'd say that, but if I did I certainly didn't mean to, because from my own point of view—if you want it—I think there is a very definite distinction—I mean connection—between, the Communists, between Communism

all over the world, whether it's the C. P., U. S. A., or C. P., U. S. S. R., that is to say, communism in Russia or communism here, and the link that connects them is the Third International.—A. Well, I thought you told me yourself, and I'd like to go back to perhaps find it—that you said, "You know, don't you, that the Third International is now separated from the Communist Party of America"? Isn't that right?

Q. Oh, I think you're referring to the change in the masthead of the Daily Worker, for example?—A. No; I thought it was just a statement you made.

Q. No. Originally, of course, the constitution of the Third International, the program of the Third International required that they be identified as the Communist Party of the United States, a section of the Third Communist International. That was a requirement under the program and under the formal get-up.—A. Yes.

Q. Now, of course, afterwards they were less outspoken about that connection. No question about it. That is to say, they were less outspoken in the sense that they didn't advertise that it was a section of the Third International.—A. Are you informed that it is? I don't know.

Q. Certainly.—A. I don't know.

Q. The reason I'm asking you that is because you indicated that I had said something.—A. Then that, perhaps, is what I'm referring to.

Q. You are informed, are you that there is a real distinction between the Soviet Party in Russia and the Communist International?—A. That was my understanding.

Q. Well, of course, there is this much of a distinction. That the Soviet Party is the particular party of Soviet Russia, dealing in many cases with peculiarly Russian problems, whereas the Third International is the party that is the organization that combines into one unity of a world congress all of the various sections or Communist Parties in the whole world. And, of course, that—A. I thought that the discussion we had the last time that it was stated they had severed connections. Now—

Q. As a matter of fact, isn't Joseph Stalin today the head of the Political Secretariat of the Third International? That's his position.—A. Is it? Well, I don't—

Q. And the political secretariat is the governing body of the presidium, which is, in turn, the governing body of the E. C. C. I.—the Executive Council of the Communist International—and that body is responsible directly to the world congress. However, it is not necessary to go into that any further.

Mr. OWENS. Are these meetings of fractions of the Communist Party—can visitors attend these meetings? That is, nonmembers?

Miss REED. Yes; I believe they can.

Q. On invitation?—A. On invitation; yes.

Q. That would be on the invitation of the leading member in the fraction?—A. I don't know. I think it would be—friends that they wanted to interest.

Q. You did say before, I think, that you might have, although you weren't sure, you were invited to attend a branch meeting or a fraction meeting? You don't remember where that was, whether it was a branch or fraction?—A. No; I don't. I was trying to think after that, where it was held.

Q. You don't remember how long ago that was?—A. No; it was a long time ago, though.

Mr. OWENS. Any of these meetings you did attend, you attended as an invited guest and not as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss REED. No.

Q. It wasn't a fraction of the Communist Party in the N. M. U., was it?—A. No; it wasn't, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. You're sure of that much?—A. (No response.)

Mr. HANSON. Did your interest in the N. M. U. extend to the point of going down to the water front and distributing circulars?

Miss REED. I never did, Mr. Hanson. I was mostly interested in the food kitchen they had to organize for feeding the strikers.

Mr. OWENS. You said that there were certain teachings of the Communist Party that you opposed. Now, are you in a position to tell us what some of those teachings are, that you are opposed to?

Miss REED. I'd perhaps be able to think them up at home and write them for you.

Q. One of them would be the use of unlawful means, wouldn't it?—A. Right.

Q. Another would be the use of force or violence to attain political and social ends?—A. Right.



Q. Therefore, you would reject the Communist ideologies, and Communist doctrines, and decisions, and thesis, and programs insofar as they relied upon the use of unlawful means, or the use of force or violence?—A. That's right, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Do you know Lincoln Rothschild?—A. Lincoln Rothschild? The name I don't know—the first name. I know a Mr. Rothschild.

Mr. WALDMAN. Dorothy Rehm's husband.

Miss REED. Oh, I have met him.

Q. Do you know if he is a Communist?—A. No; I have just met him once, I don't know.

Q. Before you raised a question about a certain name, Mapes—is it?

Mr. WALDMAN. David Mapes, M-a-p-e-s.

Q. Or Spencer Mapes?—A. I don't know David Mapes.

Q. Do you know a Spencer?—A. He works in the division.

Q. Is he a Communist?—A. Not to my knowledge. I've never even heard him called one.

By Mr. HANSON:

Q. I questioned you this morning, Miss Reed, with respect to the name of Anne McLoughlin. Did you know anybody that went by that name?—A. I think I did know a girl, way back; yes. I mean the name was familiar to me.

Q. Who was she? I thought if you had time to refresh your memory—A. I remember. That was a girl who received mail sometimes at my house, because her husband was following her and she didn't want him to find it out and I think that was the name. It's a long time ago, and it lasted only for a very short time, and, as far as knowing her or where she is now, or anything like that—

Q. About how long ago was that?—A. I think it was 6 years ago, at least.

Q. Did she work with the division?—A. No.

Q. Was she a Communist?—A. I don't know. I never asked. It was a matter of domestic difficulty.

Q. You must have known something about her background, because you don't just take anybody into your house.—A. I met her through somebody. I remember the incident. I'll have to check and see if it was that exact name. I don't remember.

Q. How did she spell it? Did she spell it A-n-n, or A-n-n-e?—A. I don't know. I don't even know that.

Q. You never heard of her in connection with the communitistic activities?—A. No.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. The Daily Worker expresses the authentic Communist view of the Central Committee, doesn't it?—A. That's a question, I think, you asked me before.

Q. Not that question exactly; no.—A. No? Well, you mean under the new reorganization?

Q. Both before and after the new reorganization.—A. I think it did before. But now I'm not prepared to state. It's—it's a new organization, and they have a new board.

Q. Have you often personally differed with the party line that was reflected by the Daily Worker?—A. Well, I certainly haven't agreed with anything and everything I have ever seen in it, definitely. But again, whether it was the—

Q. I mean editorially?—A. I don't always get to read those, either. I certainly know I have seen things in it that I don't agree with, at all.

Q. Do you know through what outfit Dorothy Ryder made her arrangements to go to Europe? Was it Amtorg?—A. I don't think Amtorg arranged trips, did they? I don't think they ever did.

Q. What outfit did you make your own arrangements through?—A. I went through the World Tourist.

Q. What's that?—A. The World Tourist.

Q. Is that the same as Intourist?—A. No; I think it was just a travel bureau called the World Tourist, I think. Intourist doesn't handle—I don't know whether it handled actual trips there or not.

Q. Well, what's the address of World Tourist?—A. I think it's out of business now, Mr. Schmidt. It used to be in the Flatiron Building.

Q. In the Flatiron Building? And you made all of your trips through the World Tourist?—A. Well, I made five, and I can't recall if I made all of them through there, but I know some of them were.

Q. Do you remember whether you made the last two through World Tourist?—  
A. I think one—the one in 1935. I'm sure I did, because I remember the trans-  
action. I don't remember about 1937.

Q. And the one before that, the one before 1935?—A. Offhand, I'd have to  
look it up.

Q. Do you have records of the outfits through whom?—A. I have my passports,  
that still might have that on them.

Q. Do you still have your passport for each of those trips?—A. Yes. Well,  
I have never thrown away a passport, so I imagine it covers them.

Q. And, in each case, the application through World Tourist or other travel  
agency was made by you under the name of Nancy Reed?—A. Right.

Q. And the passport was issued to you under the name of Nancy Reed?—  
A. Right.

Q. And, Dorothy Ryder? Do you know whether she made her arrangements  
through World Tourist?—A. No, I don't remember, Mr. Schmidt.

Q. Do you know whether she made her application under the name of Dorothy  
Ryder, or not? —A. I don't know, but I believe so.

Mr. SCHMIDT. I don't have anything else.

By Mr. OWENS:

Q. In connection with your position with the division of placement and  
unemployment insurance, Miss Reed, are you in a position to place applicants  
for employment in defense industries?—A. Well, hardly, Mr. Owens. I have  
been in the service of the division placing handicapped applicants ever since  
I first joined the service in June of 1935, until this last December, when I have  
been working in the women's industrial Division—jobs with packers of cloth-  
ing—and peanuts—packing and the needle trade—the operations are, primarily.

Q. You wouldn't say you are in a position to place any applicants in defense  
industries?—A. No; not by any stretch of the imagination.

Mr. WALDMAN. Did you ever have any meetings at your home, of Communist  
groups?

Miss REED. No.

Mr. WALDMAN. At your home, at Sixteenth Street?

Miss REED. No. I have had a good many social parties there, because I  
happen to have a very large open apartment, and I have had socials there.

Mr. WALDMAN. Solely for your friends?

Miss REED. Particularly for raising money for the food kitchens, etc., etc.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Miss Reed, on the whole, your knowledge of communism as to its tactics,  
is too limited to enable you to say with certainty whether a Communist favors  
subversive means—is that the position you take?—A. Yes.

Q. So that if you—if a person, certain persons presented themselves to you,  
whether as Communists or as others, for placement, you wouldn't have any  
method of eliminating them on the basis of subversive activity.—A. No; I don't  
believe in it, Mr. Schmidt. I have placed hundreds of people in my life, in  
my work, and I have not gone into that question at all. I have really estab-  
lished—I hope it's somewhere in my record—professional standards, placing  
people according to their qualifications for the job only.

Q. Does the address 141 East Twenty-ninth Street mean anything to you?—  
A. Well, I think that used to be the Communist Party headquarters. It doesn't  
any more. I just happened to know there was a bookshop there that I went  
to visit about some books recently, and that's what it is.

Mr. HANSON. Do you know who compiles that paper [indicating a copy of the  
Active File]?

Miss REED. No, I don't, Mr. Hanson.

Mr. HANSON. Did you ever contribute anything to it?

Miss REED. No, I didn't.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Did you, by any chance, attend the twentieth anniversary of the Com-  
munist International, and the fifteenth anniversary of the Daily Worker, that is  
advertised there.—A. At Madison Square Garden? Well, as I told you this  
morning, I remembered going to a big mass meeting, that was colorful, and I  
think it was part of the national convention of the Communist Party in Mad-  
ison Square Garden. I have no recollection of this one at all [copy of the Active File  
has been handed to the witness]. That was what year? 1939, I don't recall it.

Mr. WALDMAN. Are you doing any active work in this T. W. U. threatened strike?

Miss REED. No, Mr. Waldman.

Q. That's the answer.—A. May I ask you what you mean by "active work"?

Q. The same kind of work you were doing with the National Maritime Union.—A. No, I'm not.

Q. This is the application, I believe, that you signed for your civil service—or this is at least a copy of it.

Mr. WALDMAN. That's a copy.

(The document is handed to the witness).

Q. (Continuing.) Is there any error, that you know of, on that application?—

A. This is apparently when I applied for the employment manager's examination, because it says "Exact title and number of examination desired."

Q. That's right.

A. Examination for employment manager. I did take an examination for that at one time.

Mr. HANSON. Isn't that a copy of your original application?

Miss REED. No; this isn't a copy of my application. This is for a promotional examination. It says here "for employment manager."

Mr. OWENS. I imagine the experience is on the other side.

Mr. WALDMAN. On the other side.

(The witness is handed the document, which she examines.)

Miss REED. Yes.

Mr. OWENS. Is there a question there—"Give your experience for the past 3 years," or something like that? Here's the question, here. Describe under the headings given below any employment or occupation you have ever had which in your opinion tends to qualify you for the position sought, and as far as possible, any other employment or occupation you have had, including war service. Give information requested under each heading, being careful to show definitely whether or not your training and experience meet the requirements for the position for which you are making application. Qualifications stated by candidates are subject to verification. Use additional sheets of paper and attach them as directed at the end of this if needed to complete your experience record—That is, give the positions that are similar to the one for which you are applying, and as far as possible, every other employment or occupation you have had. I assume this is being introduced in connection with your statement this morning that there was some work Miss Reed did while in Russia that she did not account for in this application blank.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. You have nothing to add to what you said before on that?—A. Yes. I might add that I spent a year in California once, before even I started employment work, and I had 17 different jobs there.

Q. Seventeen?—A. Yes. I worked in a garage, as a truck driver. I worked on cow farms as milk hand. I can't quite enumerate all the different kinds that I have had, and when I did the work in Soviet Russia, for 5½ months, as I said this morning, I was doing a little typing and proofreading stuff. I'm trying to think of how long, exactly, I was in the Commissariat of Labor, but I know I went there about February, and before the 1st of May the job was completed, so it was, we'll say, 2 months at the very most. And entirely different standards and all of work. And then I went to a little newspaper business, of editing for 1 month—or checking over correspondence it really was, and I certainly don't see that, that scraps of a little here and a little there would indicate that I'm better qualified for an employment manager, and, as I say, there wasn't very much room on the sheet, except for the things that really led up to my job, and I didn't put it in there, and I think if I had it to do over again I'd eliminate it also, because I don't think it has any relative weight.

Q. To get back, Miss Reed, to this statement in the Journal of June 19, 1941, I particularly resented it when I saw it, because I wanted it understood that this was a private hearing, and I was not handing anything to the newspapers, and this certainly looked as if somebody in the department had handed something to the newspapers.—A. Yes.

Q. Now, I know that is not so. Is there any person that might have handed this out, that you know of, might give us a lead on investigating?—A. No. It's not signed. I have no other way of knowing who did it, other than

possibly Howard Rushmore. He's assigned to this sort of thing in New York City. I have seen his name.

Q. Is he a reporter on this paper?—A. Yes; he is.

Q. And he is the one, as I recall it, who wrote the article in the Daily Worker, on *Gone With the Wind*?—A. Yes.

Q. And he got into some scrape with the control commission on that, or something?—A. Well, I don't know the story.

Q. I don't know the details, but he is an ex-Communist?—A. I met him at a party once and I knew he came to my office, before he was laid off from this paper, and apparently wanted some more free-lance work. He walked in my office, sat down and waited—I had to keep him waiting approximately an hour—and asked me if I could help him get a newspaper job and I said I don't handle newspaper jobs, the place to apply is here, and here's the address. Now, he called my office about February—he didn't do it, a man that works with him called up Miss Kennedy and asked what date I was appointed, and then called me on the 'phone in the office and said, "Is it true your mother is a part owner of the Daily Worker?"—and I said, "I'm very busy on my job and I'm not answering any questions." He told me he was from the Hearst Press—"and I'm not answering questions of that nature," and he said, "Well, here's my 'phone number, and call me back"—and gave his name as, I think, Bennett or something like that, and said "if I'm out ask for Rushmore." Then I recollected that Howard Rushmore had been in some disrepute with the Daily Worker, and I figured that that is, perhaps, one of his doings. Now, on the other hand, I know of no other way by which any reports on that foul sheet—I don't know any other way it could have gotten there, except that I think he and Woltman know each other personally.

Q. I think that explains it.

Mr. OWENS. How long did you say you worked in Russia?

Miss REED. I worked totally from September or October to about—the beginning of October until the summer, when I went on vacation. I had the longest one with the publishing house as a typist or proofreader, and about 2 months, approximately in this Commissariat of Labor, and about a month for the—

Mr. OWENS. You only had 2 months there which in any way had to do with this application?

Miss REED. Yes; only 2 months.

Mr. OWENS. All the services on this application blank refer to, or cover, pretty substantial periods. The first one covers 2 years, the next one 7½ months, the next one 11 months, the next 6½ months, the next is 3 years and 11 months, and the next one is a year and 7 months.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes.

By Mr. SCHMIDT:

Q. Well, have you any other statement to make?—A. I'd like to say that I regret this whole thing exceedingly, Mr. Schmidt, and I feel as if I have been pulled through a knothole. Maybe it's because I do need a vacation very badly. I have been doing a lot of doubling up work in my office. It's been a very strenuous few months for me, and I like my job exceedingly, and I have no conscious about having misused my job or gone contrary to the Devaney law, which I understand I was originally called in about.

Q. Well, Miss Reed, I'm sorry if you feel that you've been pulled through a knothole. I certainly didn't feel that I pulled you through a knothole. As I have told you before, I'm sorry that I had to get this kind of an assignment, just as sorry as you are to have to go through with that kind of an assignment, but I'm sure that if you have told us all the truth there is absolutely nothing for you to worry about. So, that's all I can say.—A. All right.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Thank you, Miss Reed. Good afternoon.

Certified to be a true and correct copy of the transcript of minutes.

(Signed) JANE J. DENIKE,  
Senior Hearing Stenographer.

Transcribed July 3, 1941.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, did you find in your examination of these documents that Miss Reed had very close connections with scores of prominent Communists, particularly in the United States but also in other countries?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find that Nancy Reed had been engaged in Communist activities in the United States outside of the city of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For example, in North Carolina?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Oklahoma?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Colorado?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there among these documents—

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. And Habana, Cuba, you might add.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Habana, Cuba?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I don't want to interrupt you because I want you to develop this chronologically, which you are doing, but will you be able to identify some of the activities engaged in by Nancy Reed? That is, specify what the activities were and who she was working with, so we may have a clearer picture.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The purpose at the present time is to give a general summary of what the documents, one by one, will reveal.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find in your examination of these documents, Mr. Birmingham, that Miss Nancy Reed had been receiving reports concerning activities of a Communist nature from parts of the United States far removed from New York City?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Reports such as would reasonably be presumed to be sent to a very high and important functionary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know whether or not Nancy Reed is or has been married, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I could never prove it, but it has been stated that she was. There is some correspondence there to that effect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you find among these documents a passport or passports which Nancy Reed had had made out to herself?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do those passports reveal that Nancy Reed was born at Dunstable, Mass., on May 5, 1899?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do these passports show that Nancy Reed visited the Soviet Union five times?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. They do.

Mr. STARNES. During what period of time?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. From 1931 to 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, the passports which we will produce in evidence are the originals. The passports show the first visit by Miss Reed under the name of Nancy Reed to the Soviet Union in 1929. The second visit in 1930, the third visit, lasting more than a year, in 1931 and 1932. The fourth visit in the year 1935 and the fifth visit in 1937.

Did you find, Mr. Birmingham, that Nancy Reed had been employed by the Soviet Government in the Soviet Union in 1931 and 1932?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did; and there are records to show it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you read the testimony which Miss Reed gave before the Deputy Commissioner of the Department of Labor for New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No; not completely, I haven't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Miss Reed testified that she omitted from her application blank for employment in New York the fact that she had been employed in the Soviet Union for a period of almost a year?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I believe she did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is, she omitted that information?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did Miss Reed write certain articles concerning her visit to the Soviet Union?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a photostatic copy of a document, the original of which is in the committee's possession, which is entitled "My Year in Russia, 1932." Can you identify that as one of the documents which you obtained from the effects of Miss Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not that is in the handwriting of Nancy Reed as you have had occasion to check her handwriting on her passports and other documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It looks the same.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a poem entitled "My Year in Russia, 1932." It reads as follows:

I lived and I loved and I suffered; I made some mistakes that were bad, but I learned the proportion of my life to that of the mass and I am glad for I now feel that I can be useful in the fight for the rule that is coming to pass, and that then some day I may be a leader in the struggle of class against class.

I ask that that be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it is so ordered.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you a photostatic copy of a letter and ask you if you can identify that as one of the documents, the original of which is in the possession of the committee?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this is a letter dated October 29, 1937, from the son of Mary Reed, Mary Reed being the sister of Nancy Reed and residing in the Soviet Union with her son John. George Copeland, former husband of Mary Reed, was the father of John, therefore, his name would ordinarily be John Copeland. This letter to his father reads as follows:

DEAR DAD: Please don't send me letters for "John Copeland" because in this school people know me as "Reed." I just got this letter because nobody knew John Copeland, but that's all right, I got the letter.

I don't know much about going to U. S. A.

I am learning to type.

I play football, the English kind. I like to play Chess very much, and I play it good.

I don't want the fummies. I want Popular Science and the New Pioneer that Nan—

which is a very frequent reference to Nancy Reed in these documents—

will give you to send together to this school; and if you can, you can send me Popular Mechanics.

I can't use American money. I have no more time. Lots of love, Your son John.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 2.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, is this a photostatic copy of part of one of the passports of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is a copy of the original.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask this be marked as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The passport referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 3.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. And is this a photostat of another passport of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. This is a photostat of the original.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I ask this be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received as an exhibit.

**(The passport referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 4.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Referring again to John Copeland, who wrote his father that he wanted to be known as John Reed in the Soviet Union, I show you a letter from Mary Reed to her sister, Nancy. Can you identify that as one of the documents which you obtained in this collection?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter from the mother of John Reed to his aunt, or her sister, there is this reference to John:

An enclosing a letter from John and may even send a wire, but I really don't want you to put off your trip on account of that! I tried to make John change his plans, but his heart is so set on visiting his friend in the Ukraine that nothing will move him.

I ask that that be received in evidence as one of the documents.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 5.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you some photostatic copies of an envelope and ask you if you can identify that as a photostat of the originals in the committee's possession.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is an envelope which indicates that Nancy Reed was in Leningrad in the U. S. S. R. and was addressed in care of "Intonrist" in 1937, and ask that be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The photostat referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 6.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I—

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, do you have any documentary proof or oral testimony that you will offer showing what Nancy Reed's purpose was in visiting the Soviet Union so many times?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I show you a photostatic copy of a letter dated November 15, 1937, addressed to "Nan, darling," and ask you if you can identify that as one of the documents which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter addressed to "Nan" says, in part:

I would be worried stiff about you—not hearing from you for so long—if Mother B. had not had news of you through Herta.

Other documents in the collection, Mr. Chairman, indicate that "Mother B." in this reference is Mother Bloor, an outstanding Communist woman in the United States, and that the "Herta" to whom reference is made here is Herta Ware, who is a daughter of Mother Bloor through a former marriage to Ware.

The records indicate that Mother Bloor was once married to a certain Ware and had three children whose names were Ware—Herta Ware; Hamilton Ware, who is now employed in Washington in the Federal Government—I believe the secretary of the committee can give you the details on that; and Hal Ware, who was employed in the Department of Agriculture until 1935, when he was killed by a streetcar in Washington.

So we have here one of the numerous indications that Mother Bloor, an outstanding Communist woman in the United States, and her daughter are in contact with Nancy Reed and able to transmit information to Mary Reed in Moscow concerning the welfare of Nancy Reed in the United States.

I ask that that be received as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it is received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 7.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have here a collection of documents, all of which pertain to the visits of Nancy Reed to the Soviet Union. The first of these is a document entitled "A Soviet Vacation," which is a typewritten article with numerous interlineations, by pen, written by Nan Reed, according to a notation made in the handwriting of Nancy Reed.

Mr. Birmingham, can you identify that as one of the documents which you received or obtained in this collection?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this particular article about which we have no information as to whether it was ever published or not, Nancy Reed describes a visit which she made to one of the rest homes in the Soviet Union during her period of approximately a year's employment in that country. Some of the passages which give an indication as to Miss Reed's viewpoint belong, I think, in the record at this point:

I was spellbound, thinking it is because I am a worker in the Soviet Union that all these beauties are my privilege to live among and to enjoy. I recalled my enthusiastic first impressions of southern California twelve years ago, and realized that in spite of similar beauty, the thrill of what I now felt had been totally lacking then. And this was only my first hour. I have not yet met the 250 Soviet students that made up the population of this workers' vacation paradise.

I wondered how I was going to communicate with them when my knowledge of their language was so scant, but, luckily for me, the Russians are possessed of



great imaginations; when words failed me, when even my ever-present little dictionary did not disclose my meaning, then my hand motions plus their quick response, and always a lot of laughter, would somehow bridge the gap toward understanding. This is the quickest, happiest way of learning Russian.

A thorough physical examination was required on arrival and advice given as to how many pounds one should gain or lose by the time one was ready for another examination before going home. The free medical department had two doctors, two nurses, and a dentist on duty all the time, and every ache or pain was tended with a care that seemed to me should make any orphan there feel he had parents again. There was even a barber shop on the premises as well as a post, telegraph, and banking service for two hours every day. I wondered to myself what more security a worker would want than to have his meals, living, recreation, and health all taken care of. But this security in the Soviet Union means more than just material security, it gives courage to grasp life firmly with both hands and face its problems fearlessly.

Our daily regime, for there are no Sundays, was a choice of sports in the mornings—swimming, rowing, sun bathing—a beach for the women and a beach for the men, adjoining with no drawn line of demarcation—tennis with a variety of good rackets for the experienced and not so good for the beginners; volley ball, the great national game; reading in the library or walks to the village for a newspaper or grapes, since it was the grape season in one of the best grape regions of the country.

Dinner was at one o'clock and consisted of cabbage soup with meat, croquettes or sometimes chicken, two vegetables, and dessert. Immediately after dinner we had to go to our dormitories to lie down. Reading was allowed, but sleep was urged. Occasionally the head doctor came around to count noses, but since we never knew when he was coming it was a very effective method of seeing that each got his proper amount of daily rest.

The tea gong sounded at 4 o'clock and buns or sweetened bread were an added incentive to answer this call. From teatime until supper and also after supper one could again do what he liked. For supper at 7 we usually had hot, white kasha, very much like our farina, fish or meat, vegetables, black bread, and tea. I never got up from the table hungry. Together with the first breakfast at 8 o'clock of milk, coffee, and black bread, and the second breakfast at 9 o'clock of bread and butter, eggs, and tea, we actually consumed five meals a day, and since we had to be in bed at 11 o'clock, we got at least ten hours of sleep out of every twenty-four.

Never have I known more immaculate cleanliness nor more clocklike smoothness in the running of an organization, but what was still more impressive and still remains refreshing in my mind was the universal spirit of wholesome, happy fun. Never once did any of these Soviet students, young men and women entirely unchaperoned, have to resort to any artificial stimulation in the form of drink, although wine shops were only ten minutes away, but always in the evenings did their happy voices ring across the moonlit waters with the triumphant songs of their proletarian world.

That is the general tenor of the article. It compares conditions and affairs in the Soviet Union with conditions in the United States.

Is that a correct account of this article, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask the article be received.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection, it is so ordered.

**(The article referred to is marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 8.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next document is a certificate made out to Nancy Reed admitting her to the rest home which she describes in the article from which an excerpt has been read.

I ask this be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection it is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 9.")**

MR. MATTHEWS. I show you a document dated June 12, 1932, addressed to "Comrade Borodin," and ask you if you can identify that as one of the documents which you obtained?

MR. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 10.")**

MR. MATTHEWS. This is a two-page typewritten document sent by Nancy Reed to Comrade Borodin, in which Miss Reed makes numerous suggestions concerning the office in which she was working in the Soviet Union.

The "Comrade Borodin" to whom reference is made here first achieved international notoriety as the representative of Stalin in China in 1927, when Borodin was sent to that country to head the Communist revolution which took place at that time and in which enterprise Earl Browder, according to testimony before this committee, was closely associated with Comrade Borodin.

MR. STARNES. Was this about the period of time that Earl Browder testified before this committee here in this room that he visited China on a special mission?

MR. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir; and Michael Borodin was associated with Browder in that enterprise; and James Dolson, another witness before this committee, a witness from Pittsburgh, was also in.

MR. STARNES. Was that the one cited for contempt before the committee?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is correct. He was also in China working under Michael Borodin at that time.

MR. STARNES. Was that the same James Dolson, who was employed on the W. P. A. as a teacher?

MR. MATTHEWS. That is correct. You may recall when Mr. Dolson was asked if he had conferred at any length with Borodin his first reply was that he didn't speak Russian well enough to confer with Borodin and then Mr. Wolson was reminded that Mr. Borodin was born and grew up in Chicago and spoke English fluently, and then he admitted he had conversations with him.

The particular criticism which Miss Reed makes to Borodin in this document and to Comrade Melnichanski in another document which I ask Mr. Birmingham to identify—

MR. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is that these Russian leaders should take more care to impress favorably foreign visitors so that when they return to their respective countries they will be better propaganda for the Soviet Union.

Is that a correct statement of the point involved in these communications, Mr. Birmingham?

MR. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

MR. MATTHEWS. I ask the letter to Comrade Melnichanski be marked.

MR. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 11.")**

MR. STARNES. These last two exhibits are important documents and the Reporter will incorporate them in the record.

(Birmingham Exhibit No. 10 is as follows:)

CRITICISMS OF OUR OFFICE ROUTINE AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THEIR IMPROVEMENT

JUNE 12, 1932.

TO COMRADE BORODIN:

I. LACK OF ORGANIZED SYSTEM

Because of the total absence of any meetings of our staff, the functions of each member have never been clearly defined, and problems that required discussion by the staff as they arose have remained unsolved.

a. We should have regular weekly staff meetings.

b. We should have a definite idea of the kind of information that you, AOMS and the Intourist need for reference, in order to properly and permanently organize our system of taking applications.

II. LACK OF REGULAR SERVICE

Our work has suffered very much from the irregularity of the Intourist guides. During May when the Visa Bureau sent word to us to proceed in getting people jobs, we were continually stranded for guides, and, when they did come, they were not qualified to do any telephoning to the trusts before taking the people to the job, because this job of telephoning requires some one—

(1) With a good understanding of employment (terms and so forth).

(2) With a knowledge of the needs of the trusts.

(3) With a knowledge of how to get in touch with the right people, for hiring applicants.

(4) With a good knowledge of the three languages, Russian, English, German.

a. We need *one permanent worker with above qualifications*. Such a person might combine the duties of making the contacts with the trusts and the duties of technical secretary. If well organized the work of the English and German secretaries could be dovetailed with those of the technical secretary so as to give the former time to make frequent statistical lists and reports from the data which they have at hand, and possibly take over some of the correspondence from applicants abroad.

b. We need office equipment such as *another telephone, an up-to-date telephone book*. (We have had to use one that is 2 years' old and belongs to another department which claims it whenever it needs it—*better paper supply* (sometimes we get only three sheets at a time) *files—desks repaired*.)

c. We need to work out a *standard vocabulary of employment terms*.

III. WITHHOLDING OF INFORMATION

Information from such organizations as the AOMS and the Dvoretz Truda should be given to the Secretaries immediately on receipt so as not to hold up the work unnecessarily and so that the secretaries can coordinate their activities instead of working as they do now, in a haphazard way.

a. Any meetings that deal with the work of the bureau should include the secretaries of the two sections and should be interpreted to them so that they may know of the work that is being planned.

IV. DAMAGING POLITICAL EFFECTS

Because the work of our office has been so disorganized, and because of the lack of regular service, it has naturally resulted in a poor impression on the people coming to the office, and when this impression is not overcome it gives rise to very bad propaganda against the U. S. S. R.

a. Fifty Germans and fourteen Americans have already gone back to their own countries, and it has been reported that the Germans made an unfavorable report of things here.

(Birmingham Exhibit 11 is as follows:)

Moscow, July 25, 1932.

DEAR COMRADE MELNICHANSKI: I have been working in employment management for the last five years and I want to make my experience useful to the Soviet Union.

While people coming as tourists were being allowed to stay as workers I was in charge of the English-speaking section of the Foreign Bureau under Comrade Borodin, but when this department was closed as a result of the new regulation I was transferred by Comrade Borodin to the Moscow Daily News.

The workers who came to Moscow while I was on that job were up against a very difficult problem. A decision which affected their whole lives was changed about twenty times in one month, and workers who had come here enthusiastically, eager to give all they had to the building of socialism, found themselves stranded and in many cases were treated by our office with such indifference and such failure to understand their predicament that they left with a very bitter feeling against the Soviet Union, which through its tourist offices in various countries had encouraged them to stay and now drove them back to the poverty and persecution of their own countries without so much as an explanation.

Such treatment affects the whole attitude of a worker. His political outlook when he returns home depends to a great extent on the honest courtesy with which he has treated here. Consequently, I look upon the hiring of foreign workers for the Soviet Union not only as a convenience for the factories here, but also from the political standpoint of their attitude towards us.

I must say that the failure of some comrades in Moscow to understand the psychology of foreign workers who are sympathetic to us has caused much needless hostility. I have counteracted this as far as it has been in my power to do so, and hope that the opportunity will again come to me for the personal contact in employment for which I am trained and for which I am naturally fitted.

Therefore, I am extremely interested in the future of employment work in connection with Soviet factories. If there is any possibility of the development of organized selection of workers abroad for jobs here, I want to know how I can best equip myself for such work and get the experience in Soviet industry and political life which would fit me for carrying on employment work abroad. My knowledge of French and German is a help, and I expect to know Russian soon.

MR. MATTHEWS. The next is a document in Russian which I ask Mr. Birmingham to identify. Did you obtain that document?

MR. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

MR. MATTHEWS. This is a certificate of credentials showing that Nancy Reed is a fellow-laborer editing the newspaper, Moscow Daily News, published in Moscow in the American language. Translated it is as follows:

*To whom it may concern:*

Comrade Nancy Reed is a fellow-laborer editing the newspaper Moscow Daily News, published in Moscow in the American language. Comrade Reed is traveling to the Caucasus in order to gather material for our paper.

We ask all Soviet and professional unions to cooperate with her in her work, as well as to assist her in obtaining all necessary tickets for her travels.

It is signed, "Stolar, Secretary in Charge."

I ask this be marked as an exhibit.

MR. STARNES. It is so ordered.

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

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you another document and ask you to describe it.

MR. BIRMINGHAM. It is an identification card for professional printers and billfolders.

MR. MATTHEWS. Is that a certificate or membership card?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is an identification card issued to the members of the union and shows Nancy Reed's membership as a machinist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this made out to Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Nancy Reed, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This document indicates that Nancy Reed was a member of the Professional Printers and Billfolders Union in the Soviet Union, and her occupation is listed as a "machinist" on her membership card.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 13.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify that document and give its significance?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. This is made from Nancy Reed's phone book while she was in the Soviet, of telephone numbers of persons and the names of collectives and trade unions and names of persons connected with the same, with Moscow telephone numbers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have the entire telephone book used by Miss Reed in the Soviet Union?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 14.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. One more document. Did you obtain that document in this collection of material?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are four of notes in the handwriting of Nancy Reed and two typewritten pages which apparently deal with the personnel work in which Miss Reed was engaged while she was employed by the Soviet, a type of work similar to that which she had been doing for the Department of Labor in the State of New York during the past several years.

As a matter of fact, the documents disclose, do they not, Mr. Birmingham, that Miss Nancy Reed stated to the authorities in the Soviet Union that one of the purposes of her obtaining employment in the Soviet Union was connected with the fact that she was doing similar work in the United States?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 15.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, the work of personnel placement?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Birmingham, when Nancy Reed returned from the Soviet Union was she active at all in propaganda work on behalf of the Soviet Union?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Very much so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did she make speeches in this country giving her impression of the Soviet Union?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. On many occasions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a document and ask you to identify that.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this is a photostatic copy of a letter addressed to Miss Reed from Margaret Thorp, who signed herself as Mrs. Willard Thorp, who I think was one of the prominent officials in the N. R. A. a few years ago.

Margaret Thorp writes to Miss Reed saying:

It is very pleasant to hear from you and I am, of course, delighted to do anything I can for the Cause, though, since I am a very new member of the present-day club and have a bad memory for faces, I shall not be as useful as I should like to be.

Your nice elderly lady, I am sure, was Mrs. William R. Hall, 11 Cleveland Lane, who is a great believer in recognition.

The person who introduced you was, I think, Mrs. Thomas C. Roberts, 32 Hodge Road—anyway I believe she would be worth trying. Also these, though I may make some horrid slips:

Miss Edith Roberts, Miss Helen Roberts, 46 Bayard Lane; Mrs. Walter Roberts, 155 Hodge Road; Mrs. Richard V. Lindabury, 34 Cleveland Lane; Mrs. George Batten, Rosedale Road; Mrs. Burnham Dell, Meadow Garden, Kingston Road; Mrs. William Koren, 105 Fitz-Randolph Road; Mrs. Allen G. Shenstone, 111 Mercer Street.

My mother, who was with me that afternoon, is not a member of the Club but was much interested in your talk and might, I think, be worth writing to; Mrs. Wilson Farrand, 157 Ralston Avenue, South Orange, N. J.

Two members of the club who were not present but are much interested in Russia are:

Mrs. Luther P. Eisenhart, The Dean's House, Princeton University, and

Mrs. Roger Parrott, 17 Ivy Lane.

Use my name, if you care to, in writing to either of them.

I hope this may be of some use. Probably Nancy Baldwin Smith can do more for you. I think your talk did real good, for not only did it excite those innumerable questions, but the attempts made to explain away your agreeable picture by those who can believe no good of the country are very amusing. Their chief bulwark is that the Russian Government probably imported you there and treated you in the princely manner you described so that you might go back to America and spread propaganda. I hope much that we may meet again soon. Sincerely yours, Margaret Thorp. (Mrs. Willard Thorp.)

I offer that in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document just referred to and read was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 16.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify this as a document which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter addressed to Miss Nancy Reed from Evans Clark, director of the Twentieth Century Fund, Incorporated, 11 West Forty-second Street, New York City.

Mr. Clark says:

DEAR MISS REED: I have your letter of June 5th asking for a contribution for the Independent Committee for the Recognition of Soviet Russia. I might possibly make a very small donation, but would like to know a little more about what the Committee has done and plans to do, with some idea of the financing.

This letter indicates that Nancy Reed was to some extent active on behalf of this committee in soliciting funds for the work of the committee to obtain the recognition of the Soviet Union.

In ink on the letter, in the handwriting of Nancy Reed, is the name of Ira S. Kotins.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The letter just referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 17.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next document is a list of individuals who were apparently a part of a solicitation list in the possession of Nancy Reed, and used by her in connection with this campaign for the recognition of the Soviet Union.

Can you identify those documents as a part of the collection which you obtained, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first name visible on this list is that of Charles Recht, lawyer, Forty-second Street.

Mr. Recht will be recalled as a witness who appeared before this committee, a lawyer, whose principal client, if not only client, is the Soviet Union.

Other names appearing on this list are Theodore Dreiser, Fanny Hurst, Alice Withrow, Stewart Chase, Heywood Brown, Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, Floyd Vell, Norman Hapgood, Evans Clark, and a host of others. The collection also includes a letter addressed to Mrs. Lamont, on the letterhead of this Independent Committee for the Recognition of the Soviet Union, which shows that Margaret Lamont, the wife of Corliss Lamont, was the executive secretary of the organization.

Nancy Reed's name does not appear on the letterhead, but the correspondent does indicate that she was active in behalf of the committee despite the fact that she did not apparently hold an official position.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 18.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have four more documents which apparently are articles which Miss Reed either published or intended to publish, all of which have to do with her impressions of the Soviet Union or her attitude toward certain social questions in the United States.

The first of these documents is entitled "Tramway Etiquette in Moscow." Can you identify that, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this is, as Mrs. Thorp said, an agreeable picture which was presented by Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 19.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next document is entitled "Functions of Money—" that is in the dollar sign, "In the U. S. S. R."

Can you identify that document, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are penciled notes in the handwriting of Nancy Reed and among her comments in her own handwriting under point 7:

The seizure of all banks and of the whole financial machinery is necessary for the subsequent control of production and distribution under the workers, but it will not be the delicate or complicated machine that it is under capitalism.

These were apparently notes for a speech or an article prepared in the handwriting of Miss Reed.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 20.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next document is a lengthy one dealing with the conditions generally in the Soviet Union, but particularly bearing upon the position of women in the Soviet Union. It is a typewritten document with interlineations in the handwriting of Miss Reed. Is that correct, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And again the numerous comparisons of the position of women in the United States and the Soviet Union show that Miss Reed was presenting an agreeable picture of the Soviet Union as contrasted with the disagreeable picture of the United States?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer that in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 21.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next document will you identify as one obtained with the others?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a typewritten document also with interlineations in the handwriting of Miss Reed.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This typewritten document in possession of the committee is a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, apparently intended for publication. It is not signed by Miss Reed but signed "Ima Worker." It is a sharp rebuke of Mrs. Roosevelt on account of an article which Mrs. Dahl, the daughter of Mrs. Roosevelt, had published in Liberty Magazine giving some indication for menus on vacation and in the course of that article again Miss Reed presents a rather disagreeable picture of the United States as contrasted with the sort of economy which she apparently would like to see supplant what is in this country.

I ask that this be received in evidence as one of the documents.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 22.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify this photostatic document as a copy of a part of a letter from Mary Reed in the Soviet Union, to her sister, Nancy Reed, in this country?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A portion of this letter reads as follows:

I'm puffing my chest out about your church and work for the President. Boy, you are a "man of action" all right. You've got the guts, kid, and can go through the world chin up, and it is me that knows how that's not always so easy.

If Miss Reed had appeared before the committee this morning I am sure the committee would be glad to have her explain what these references mean.

It is sometimes true, Mr. Chairman, that a word like "church" is a code for the party and "work for the President" could very easily



be work for somebody who is designated "President." I think you recall Mr. Dolson had a membership card made out in the name of the President.

I ask this be marked as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 23.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, will you identify this document as one that you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter addressed to "Nancy dear." It is dated June 3, 1939, and signed by "Charles." Charles explains in the first paragraph that he is compelled to break a date, and at the close of his letter he tells Nancy that if she pursues a certain course of action, "you'd be so happy and a million times better Communist for it, too." We don't know or do you have any idea who "Charles" might be?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Couldn't identify him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Charles is unidentified but he is apparently a person who assumes in his correspondence that Miss Reed is a Communist.

I ask this be marked as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 24.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify this photograph as one you obtained in this collection of documents, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a photograph, apparently, of a passport photograph which may be deduced from the fact that the signature is at the bottom of the photograph and the signature is "Grover J. Shoholm."

Mr. Birmingham, is there a rather extensive correspondence from Grover Shoholm in this collection of documents which were obtained from the effects of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does that correspondence go back approximately 20 years?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does it go back to the days of Harvard during the World War?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Grover Shoholm apparently a student at Harvard University?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. He was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

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

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about the subsequent employment of Grover Shoholm as revealed in these numerous documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I don't know his present whereabouts. Up to 1933 he was on one of the United States Shipping Board boats.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is this a picture of Grover Shoholm in uniform on a United States liner?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask this be received in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The photograph referred to is marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 26.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask these exhibits be received one by one. The first is from Grover J. Shoholm, addressed to "Dear N. R."

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 27.")**

Mr. STARNES. What is the purport of the correspondence? To show that Grover Shoholm was a member of the party and interested in party activities and that he was employed on a United States merchant ship?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; and certain official documents which were, for some reason or other, in the possession of Nancy Reed which show that Grover Shoholm was an employee of the Soviet Union, and vested with absolute autocratic powers in various parts of the Soviet Union, I believe, including Vladivostok. His official credentials were for some reason or other in the possession of Nancy Reed.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. After the revolution.

Mr. VOORHIS. You have the originals?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes, sir. The first is a letter to show you how extensive this correspondence is. It dates from August 11, 1917. This one is dated, as I say, August 11, 1917, and addressed to "Dear N. R."

The next is a letter with the envelope accompanying it, addressed to "Miss Nancy Reed," dated May 2, 1938; is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From Grover Shoholm showing that from the period of 1917 until 1938 there was a more or less regular correspondence between Grover Shoholm and Nancy Reed. In this letter of April 30, postmarked May 2, 1938, Grover Shoholm states:

However, I spoke with Mother Bloor when she was here, perhaps a month or a little more ago, to make sure that she had not gotten into some political trouble there. Mrs. Bloor's eyes glowed when she spoke of Mary, she knew her, she said when she lived in Springfield, and she was emphatic when she said that she knew that Mary was "all right." She also mentioned you, that you had just returned and that you were active in New York.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I think it is a reasonable deduction if Mother Bloor reports to some one who is a known Communist abroad that Nancy Reed is "active in New York," that that doesn't mean just generally active in a social nature, but active in the Communist Party. However, that interpretation may be taken for what it is worth.

This letter has an interesting closing. First Shoholm has asked about the conversion of rubles into dollars or dollars into rubles at some rate other than the official rate of exchange and he asks

about whether it is a serious offense to smuggle currency into the Soviet Union, American currency into the Soviet Union.

In other words he wants to send some money to Mary in the Soviet Union, according to the letter, and he is seeking advice of Nancy about what he should do in the matter. Then he says:

If you could scout around and find out about these two points, you being in New York, the center of things, and also a Party member, and let me know at once, we ought to be able to help.

Now, apparently Grover Shoholm categorically identifies Nancy Reed as a member of the Communist Party, which is in direct contradiction to her testimony before the deputy commissioner of the Department of Labor of New York. In her testimony there she denied being a Communist or ever having been one.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 28.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next letter is one addressed to "Dear Mary," a letter which was also in the possession of Nancy Reed. It is dated November 11, 1918. In this letter Shoholm states that Porter Sargent and Everts "are the conspirators of the Harvard Liberal Club, to which I belong." Despite the date on the letter, there is no reference in the communication that that was Armistice Day.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 29.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next letter is signed "Grover J. Shoholm, U. S. S. *Sturgeon Bay*." What type of vessel was the *Sturgeon Bay*?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It belonged to the merchant marine, a freighter. I understand it is still in service.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is still in service?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At one time Grover Shoholm was apparently employed on that vessel.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 30.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. And I show you this document. Can you identify that?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; it is a letter addressed to Mary and signed by Grover J. Shoholm, U. S. S. *Sturgeon Bay*.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer that in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 31.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you identify this document?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes. It is a letter signed with the initials G. J. S., dated September 17, 1918.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer it in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 32.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I have three similar documents signed by Grover Shoholm, which I offer in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

**(The three documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibits 33, 34, and 35.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is a photostatic copy of official credentials in Russian, which, translated, read as follows:

Certificate dated October 4, 1920:

Issued by National Secretariat for Foreign Affairs attesting to the fact that Comrade Shoholm is designated Controller of the Radio Telegraph of the National Commissariat for Foreign Affairs—

and bears the stamp of the National Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.

That is one of the credentials, the original of which was in the possession of Nancy Reed and which the committee now has.

I offer that in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 36.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next is a certificate stamped "R. S. F. S. R." which means the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, National Commissariat for Foreign Trade, and dated November 4, 1920, at Moscow. It states:

Issued by National Committee for Foreign Trade to Comrade Shoholm, Grover Ivan or Ivanov, to serve in capacity of Correspondent Translator for the National Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Vladivostok in the Dolnevostok Republic.

All civilian and military groups, the R. S. F. S. R., and the Dolnevostok Republic are ordered to obey Comrade Shoholm to the full during his tenure in the City of Vladivostok, as well as in the execution of his service in this official commission.

It is signed: "National Committee for Foreign Trade."

I offer that in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 37.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next one of the credentials is a certificate issued to one Comrade Grover Ivanov Shocholm or Shokolm, Minister of Provisions and Trade, to act as director of management of the authorized commission in Vladivostok, to work as correspondent-translator:

All native and military groups of the D. V. R. are to report to Shoholm for directions in the city of Vladivostok.

It is signed by the Minister of Provisions and Trade, D. V. R., and Director of Affairs, January 2, 1921. I offer that in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 38.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are several documents which indicate that Grover Shoholm has been in correspondence, not only over a long period of time with Mary and Nancy Reed but also from many parts of the world.

Here is a letter from Malmo, Sweden; an envelope from Helsinki, Finland; one from Bochkarevo, Siberia; and one from Vladivostok; and so on. I offer them in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 39.")

Mr. STARNES. The purport of all those official documents is to show that Shoholm was a high functionary in the Communist Party?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; and in one of his letters to Nancy Reed he says:

You being a Party member would be able to supply me with certain attitudes.

Mr. STARNES. And this man has been an employee of various shipping concerns in this country?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct. He has been in the Merchant Marine.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any indication he ever held any governmental position in this country or was employed by the Government in any capacity in this country?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter which has already been introduced in evidence, Grover Shoholm wrote to Nancy Reed:

I probably told you that I worked for about two years in the State Chemical Laboratory on water analysis, and about nine months in the Soils Laboratory of the United States Engineers and took some courses at Brown.

In this particular letter Shoholm mentions other Communists who are publicly identified as such, as being in touch with Nancy Reed. He says (Birmingham Exhibit No. 35):

On the question of books, "revolutionary novels," suppose you consult with Myra Page. She knew me when I was in the Party and will remember me. I always liked her way of writing.

Myra Page is one of the writers on the Daily Worker's staff and has been for approximately 20 years. Myra Page is at the present time also the director of a school for writers conducted under the auspices of the League of American Writers.

Again Shoholm says:

If you can see Fanny Rudd—there is a good comrade, and she will help. About me just say that I am trying to be a chemist but meeting with no great success.

Can you identify this as a photostatic copy of part of a letter sent by Mary Reed to Nancy—Mary Reed Copeland to Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is in this particular letter that Mary Reed says:

But M. B. will give you an inkling. Also, I sent a telegram for the books and busy as you are I know you'll get Joe Freeman and Michael Gold and others on the job, and Esther promised to help, too.

Mr. Birmingham, have you been able to identify the "Esther" referred to in this correspondence?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But the "Joseph Freeman" and "Michael Gold" referred to have been prominently identified in the public mind as Communists?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. They have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Michael Gold being one of the columnists on the Daily Worker and Joseph Freeman for a number of years one of the editors of New Masses?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this photostat in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 40.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify this as part of another letter sent by Mary Reed Copeland to her sister Nancy?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter Mary Reed Copeland asks her sister Nancy:

And why V. I. Jerome did not answer my letter.

The assumption here is that Mary Reed, that is that Nancy Reed, is in contact with these prominent Communists in New York City and will be able to answer such questions for her sister Mary. I. V. Jerome, for example, was for a number of years the editor in chief of the Communist, the monthly publication of the Communist Party. She says:

Include his answer in your wire even if you have to take it out of my dollars and take the books out, too, if you can't get them otherwise. Ask Joe or someone about the author, too.

And on the assumption derived from previous correspondence that is apparently Joe Freeman.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 41.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify that as one of the documents you obtained in this collection?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter addressed "Dear Nancy" and signed "Herta."

Mr. STARNES. That is Herta Ware?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Herta Ware; is that correct, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter Herta Ware, the daughter of Mother Bloor, says to Nancy:

Hope we can have another get-together next week. Carl and Anne are down here in a little shack with the baby and a colored girl.

The reference there, Mr. Chairman is apparently to Carl and Anne Reeve. Carl Reeve is a son of Mother Bloor by another marriage.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 42.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify that letter, Mr. Birmingham, please?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter signed Len; is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The letter is addressed "Dear Nan." The letter is from Glasgow, Scotland. In the course of this letter Len writes:

About yourself now. I see that you are busy with meetings, and so forth, and also that you very often meet Rose Baron. Exactly twelve months ago today I was filling in a form in the M. O. P. R. offices under the personal supervision of Rose. She will remember that—

Mr. VOORHIS. What is "M. O. P. R."?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the Russian headquarters of the International Labor Defense. There has been a good deal of testimony in the committee which makes that connection, Congressman. I don't know the Russian words for M. O. P. R., but the Rose Baron has been identified in testimony before this committee as the office secretary of the International Labor Defense in New York and here apparently she was working for a period in the International Labor Defense headquarters in Moscow, and the Len of this letter met Rose Baron in Moscow and writes to Nancy Reed that: "You very often meet Rose Baron."

Len says:

I am pleased to hear you have found a job. Don't get making Red speeches from your office desk and find yourself fired into the street.

Another part of the letter states:

Sometime ago I sent a copy over to the States and they wrote back asking for permission to publish it.

That is a copy of his pamphlet—

but I have heard nothing since and have also forgotten the address of the people who wrote except that I remember it was from Belle Taub whom I met in Amsterdam at the Anti-War Congress.

The Anti-War Congress referred to here is the one held in Amsterdam.

Mr. STARNES. From which came—

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the summer of 1932, from which came the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the "Belle Taub" referred to here is the wife of the attorney who appeared before this committee or tried to appear before this committee recently.

Mr. VOORHIS. What attorney was that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Allen Taub. The chairman will recollect the appearance of Allen Taub.

Mr. STARNES. Yes, I remember it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Len under his signature says:

The address I have will always find me, but I would remind you it is the C. P. district office.

Now, Len writing from Glasgow states the address to which he is to receive his letters is the Communist Party district office.

Mr. Birmingham, do you have any idea who "Len" in this letter is?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Later on he is identified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How is he identified in subsequent correspondence?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. On the envelope of the original letter is the return address. It is on the original and is not photostated.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you make an identification of Len?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No, but I have seen the letter.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 43.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the effects of Nancy Reed, which came into your possession through service of these subpoenas, did you find an alternate's badge for the New York State convention of the Communist Party in May of 1938?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we have no way of knowing whether or not this was the alternate's badge of Nancy Reed. If she had appeared before the committee, of course, she would have been asked that question, but at least the badge was in her personal effects.

I offer it in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 44.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, in the material which you obtained on Cape Cod and which was dug up from the ground there, were there reports of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and other confidential reports of the Communist Party and—

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Can you identify these reports as being among those documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And these were documents which you have information were buried at Sandwich on Cape Cod, either personally, or under the supervision of Nancy Reed; is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does your information state whether or not Nancy Reed herself was present when these documents were buried in the ground there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. She was present when the documents were buried and supervised their burial?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She did.

Mr. VOORHIS. What evidence do we have to that effect?

Mr. STARNES. That is confidential information.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is how the documents were obtained. The person who assisted in the burial took the committee investigator right to the spot as they dug them up.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that person testified that Nancy Reed was there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She made a statement to me—she didn't testify.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this was on the property of the Reeds in Sandwich, Mass., and the material obtained is a part of this material which is apparently the personal effects of Nancy Reed.

Mr. STARNES. You asked Mr. Birmingham whether—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Whether his information had it that Nancy Reed was present?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, she was present; that is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. I was wondering what that information was, but I understand now.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She drew a map showing exactly where the material was under a house and told me beforehand, a month before I went up there, exactly where it was buried and who supervised the burying of it and how it was covered with canvas and leaves. I went right to the spot with a rake and hoe and dug up the material



as she stated, except for four boxes that were missing. I got three out of seven.

Mr. STARNES. And the party who gave you the information is the same party who stated that she assisted Nancy Reed in hiding the documents at that place?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And there you have approximately 10 convention reports of the Communist Party—

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Of the central committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are the originals, are they not?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; they are the originals.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And not photostats?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No; not photostats.

Mr. STARNES. Will these minutes of the Central Committee of the Communist Party furnish the committee pertinent information with reference to the activities of the party in this country?

Mr. MATTHEWS. They cover a wide range of activities.

Mr. STARNES. A wide range of activities and over a number of years?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, but particularly with reference to recent activities of the Communist Party—around the tenth convention which was held 3 years ago, 1938.

Mr. STARNES. And do they divulge the names of some of the active workers and leaders in the party and their roles?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No; names are not divulged in the reports.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Different subjects like Communists in Spanish activities, the Workers School, and the other different activities.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to know if you can summarize further on that line, just what the reports deal with. Do they have any reference, Mr. Birmingham, to the front organizations of the party—are they mentioned in there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Not by name but how they should work. If you look at them I think you can understand what they mean—how many were dismissed from being drunk and so forth and so on. It is all headed there at the top.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair thinks these documents are so important that they should be incorporated in the record, because this is the first time insofar as we have been able to ascertain, the committee has come into possession of such reports. They give information as to organizations, the number, the growth, and the composition of the party by years; naming the affiliate industrial units, neighborhood branches, Negroes, women, housewives, working women, and then it gives the number here who were members of the A. F. of L., C. I. O., the Workers Alliance, the employed, unemployed; native and foreign born—those in the party for a year and those for more than a year, less than a year, and also gives them by national groups, social and industrial composition, and the Negroes in the party by districts.

The Chair believes it is of such importance that it should be copied into the record.

(The material referred to is as follows:)

MAY 1938.

REPORT ON ORGANIZATION

MATERIAL FOR THE ORGANIZATION COMMISSION 10TH PARTY CONVENTION

We are coming to the 10th Party Convention with an approximate membership of 75,000 (although the registration figures and the 1938 recruiting thus far account for only 53,940 and 12,000, or 66,000). This figure is calculated on the basis of the members registered January 1st, plus the number recruited up to May 1st. It shows that our Party has doubled its membership since January 1936. This growth is due especially to the successful recruiting drive that culminated in the Party Builders Congress.

The statistics gathered for the Convention on the basis of the registrations of 1936, 1937, and 1938, indicate clearly both the strong and weak points in the Party organization. They enable us to draw conclusions regarding the further building of the Party quantitatively and qualitatively. They indicate in which direction we must improve the functioning of the Party, upon which depends to a great extent the increasing role of the Party as a political factor in the life of the country.

*The Growth and Composition of the Party*

	January 1936	January 1937	January 1938
Registration .....	30,836	37,682	54,012
Shop Units .....	600	517	555
Industrial Units .....		336	582
Neighborhood Branches .....		1,226	1,391
Members in shop units .....	5,000	6,120	7,478
"    " industrial units .....		5,667	10,585
"    " branches .....		19,470	33,116
Negroes .....	3,000	2,627	4,949
Women .....	8,047	10,990	16,898
Housewives .....	3,352	3,355	6,014
Working women .....	3,802	6,888	11,094
Male .....	22,783	26,103	36,051
Employed in shops of 500 workers .....	7,700	12,905	28,596
Employed in shops of 1,000 workers .....	2,000	4,383	5,670
Members AFL .....	8,000	14,226	8,987
Members CIO (Independent) .....	4,000		16,509
Members Workers Alliance .....		1,210	5,929
Employed .....		22,485	30,665
Unemployed .....		15,167	19,929
Native .....	14,743	19,853	30,165
Foreign born .....	16,093	17,829	23,847
One year or less in Party .....		16,852	26,806
Two years in Party .....		5,312	7,061

*Negroes in Party by Districts*

Dist.	Jan. 1937	Registration	Jan. 1938	Registration
New York .....	863	16,796	1,405	22,060
Philadelphia .....	188	1,933	247	2,539
Ohio .....	137	1,730	264	2,677
Illinois .....	342	2,714	703	4,662
Alabama .....	180	250	448	581
Missouri .....	90	280	192	484
Florida .....	70	236	123	389
Maryland .....	42	364	145	859
Oklahoma .....	12	114	129	341
California .....	104	3,391	194	4,739

*National Groups*

	Jan. 1936	Jan. 1937	Jan. 1938
Italian .....	1,040	906	1,372
Polish .....	710	902	1,193
Spanish .....		831	533
Hungarian .....		557	642
Lithuanian .....		421	700
German .....	637	427	590
Jugoslav .....		361	862
Czechoslovak .....		196	273
Ukrainian .....		71	210

*Social and Industrial Composition*

	Jan. 1936	Jan. 1937	Jan. 1938
Steel .....	584	646	1,212
Mining .....	844	732	1,037
Marine .....	446	242	289
Longshore .....		919	1,034
Auto .....	291	422	301
Railroad .....	259	239	285
Textile .....	282	266	479
Rubber .....		21	133
Oil .....		41	
Packing .....		83	
Metal .....		537	683
Building trades (incl. bricklayers, laborers, carpenters, painters) .....		1,959	2,929
Needle trades .....		2,735	3,050
Food .....		1,581	2,214
Agriculture .....		261	513
Farmers .....		870	939
Office Workers .....	1,788	2,630	4,073
Social Workers .....	480	770	934
Teachers .....	941	1,717	2,097

	1937 registration	Party schooling	Jan. 1937	Jan. 1938
Professionals .....	6,822	Section Training Sch	3,267	3,889
Students .....	743	District " "	1,304	1,424
Storekeepers .....	296	National " "	276	282

## CONCLUSION

(1) From the figures we see that the number of shop units between 1936 and 1938 remained practically static. We notice, however, that since 1936, 582 industrial units were built, so that today we have altogether almost 18,000 members organized in units which are directly involved in work in the industries and in unions (shop and industrial units). Compared with 1936-37, we find an increase of about 12,000 members belonging to units of both types.

(2) The neighborhood branches show only a very slight increase in the numerical growth between 1936-38. The number of members in this form of organization are, however, 14,000 more today than 1 year ago. This shows that the size of the branches has grown considerably, due especially to the latest successful recruiting drive. The growth of the branches in membership gives us the possibility today of establishing working groups in the election districts and precincts in the big cities. This will enable us to establish the individual members of the Party as citizens of the community, and thereby enable the Party to participate more successfully in the political life of the Assembly Districts, Wards, or precincts.

(3) Negroes: The figure of Negro members in the Party shows that between 1936-37 there was a slight decline. It is only in January 1938, through the

special efforts made during the recruiting drive that we brought this number to almost 5,000. While numerically we can record this increase, yet the percentage of Negro members in relation to the total Party membership remains practically the same. From now on greater efforts and systematic work and attention will have to be paid to the Negro neighborhoods and Negro organizations, not only for the purpose of increasing their number in the Party, but also to cut down the fluctuation which among Negroes is much higher than the average fluctuation in the Party.

(4) Women: The increased number of women in the Party is very satisfactory. Between 1936 and 1937, it has been more than doubled. What is more encouraging, is the fact that the number of working women between 1936 and 1938 has been practically tripled. These figures prove not only that with the trade-union drives the working women are becoming more politically conscious, but also that the proper efforts made by the Party organization to draw the most militant women into the ranks of our Party has seen results. This pace must be kept up. There are possibilities of swelling our ranks with tens of thousands of working women.

(5) The figures of the employed in shops show that since 1936 we tripled the number of employed in the light industries, and increased substantially also the number of Party members working in the basic industries. We are far behind our aim, however, in deeply rooting the Party in the basic industries of the country. This is shown not only by the smaller proportion of those recruited from basic industries compared with the light industries, but especially by the small increase in some of the basic industries. Where a real effort has been made, as for example in steel, the results are obvious in comparison to mining, railroad, textile, longshore, and others. One main task remains: Concentration on the basic industries for the purpose of building new shop nuclei, strengthening the existing ones with intensified recruiting. This calls for special well-planned drives in the concentration districts in the mining and textile territories, in the most important ports, etc.

(6) Figures giving the length of time in the Party show that we have over 20,000 members who have been in the Party over two years, as against nearly 34,000 who have been in the Party less than two years. Adding to the 27,000 members that are in the Party for one year or less, the 12,000 that have joined the Party since January, we find that out of a total of 65 to 66 thousand active members on record today, 40,000 are in the Party less than one year.

This shows immediately that we have not only to combat fluctuation in general, but we must pay special attention to prevent the dropping of the older Party members. At the same time it is necessary to intensify the education to the utmost, for the purpose of maintaining and developing the large numbers of new Party members.

(7) In 1936, at the time we conducted a drive to get all eligible Party members into the trade unions, we had on record 8,000 in the A. F. L. and 4,000 in Independent Unions; in January, 1937, we find 14,226 Party members active in A. F. L. unions. In January 1938, 8,987, in A. F. L., 16,509 C. I. O. unions, and 1,000 in Independent and other unions.

From 12,000 Party members active in the trade unions in 1936, we have reached in January the number of 27,000. This is a real advance the Party has made in the trade union field, especially in the industrial unions. Adding to the 27,000 the number of Party members organized in the Workers Alliance, we find today 50 percent of the membership active in trade unions and unemployed organizations. This figure, beside its positive side which cannot be underestimated, shows, at the same time, that there are still thousands of members eligible for membership not only in trade unions but also in the Workers Alliance.

(8) The figures on native- and foreign-born in the Party are very indicative of the growing attraction of the Party among the native masses. In 1936 the foreign-born comprised 53-54% of the Party membership. In 1937, and especially in 1938, we see a change in the picture. Today, the majority—30,165 as against 23,846—are native-born. (Figures from January registration. Today the percentage of native-born is still higher, considering the high percentage of native among the newly recruited since January.)

Among the national groups we find a slight increase among Italians, Poles, and a few others, which is not in step, however, with the possibilities and needs to counteract the forces of fascism and reaction among these masses.

It is natural that having reached its present size, the Party will attract increasingly more native and young elements. One of our main tasks is to

concentrate in this direction. Because of the strong ties which our Party has established for years with the masses of the various national groups, the role these masses play in the basic industries and political life of the country, and their close relation to the new generations, it is necessary however, to take special measures to strengthen the Party among these masses, and especially among the millions of Jewish, Italian, German, Polish, and Spanish speaking people.

(9) The Party attracts also more and more young elements. There are in the Party 7,560 below 25 years of age, 18,617 under the age of 35, making a total of over 26,000 under 35 years of age. The doors of the Party must remain open to all who agree with our program and are prepared to be active in the Party's work. Special concentration on young elements must continue with undiminished intensity.

(10) The social composition shows that in the last period the Party has made real headway in recruiting thousands of professionals and white-collar workers. The Party will have to keep up the tempo of work among this stratum of the population. At the same time, however, we must emphasize, and take the proper measures for building more intensively the Party among the industrial workers. While we cannot neglect recruiting among the professionals, the work of the Party organization must be concentrated mainly on the industrial workers. We must strive to get a much higher proportion of industrial workers in our ranks. (This is mainly the problem of the New York City Organization.)

(11) The figure on Party schooling shows the real effort the Party has made to concentrate in the direction of training forces for leadership. In the years 1936 and 1937, 7,000 members went through section training schools, nearly a thousand through district training schools, and over 450 through the National Training School. To this we must add other thousands of Party members enlisted in evening courses and workers schools.

These results must be viewed only as a healthy beginning, considering the tens of thousands of new members that need education, the growing tasks of the Party, the establishing of new schools on a state, county, section scales, of evening courses, of a greater utilization of the Workers Schools, must be regarded as the most important task for building and further consolidating the Party organization.

#### RECRUITING AND FLUCTUATION

Between January 1936 and January 1937, 25,148 men and women signed membership applications. Between January 1937 and January 1938, the figure rose to 30,272. Adding the initiations of 1937 to the registered members January 1936, which was 30,836, would have given us by January 1937 a membership of 56,000. In January 1937, however, the registration was 37,682 members. It means that during 1937, 18,302 members have dropped out, which means a 32% loss of the total membership. However, if we consider the total recruits as compared with the lost membership, we have a turnover of 72% this year. (We must consider, however, that the figures of 25,148 that appeared as recruited in reality expressed the figure of initiations, which do not correspond to the number of assigned members to the units.)

During the year 1938 the fluctuation dropped considerably. Adding to the 37,682 registered members January 1937, 30,272 initiations, we should have had a total membership of 68,000 by January 1st. Considering that the registration January 1938 gives us a figure of 54,012, we see an approximate loss of 14,000 during the year. This shows, in comparison with the previous year, that the loss has been lowered to 20 percent and less. However, if we consider the total recruits as compared with the lost membership, we have a turnover of 46 percent this year (with the exception of New York and a few other state organizations who have registered as recruited only those that are assigned to units. Most of the state organizations still consider the number of initiations as recruited.) At this point it is necessary to state that from now on we shall adopt the system of considering as new recruits only those who have signed applications and actually assigned to units.

If we add the recruited up to date to the 54,012 registered January 1938, we have today a membership of about 75,000.

The above figures prove two outstanding things:

- (1) A steady increase in recruiting.
- (2) A steady decline in fluctuation.

This achievement is due not only to the more intensive political life of the Party, but to the organizational measures put into effect since the 9th Conven-

tion, and especially during 1937 for the mobilization of the Party in regard to the intensification of recruiting and cutting of fluctuation. The setting up of recruiting committees and the establishment of membership commissions and membership directors in the Party organizations for the purpose of checking on the attendance, on dues payments, etc., has helped a great deal. Briefly, to the extent that the leading committees paid more attention to this problem, the Party was able not only to strengthen its ranks, but keep the new members.

This conclusions shows that to speed up the tempo in building the Party, it is necessary to strengthen its political life and education, and at the same time, improve the organizational apparatus which must insure continuous intensified recruiting, a better attendance at Party meetings, further improvement in the system of collection of dues, etc. These are essential measures to equip the Party in carrying out its political activities.

#### *Essential problems of organization.*

To concretize the resolution on organization before the Convention, to cope with the new political needs, it is necessary to evaluate all the experiences gained in the last two years, and see to what extent the decisions of the 9th Party Convention were fruitful, to see in which direction our efforts shall be concentrated today to further improve the structure and functioning of the Party apparatus and the lower organizations. We must see to what extent the changes in the lower organizations have fulfilled our expectations, and whether some readjustments are necessary. It is only through mass recruiting, through building a mass circulation of our Party press, through intensifying the activities of Party members among the organized masses, through paying the utmost attention to the functioning of the Party apparatus and of the Party organization proper and intensifying education, that we will "solve the problem of the political and organizational consolidation and the strengthening of the Party as an organic and key part of the task of forging the anti-fascist democratic front."

As the figures show, since the 9th Party Convention, our Party has grown in quantity and quality; has grown in influence. It was from the 9th Convention on primarily, that we laid the basis for building a mass Party. During this period one of the most important problems before us was how best to adapt the structure of the Party organization to the new political needs of the Party and the working class; how to improve the existing forms of organization, develop new ones, to enable the Party to connect itself strongly with the organized masses of the shops, trade unions, the masses in the neighborhoods and with their communal life.

Since 1936, the Party has grown in size, the apparatus has been strengthened so that today there are state organizations in all important states of the union. Instead of 27 districts which we had two years ago, there are today 40 state organizations functioning, and there are Party units in all 48 states. State organizations as Florida, Oklahoma, Texas, and others, which two years ago had only a few hundred members, have grown into organizations of 500 Party members and more. The Party has grown numerically and in quality not only in the most industrial states, but it has taken root and gained in influence throughout the entire country.

The organizational readjustments decided at the time of the 9th Convention made possible such successful mobilization of the Party as in the case of the election campaign, of the trade-union drives, in the campaign for the defense of the Spanish and Chinese peoples, etc. They have helped in making the Party react more quickly to the various political problems that have arisen on a national, state, and local scale.

The organizational measures decided at the 9th Party Convention as regards meetings, dues payments, improvements of the inner life of the branches and units, the development of greater initiative and inner Party democracy, combined with new methods of work suited to the traditions of the American workers, have strengthened the power of attraction of our Party so that thousands upon thousands of trade unionists, workers from the basic industries, from the light industries and thousands of professionals have joined our ranks.

#### *Past Forms of Party Organization.*

The results obtained since the 9th Convention were made possible because the organizational changes were combined with increased political activities, more intensive education, and the development of hundreds, thousands of new leading forces in all types of Party schools.

In a short time we were able to pass from the street unit form of organization to the branches, built on the basis of the political divisions of the cities (on an assembly or ward scale). The old sections adapted themselves to the new political needs, becoming the Party organization on a county or assembly district scale, etc. Today the state organizations are divided into counties, assembly districts, wards, etc. To the extent that Party influence has grown in the shops and trade unions, not only the shop nuclei have gained new forces, but 582 industrial units, with a total membership of 10,585 have come into life. Industrial units launched at the time of the 9th Party Convention helped not only the growth of the Party, but were effective instruments in the trade-union drives.

#### *Our Organizational Forms in Accord with the New Political Needs.*

Since the 9th Party Convention, profound changes have taken place in the country which raised the political consciousness of the toiling people. The establishment of the C. I. O. as a powerful organization, the growth of a progressive movement inside of the A. F. L. unions, the development of political organizations as the American Labor Party, the Commonwealth Federation, Labor's Non-Partisan League, etc., under the influence of progressive forces, are playing a great role in raising the political level of labor on a national, state, and local scale. Considering that the progressive political movements are not merely organized on a trade-union basis, but are developing on a territorial political basis as well, we see at once how such changes require an improvement in the Party organization and Party activities to make the Party a more vital instrument towards the development of progressive political movements of the broad masses and moving the great mass of the toiling people into the stream of the anti-fascist democratic front.

This convention reaffirms the decision made at the 9th Party Convention, and emphasizes:

(1) That we must maintain and improve the structure of the Party on a State, County, Assembly District, Precinct, Ward basis; that we must maintain and improve the activities of the three forms of organization—shop units, industrial units, and branches.

(2) That we must concentrate on strengthening the shop units and build new ones in the basic industries. Shop nuclei shall not be organized artificially. They must be established there where they can and must become mass organizations in the larger shops.

(3) We must abolish the idea that the branches, the Party organizations that act on a neighborhood scale, are today a secondary form of organization or just a temporary one. They must become decisive permanent organizations in the neighborhoods that tie the Party with the political life and problems of the communities.

(4) The industrial units, whether based on trade-unions or industry, in some cases as a temporary and in other cases as permanent organizations, must be applied flexibly. This organization must be maintained or built where it serves a real purpose. It should be abolished wherever there is a basis for building shop nuclei in its place, or where it no longer serves the purpose for which it was built.

#### *Shop Units.*

To achieve the above-stated aim, it is necessary to raise the role of this organization in its full Leninist light. We must combat opportunistic tendencies that have reduced some of the shop units to mere fractions, or have transformed some of the shop units into industrial units, thus limiting their political role.

In view of the thousands of new Party members in our ranks, it is highly important to promote a thorough discussion of the role of the shop units, as the organization of the most advanced workers in the shops, which raise the daily problems of the workers in a political light, and connect this with the position of the Party on the political issues on a state, national, and international scale.

In the classes for new members, in the evening courses, in the discussions on organizational problems, this question must be raised. Furthermore, we must create guarantees that these important organizations receive continuous guidance and help, so as to enable them to speak to the masses regularly through their shop papers and daily contacts with the workers, as the only way of establishing this organization as the Party in the shop, mills, and mines.

*Industrial Units.*

In regard to industrial units, the 9th Party Convention correctly conceived this organization as a transitional form, for the purpose of building shop units and becoming a positive force in helping to build and consolidate the trade-unions. Today a number of industrial units have fulfilled their purpose. Others, because of lack of guidance, have not orientated toward transformation into shop units; others again for the same reason, have been reduced to fractions and are not involved in the development of the broad movements in the communities. Professional units have sprung up and developed without control, separating the professionals in our ranks from the proletarian elements, resisting a transformation into units on the basis of institutions. To solve the problem of industrial units, it is necessary, as stated above, to review them one by one, under the direct guidance of the leading committees, to determine which of them shall be strengthened and how they shall be strengthened; which are ready to be transformed into shop units, and which shall be dissolved and their members assigned to branches. Above all, we must strive to improve this leadership, which is a decisive factor in the well functioning of the organization.

Those industrial units based on large unions shall not only remain in existence, but must be strengthened. In the larger industrial centers they can be built by taking into consideration, not only the problem of the union, but the political needs of the Party on a geographical basis.

Taking for granted that there is an industrial unit of 200 members in a union of 20,000 workers, why can't such an industrial unit be split into two or three industrial units on the basis of the territory where the Party members live? Such industrial units—their work coordinated by a joint bureau—will not only be able to carry on their political task in the union, but will become a vital Party organization in the communal life of the territory where it will meet, where the members live, and where they can join in the activities of the Party, as the most advanced force of a strong union.

The members of the industrial units built in all kinds of very small unions or small craft locals can be assigned to strengthen the branches. In such type of unions or locals, only a few Party members are needed to carry on. By strengthening the most important industrial units, by involving them in territorial work, it will also be possible here and there, as the situation demands and under the strict control of the leading committees, to transfer a certain number of Party members from industrial units to strengthen the political life of the branches.

*Strengthen the Branches in the Communities.*

As stated above, the branches have proved themselves to be one of the main instruments of our Party through which we spread our agitation and bring the Party in close contact with the political life of the masses in the neighborhoods; are the main vehicle of the Party in carrying on political campaigns and also one of the main electoral instruments of our Party. To make them a better Party organization which links itself with the problems, with the life of the community in which they are active, we must keep in mind at all times:

- (1) To strengthen, to develop their leadership.
- (2) To limit their size to a number not exceeding 50 (as decided in previous resolutions of the C. C.)
- (3) To improve, wherever necessary, their composition by drawing in industrial workers.
- (4) To get the branches to issue neighborhood papers.
- (5) To establish, in the larger centers, the group system on a precinct or ward basis, which will help to activate the individual members of the branches.

In building the groups we must be on guard against the conception that the groups are independent units, and warned against mechanical organization. The groups shall, as a general rule, be built where they are necessary, but only when there are guarantees that within the group there are a few comrades with initiative who will know exactly how to carry out the decisions of the branch, how to stimulate the activities of the rest of the membership.

The building of the group system must be viewed as a process of development. The groups based on a precinct Election District basis or other political subdivisions, should be led by a captain whose task shall be, not only to guide the group in its activities, but to keep in contact with all Party members living in the territory of the precinct, etc., irrespective of the Party organization to which they belong.



At the same time, we must keep in mind that it is the branch that shapes Party policies, discusses the political problems; that the branch is the main place for the education of the members, while the group is an active body carrying out the policies of the branch in a given territory.

Membership meetings on an assembly or ward scale, of all Party members living in the territory, must be introduced as a regular feature of Party life. This will help a great deal in stimulating the activities of all Party organizations and individual Party members living in the territory, and will make them conscious of their political role and tasks.

#### *Conclusion.*

The improvement of the political life and function of the Party organization must be accompanied by an improvement in the system of collection of dues and of attendance. This calls for careful selection of membership directors, financial secretaries, and the establishment of well-functioning commissions on a State, county, assembly, or section scale.

The carrying out of the above decisions, accompanied by intensified education and political discussion in all the organizations, by intensified political activity in the shops, trade-unions, mass organizations, and the communities, will enable us to go forward with the circulation drives of the three Party dailies, to extend our agitation among the broad masses, and to carry through intensive recruiting.

Onward in building the Party, to make of it the dynamic force moving the masses toward achieving a powerful antifascist democratic front!

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#### REPORT ON THE TRAINING OF CADRES BETWEEN THE 9TH AND 10TH CONVENTIONS OF THE PARTY

This report covers the activities of the School Commission between the 9th and 10th Conventions, and deals with the work of the districts.

Only 13 districts sent in reports, some only partial reports. The School Commission can report to the Central Committee marked progress in its work.

During this period 2 National Training Schools of 6 months' duration each were held. One hundred twenty comrades studied in these schools. (See attached report of Comrade Siskind.) To supplement the National Training School, 3 regional schools were organized: 1 for Minnesota and adjacent States (19 students), 1 for the South (15 students), and 1 by the Illinois State Organization and adjacent States (see appended reports).

A special school for the training of forces to work among the Negro people was organized. This was a 10-week school, with 24 comrades attending. A school was contemplated to train forces for work among the National Groups; it was planned but did not materialize due to lack of funds. The New York State organization held a 3-week school for Spanish comrades, and a similar school was just completed by the Texas organization. More attention to this phase of work must be paid in the future, and the National Groups mobilized for this purpose.

Besides the above-mentioned schools, the School Commission, jointly with the New York State organization, held during the summers of 1936 and 1937 5-week, full-time schools for professionals and industrial workers, to train teachers. For the summer of 1938, 3 such schools are being organized with about 150 students—2 in New York for the Eastern Section of the country and 1 in Chicago for the Midwestern States. A number of excellent forces for educational and other activities came forward as a result of these schools.

Another item of importance in this connection is the following: Last summer, Comrade Stachel recommended that we mobilize some professionals and send them, during their vacation, to teach classes in the smaller cities and factory towns. While last summer only 5 comrades were sent out, this summer, as a result of these schools, we will be able to send out about 30 comrades. These comrades pay their own expenses. The larger state organizations should take the initiative to organize their own summer schools for comrades, and thus make a valuable addition to their educational forces.

Another type of school that the School Commission will concentrate on this summer and help develop in the districts, is the full-time, 9-day or 2-week school, especially for trade-union functionaries. These comrades take vacations and in most cases can pay the expenses incurred. They can discuss fundamentally, on a broad theoretical basis, the problems facing the Party, and as a result become more politically alert to their tasks.

## STATES AND DISTRICTS

During this period we can note not only a remarkable growth in the number of schools and classes, but also the development of new types and forms. In New York, besides the full-time day schools, conducted by the State and County Committees (New York), the full-time evening school, 3 to 5 evenings a week, is organized on a section and county scale. This form is well suited to the training of comrades for leadership in units, branches, and in mass organizations; but for the general training of the membership, this is insufficient. For this, additional and more elastic forms should be developed. Analysis of the composition of these evening (full time) schools, shows that the average worker cannot attend school 5 evenings a week, in the first place. In the second place, there are not as yet enough trained forces to man these schools.

In Ohio and California, 1- to 2-day week-end classes were organized, with great success. Factory workers, especially in heavy industry, attend this type of class more readily. California and Massachusetts have also adopted the circuit school method, where a comrade travels and teaches classes in different towns. Illinois succeeded in organizing classes also for Non-Party workers, members of trade-unions. Good progress was made by New York, California, Ohio, Illinois, and Philadelphia, in these schools.

Before the 9th Convention of the Party the 2- to 6-week full-time schools were the predominant types. After the 9th Convention, especially in 1937-38, full-time schools of 12 weeks' duration were organized (New York). The reports indicated that there were held:

21 schools from 2 to 12 weeks.....	425 students.
10 schools from 1 to 2 weeks.....	247 students.
22 week-end schools.....	385 students.

Numerous classes—3 to 5 evenings—in which Branch and Unit functionaries were trained were conducted during this period.

Notwithstanding the general advance made by a number of districts, some important districts lag sadly behind, when we consider the problems facing them. This is due not wholly to the absence of forces, but rather to the failure to concentrate on this problem and find a solution. Proof that most districts can at least partially solve the problem of training their own forces is Minneapolis, where Comrade Darcy paid special attention to the training of personnel and promoted this phase of work, and Ohio, where Comrades Williamson and Winters made a special concentration on the training of cadres.

## THE SOUTH

Texas and Florida are doing some good work in this field. Alabama is coming along, but most states cannot develop this work with their own forces at present. Help must be given to them, and the best form for the present would be circuit schools. A suitable comrade should be assigned to the South to this task by the Central Committee.

The School Commission paid special attention to the training of Southern comrades by organizing the Southern Regional School in Philadelphia. Students came from Philadelphia, Virginia, West Virginia, Tennessee, Washington, D. C., Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas. The entire orientation of the school was toward the problems of the South. In addition to the curriculum which was planned by the School Commission, there were special lectures by leading district and national comrades on some outstanding current developments. Supplementary to, and as part of their theoretical training, the students attended a number of meetings of Party organizations in Philadelphia. This type of activity proved very valuable in that it gave the students a picture of the various activities in which the Party is engaged. The composition of the student body showed that greater attention must be paid by the districts to the problem of selection. All the comrades made considerable progress, and the school helped to develop a number of good forces for work in the South.

## EDUCATION FOR WORK AMONG THE NEGRO PEOPLE

All schools had a fair representation of Negro comrades, but continued concentration on this phase of the work must be exerted. Progress was made through the organization of the James W. Ford Training School for work among the Negro people.

Students were present from the following states: Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, Virginia, and Maryland. The core of the curriculum was History of the Negro people, the Problems of the Negro people in the United States, and the solution of these problems. The National Negro Congress, and the development of the United Negro People's Front generally, received special attention. All other subjects were built around this central core. The comrades at all times showed great interest in current struggles and discussed the problems before the Party continually. This showed itself especially in their study of the material on the trial of the Right-Trotskyite bloc of assassins, and in the discussion of the draft resolutions of the Tenth Party Convention.

The main aim of the Central Committee in establishing this school was accomplished, and a number of important forces for work in the South and among the Negro people generally were given a political foundation. The Southern Regional School, with a composition of about 50% Negro comrades, also contributed to this work.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL AREAS

In the present situation, it is very important to train forces for work in the countryside as rapidly as possible. We must admit that not much was done in this field. The state organizations have not as yet undertaken to solve this problem in a serious manner. The next task of the School Commission, with the cooperation of the Agricultural Commission, must be to find ways and means to develop this work. The districts must, nevertheless, themselves start some activities, and this concerns all districts of the Party.

#### WOMEN

The number of women in our schools and classes has increased. But we must admit that not enough is being done to train women in the trade-unions, auxiliaries, mass organizations, domestics, and housewives. Very often it is advisable to organize special classes for women to discuss the problems that interest them especially.

#### YOUTH

Some help was given to the youth, and all schools had a fair proportion of comrades active in Y. C. L. work. The educational work in the Y. C. L. has been extended; nevertheless, not enough schools were organized by the Y. C. L. to train leaders for the American youth. No special help was given by the districts to the Y. C. L. The entire Party must help the Y. C. L. establish full-time schools for the training of forces. A national school for 30 comrades to last two months is planned for this Fall.

#### QUANTITY AND QUALITY

The leap the Party made in the number of schools and classes during the last year did not always result in the proportional increase in the quality of our work. To improve the quality of our work, persistent and conscious efforts must be made. It is necessary to pay particular attention to:

(a) *Selection.*—The selection of comrades to the National Training School improved, but the same cannot be said about the comrades sent to the other schools. The instructions of Comrade Browder in regard to selection are not lived up to in many cases. Sending a comrade to a full-time school is a real promotion, and the decision of our Conventions and the policy of the Central Committee as to the promotion of cadres must be adhered to.

(b) *Planning.*—We can state that all schools organized by the Central Committee are well planned as to physical arrangements, program, and personnel. The same cannot be said for all State and District schools. There as yet is too much left to chance. (In most cases, this is due to the absence of qualified teachers and organizers.) Schools, in the words of Comrade Browder, produce our means of production. As in all Socialist production, two things are essential, good material and skill. We must produce that skill. It can be produced in two ways: (1) assign the most experienced comrades to organize and lead the school work; and (2) "educate the educators."

(c) *Method.*—The main problem in Communist education is concreteness, the unity of theory and practice, the integration of our main aim with the problems facing the Party at the present historical moment, and the connection of daily

tasks with those problems. Otherwise, the whole thing becomes abstract. Special attention to this problem is now urgent in all the school work.

(d) *Curricula* of our schools must be worked out in detail. It must take into consideration not only the general Party program, but also the peculiar problems and historical background of that section of the population to which the comrade will carry the message of the Party. The political development of the comrades, their background, and the specific situation, as well as the problems confronting that part of the country, plus the time available for these schools, must be the basis for the organization of the curricula. In the National School for special training in Negro work, for instance, material on the history of the Negro people in the United States, their problems and the solution of these problems by the Party, and the developing movements among the Negro people were made the core of the curriculum. Other subjects were made to fit in this scheme. In this manner, the course was made interesting, alive, and concrete.

(e) *Reading Material*.—Special attention should be devoted to the careful selection and preparation of suitable material for our course, integrating the basic teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, with the problems confronting the Party. Together with this, comrades in all Party schools should be taught to understand the decisions of the Party and recognize that speeches of Comrade Browder and other leading members of the Central Committee are directives to follow; that the "Daily Worker" and the "Communist" are the mobilizing instruments of the Party for the carrying out into life of the tasks facing us.

(f) *Apparatus*.—A factor that tends to hinder the constant political quality of the work of the schools is the tendency to transfer comrades who are making good in this field of work to other activity, on the one hand. On the other hand, comrades who continue in educational activities and especially in school work are seldom drawn into participation in the leading bodies of the Section, County, or State. This by itself tends to make those comrades less sensitive to the problems facing the Party. In too many cases, educational activity is considered of secondary importance and comrades accept it with reluctance. We must see to it that in all cases the comrades put in charge of this work must be members of leading bodies of the Party. In this way they can help the other comrades orientate in the problems, tasks, and tactical line of the Party; otherwise, the schools will not always enable the Party to produce "politically trained and technically skilled leading people" (Browder).

The tasks ahead are:

(1) To extend our activities not only to the large cities, but also to the smaller cities and towns. More evening classes, week-end and full-time schools must be organized. The existing Workers' Schools must be strengthened and new ones opened. Circuit schools must be established where permanent classes cannot be organized.

(2) To improve the quality of our work, text books and study material must be produced. The publication and distribution of Marxist-Leninist literature by our Party has grown enormously. Nevertheless, the production of study material still lags. This problem was repeatedly discussed and some steps taken to remedy the situation, but we must admit that we have not as yet succeeded. We must have reading material, text books, and up-to-date outlines for all schools and classes. They must be individualized and adapted to the section of the country, industry, or particular section of the population from which the comrades come and in which they will be active. To carry out this task, the School Commission must establish a special department with a qualified comrade in charge.

(3) To train teachers and organizers for school work. Comrades who were graduated from the National Training School and other important schools, should help in this work.

(4) There is a demand for a Marxist-Leninist Correspondence Institute or University. Units and individual comrades away from the central points, sympathizers, militant workers and farmers, professionals, etc., seek clarification on the Party program and help in the understanding of Marxism-Leninism, as well as answers to ever-more complex problems. We must reach them and give them that help. This can be accomplished through an established correspondence institute. Many colleges and universities conduct courses in this manner. The American people are used to this method of study. We do not have to follow the capitalist methods, but we can adapt them to our needs. The forces are here. They may need some training. But on the whole, it is high time to organize such courses.

Recognizing these problems, the Central Committee has at present assigned some valuable additional forces to the School Commission. With the close coop-

eration of the State and District Committees, we can extend our work, improve its quality, and be of real help in transforming our Party into a real Bolshevik, mass Party.

Comradely submitted.

UOPWA  
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SCHOOL COMMISSION CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

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#### LESSONS OF THE PRIMARY CAMPAIGN

The fact that the slate of Thomas Kennedy for governor polled over half a million votes in the Democratic primaries in May was a victory for labor. The large vote for Lieutenant Governor Kennedy, secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers Union, was a signal to the democratic chieftains that labor must be reckoned with in the councils of the Party. The large Kennedy vote checked those reactionaries within the Democratic Party who wanted to ignore labor in formulating the program and in the key positions of the Party. Primarily, the half million votes represented the great strength of labor in the State of Pennsylvania. The great United Mine Workers and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee of the C. I. O., together with other powerful C. I. O. unions in the basic industries of Pennsylvania, such as hosiery, and textile, radio, and other industries, had succeeded in becoming powerful factors in the political life of the state, together with the progressives in the A. F. of L. and the Railroad brotherhoods. The Kennedy slate was also successful in the farm counties, carrying most of the counties of the state and losing out mainly in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, where they also polled substantial votes in spite of strong machines against them.

The half million votes for Kennedy was a victory for the New Deal. The combined Democratic vote totalled 1,300,000, for the three slates running. All three of these slates professed their acceptance of the New Deal and of Roosevelt as their leader. The New Deal was not the main issue. The issue was whether labor was to play a role in the councils of the Democratic Party. The outcome was that labor, by polling a half million votes from labor—both C. I. O. and A. F. of L.—from farmers and middle class professionals, became a commanding factor in the state political set-up.

The Democratic Party, however, emerged from the primaries with some difficulties that must be overcome to insure victory against reaction. First, all progressive forces in the state must be activated, especially the decisive labor forces and the most progressive elements supporting the Kennedy ticket. Old sores which in some cases linger must be healed up by the bringing forward of labor to its rightful place in the Democratic ranks.

The Communist Party, in putting up its own ticket, makes its main aim the victory of democracy over reaction. At this time the achievement of socialism is not possible. The main issue of this campaign is not socialism versus capitalism. The main issue of the campaign is progress, democracy, and security, against reaction, union smashing, and fascism. It is this realization that prompts the Communist Party to make as its main aim, not the rolling up of a record vote for its own ticket, but by the independent campaign conducted by the Communist Party, to insure to the defeat of Reactionary Republicanism.

The Communist Party puts up its own candidates in the present elections (Mother Bloor for Governor, Pat Toohy for United States Senator, and Benjamin Caeruthers for Lieutenant Governor, in order to facilitate the work of the party in organizing the democratic front of all progressives in the state to defeat reaction. The Communist Party, in putting up its own ticket, points out the shortcomings in the program of the Democratic Party. We put forward our own program and platform in the present elections, the platform adopted at the 10th National Convention of the Party and adapted to the needs of the state. We point out the need, in order to insure victory, for the democrats to raise relief standards, to champion the demands of the Negro people, the farmers, the youth, the middle class in the cities. We bring before the people the need for an aggressive campaign to back President Roosevelt's program for quarantining the aggressor nations who are now trying to spread war throughout the world. We organize the people to defend democratic Spain and China. We bring before the people an exposure of the reactionary character of red-baiting. We educate the people as to the

need for socialism if poverty, war, and unemployment are finally to be abolished and point to the shining example of the Soviet Union which has created a new socialist society. We stimulate all progressive forces into activity.

If the election campaign is to be won for progress and democracy, labor must be brought forward as an outstanding part of the leadership of the Democratic Party. The independent organizations of the workers, Labor's Non-Partisan League, Progressive Voters Leagues and other independent organizations of labor must be brought forward and galvanized into action as one of the main forces for again manifested by the statement of William Green endorsing the reactionary Davis. The fact that James McDevitt, head of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, has denounced Green's strike-breaking and splitting statement and that other state leaders of the A. F. of L. are preparing to follow suit, and join with McDevitt in endorsement of the Jones-Earle slate, shows that Green is having a harder and harder time to prevent trade union unity in Pennsylvania. Trade Union unity of the C. I. O., together with the membership of the A. F. of L. is necessary on an increasing scale if reaction is to be defeated.

In order to insure victory over reaction, the Democratic Party must draw the necessary lessons from the primaries and vigorously champion the rights of the Negro people and the demands of the farmers. Only by bringing forward the needs of these large sections of the population can the Democratic Party hope to defeat reaction.

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#### REPORT OF CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION C. P. U. S. A. TO THE TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION, END OF MAY 1938

The work of the C. C. C. during the past two years, since the 9th Convention of the Party, has, in the main, followed the same general lines that prevailed during the preceding two years (between the 8th and 9th Conventions), and the results, shortcomings and lessons of this work are also practically the same.

In the matter of getting proper and prompt reports on *all* disciplinary cases arising in the various districts, sections, and units of the Party, the C. C. C. has obtained slightly better results than previously, but there are still a few districts which continue to neglect this necessary routine.

In the handling of appeals, in the passing upon public exposures, and in dealing directly with cases involving national functionaries or otherwise requiring C. C. C. attention, it merits recording that, without a single exception the proceedings and decisions of the C. C. C. have always met with unqualified approval of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the Party.

The shortcoming of not having given sufficiently wide publicity to lessons that can be drawn from certain individual cases, or from certain categories of cases, still remains; although by correspondence and by circulars sent out for distribution to all sections and isolated units, the C. C. C. has drawn attention to them, has repeatedly called for greater vigilance against class enemies, and, as pointed out in C. C. C. report to the Ninth Convention, has urged action directed toward "preventing, precluding and obviating violations of Party policies and discipline, various deviations from the Party line, factionalism, bureaucracy, financial irresponsibility, and lack of care in the selection of functionaries and of candidates."

#### FINANCIAL CONTROL

In agreement with the Central Committee of the Party, the C. C. C. has taken upon itself, since the middle of 1937, the additional task of supervising the audits of the financial books and records of the Central Committee and of its enterprises.

The C. C. C. is, therefore, in a position to certify that such audits have been properly made, and that the financial reports submitted to this Convention are correct.

In October 1937, the C. C. C. issued to all Party managers, treasurers, accountants and auditors a set of rules and guiding points on accounting and auditing applicable to larger enterprises. The necessity for proper budgeting, for keeping books up-to-date, for internal check-up and strict managerial control, and for proper audits cannot be overemphasized. Strict attention must be paid to financial questions and to auditing arrangements on the part of comrades holding responsible posts in mass organizations, especially trade unions.

## GENERAL STATUS OF DISCIPLINE

On the basis of statistics of disciplinary cases for 1936 and 1937, as compared with previous years, it can be definitely stated that the general status of discipline in the Party has continued to improve very substantially.

While the average number of expulsions per year during 1933, 1934, and 1935 was 343, the average for 1936 and 1937 is only 188. Yet the Party membership has at the same time more than doubled, so that the rate of expulsions has fallen from an average of 1.26% for 1933-34-35, to only 0.4% for 1936-37.

A detailed schedule of disciplinary cases for 1936 (analyzed by districts and by causes) was submitted to the June 1937 Plenum of the Central Committee.

The detailed schedule for 1937, submitted herewith, shows that the highest rate of expulsions (for 1937) obtained in Nebraska; namely, over 16%, half of which (5 cases) was for Trotskyism. Next, in order, come—Utah with 1.18% and Iowa with 1.10%. Among the larger districts (where percentages begin really to mean something), Distr. 6 (Cleveland) leads with .93%; then comes D. 12 (Seattle) with .67%; then D. 13 (Calif.) with .57%; and then D. 2 (New York) with .47%.

As to causes, the greatest number of 1937 expulsions fall into the category of general irresponsibility (drunkenness, moral looseness, etc.), namely, 42 cases (or approx. 17% of the total). Next, in order, come—37 cases of general unreliability (politically untrustworthy, spy suspects, etc.); then 36 cases of Trotskyism (or approx. 15%), 21 of general disruption, 15 of financial dishonesty (thieves and swindlers), 15 spies, 11 financially irresponsible, 10 careerists and turn-coats, 8 Lovestoneites, etc.

The number of inner disciplinary actions (censures, removals, warnings) has also decreased from 197 cases in 1935 to an average of 104 in 1936 and 1937 (96 cases in 1936 and 112 in 1937). The largest single category of the latter, as far as causes are concerned, was under the head of general irresponsibility; namely, 22 cases (or about 20%). Financial irresponsibility (irregularities and looseness) accounted for 12 cases (or about 10%).

Of readmissions into the Party of previously expelled persons, there were 31 in 1935, 18 in 1936, and 40 in 1937.

It is noteworthy that there were 32 expulsions of Trotskyites in 1935, 12 in 1936, and 36 in 1937. For Lovestoneites, the corresponding figures were: 2 in 1935, none in 1936, and 8 in 1937. These figures do not include expulsions from the YCL. It must be recognized that there is now hardly any difference between the Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, and that the Party must be especially on guard against these unscrupulous cheats and disrupters, who, on every burning issue of the day, actually serve as agents of fascism and reaction, while mouthing "left" phrases unrelated to these issues.

With the growth of the Party and the still greater growth of its influence, increased vigilance is needed also against spies, swindlers, and careerists, who, similarly to Trotskyites and Lovestoneites, try to sneak into the ranks of the Party under false pretenses. The important provision of the proposed Party Constitution, that only those are eligible for membership in the Party "whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned," must, therefore, be given serious attention during the process of recruiting new members, especially of those whose applications are secured in open meetings. If no endorser for an application can be found, who would be satisfied on this point, then a discreet check-up can still be made within a short time after the technical acceptance of the application, and the acceptance can be voided if the check-up should result in negative findings.

The same precautions should be taken toward guarding against morally or politically untrustworthy persons (drunkards, degenerates, generally irresponsible and unreliable) who are apt to bring discredit to the Party.

## FUTURE TASKS OF THE C. C. C.

As reiterated in the proposed amended Constitution of the Party (Art. IX and X, which provide also for changing the name to "National Control Commission"), the C. C. C. will have, in the main, the same general tasks as during the latter part of the period preceding this Convention: 1) To act as the central disciplinary body of the Party; 2) To supervise auditing; 3) In general, to inculcate throughout the Party the necessary vigilance against alien and hostile elements.

As far as supervision of auditing is concerned, the Constitution clearly places the financial books and records of the National Committee of the Party and its

enterprises under these supervisions. It stands to reason that it may be extended to cover auditing rules in general and auditing work in various subdivisions of the Party in particular.

The duty to see that Party unity and discipline are properly maintained and strengthened will involve responsibility for the functioning of the state or district disciplinary committees according to certain general rules, including the matter of getting prompt reports from lower subdivisions of the Party and of transmitting these reports and reports on their own actions to the C. C. C. It will involve making investigations and decisions on appeals and on such cases as are referred to the C. C. C. by the Central Committee, etc., as provided in the Constitution.

The C. C. C. will have to pay special attention also to what might be termed "preventive work." Ways and means will have to be found for spreading throughout the Party certain concrete lessons on guarding against alien and hostile elements, against agents of the class enemy, and on exercising the necessary vigilance in recruiting work and in the selection and promotion of leading personnel and public representatives of the Party.

Especially will this be necessary in view of the rapid growth of the Party and the great increase of its influence among the widest masses of American people.

*Schedule of expulsions for the year 1937*

Abbrev.—(1) Lovestoneites; (2) Trotskyites; (3) White Chauvinists; (4) Petty-bourgeois Right Opportunists; (5) Careerists and turncoats; (6) Unprincipled factionalists; (7) Generally Disruptive; (8) Gen. Irresponsible (drunkards, etc.); (9) Financially irresponsible; (10) Fin. Dishonest (thieves and swindlers); (11) Gen. Unreliable (spy suspects, scabs, etc.); (12) Spies and provocateurs.



District	1. Lov.	2. Tro.	3. W. C.	4. Rt. Op.	5. Car. T.	6. Fact.	7. Dsr.	8. Irr.	9. Fin. Irr.	10. Fin. Dis.	11. Un-Spy r.	12	Miscl.	Tot.	Rate	1936 Totals
1. N. E.		3			1			1		1	1			7	.50	61
2. N. Y.	8	21		2	6		6	16	6	8	10	2	19	104	.47	4
3. Phila		2			2		1	4		2	1			12	.05	4
4. Kans.																
5. Ohio		1				1	1	5	1	2	3	6	6	25	.93	9
6. Mich												2		3	.18	7
7. Ill.			1											1	.02	5
8. Minn						2					1		2	5	.39	1
9. Neb.		5						2		2	2			10	16.67	4
10. Wash.				3		2		3			4	2	1	15	.67	20
12. Wash.						1		6		1	6	2		27	.57	8
13. Cal		3				1	8	6			1		1	3	.29	2
14. N. J.								1			1			3	.30	1
15. Conn.											1			1	.81	1
16. N. C.														1		
17. Ala.								3						4	.69	3
18. Wisc.						1					1			2	.65	2
19. Colo								1			1			3	.66	1
20. Tex											1			1	.21	1
21. Mo.														1		1
22. W. Va														2		2
23. Ky														1	.91	1
24. La									1					1	.26	1
25. Fla														1	.36	1
27. Mich					1						1			1	.92	1
30. Mont										1				1	.29	1
31. Okla							1					1		1	1.10	1
32. Iowa														1		1
33. Md									2		1			4	.44	1
34. Utah		1												1	1.18	1
35. Utah														1		1
Totals	8	36	1	5	10	7	21	42	11	15	37	15	35	243	.45	132
1936		12	1	7	11	5	13	13	8	21	15	11	15	132		132
1935	2	32	10	20		18	64	46	25	36	31	20	39	346		346

*Inner Disciplinary Actions, 1937*

	Fin. Irresp. & Loose	Gen. Irresp.	Viola P. Line	Disrup-tive	Miscel.	Tot.	1936 Tot.
2. N. Y.	3	9	4	3	36	55	66
3. Phila.		6	2	3	6	17	1
6. Ohio	3					3	3
7. Mich.		1	1			2	1
8. Ill.	1			4	2	7	3
12. Wash.				3		3	
13. Calif.	2	4		2	6	14	18
14. N. J.	1				2	3	1
18. Wis.	1					1	
19. Colo.		1				1	
20. Tex.		1				1	
23. Ky.					1	1	
25. Fla.	1				1	2	2
34. Md.					2	2	
1. N. E.							1
Total:	12	22	7	15	56	112	96
1936	7	14	11	10	54	96	

*Readmissions, 1937*

	Lov-ites.	Trot-ites.	Oppor-tun.	Irresp.	Miscel.	Tot.	1936 Total
2. N. Y.	1			14	14	29	12
6. Ohio				2	1	3	
7. Mich.				1		1	
8. Ill.					1	1	1
10. Nebr.				1		1	1
12. Wash.					1	1	
13. Cal.				3		3	
19. Colo.							1
20. Tex.					1	1	2
26. S. D.							1

MAY 1938.

## REPORT ON FARM WORK AND OUR TASKS

## MATERIAL FOR THE FARM COMMISSION, TENTH PARTY CONVENTION

*Review.*—The Ninth Party Convention and the subsequent Central Committee meetings have stressed the importance of uniting the progressive farm movement, of building the farmer-labor alliance, and of organizing the unorganized farmers to defeat reaction in rural districts. There have been definite advances in the direction of these objectives.

*Unity.*—In the Mid-West the Farm Holiday Association and in the South Share Croppers Union united with the National Farmers Union last year. Independent groups in New York, Louisiana, and California are being urged to unite with the Farmers Union.

*Coughlinitic Influence.*—Two years ago the Coughlinites were choking everything progressive in the Farmers Union. Last year the Coughlinites were eliminated from leadership in the Alabama Farmers' Union and they suffered defeats in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In the last National Convention of the Union, the last of the Coughlinites were eliminated from national leadership. The progressive leaders have revoked the Coughlinitic-controlled charters in Minnesota and Michigan with the aim of restoring them to active progressive elements at the next convention. Coughlinites remain in control of "vest pocket" State unions in Illinois and Indiana and maintain influence in the Iowa Union. A more vigorous campaign against Coughlinitic elements is needed to stop them from splitting the Union, to remove them from leadership completely in all Farmers Union States, and to check their efforts to block progressive action in the Union.

*Farmer-Labor Alliance.*—The chartering of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America by the C. I. O. last year gave birth to a rapid organizing drive among farm and cannery workers. The Union has grown

to 118,000 members. With its policy of cooperation with small farmers, it is the most important single factor in the development of a farmer-labor alliance.

While in several States the Farmers Union was actively cooperating with labor, the last national convention authorized the National Board to work out forms of cooperation with labor on a permanent basis. This was done last December when the Farmers Union signed a legislative pact with Labor's Non-Partisan League and the C. I. O., and, later, when this agreement was extended to include efforts to have consumer cooperatives deal directly with the farmers. Other farm organizations in New York, California, and Louisiana are cooperating with labor. While good beginnings have been made to develop farmer-labor political conferences and other forms of cooperation in every rural area.

*Organization.*—The Farmers Union has appointed Southern and Eastern Organizing Committees which can serve as a springboard for mass organizing drives. The possibilities of uniting all progressive farm leaders, with the cooperation of labor, for a national organizing drive among small farmers are very good and every effort should be made to crystallize this movement as soon as possible. Ohio and Massachusetts have made small beginnings in this work. In Minnesota a real organizing drive is under way.

*Reactionary Movements.*—The pro-fascist Associated Farmers on the West Coast have already spread into seven Rocky Mountain states with the immediate objective of crushing organization of agricultural and other labor. Here it is very important to organize small farmers in alliance with labor as quickly as possible to defeat this movement. The Corn Belt Liberty League has sprung up in the last month to corral farm support to defeat the New Deal in the elections. Here it is important to expand the Farmers Union and other pro-New Deal farm groups to defeat this movement.

*Party Building.*—In Alabama seventy, and in Minnesota and Wisconsin sixty, farmers were recruited during the Party Building Drive. It was in these states that the best advances were made in mass farm work. Some of the larger districts either failed to recruit farmers or recruited very few, so the percentage of farmers in the Party has declined nationally. While some Districts are recognizing this weakness, especially in the elections, the Party as a whole must lose no time in recruiting large numbers of farmers.

The ground work for much greater progress in the future has thus been laid, and with full cooperation of the Districts, the movement among farmers should grow much faster.

*Economic Situation.*—The developing economic crisis is bringing even greater destitution to small farmers. The ratio of farm to non-farm prices dropped from 101 in January 1937 to 81 in January 1938, or 20%. Its significance is better understood by comparison with the same index from August 1929 to August 1930, when the drop was 18.2%.

National farm income dropped from \$10.5 billion in 1929 to \$4.5 billion in 1932, and last year it had increased to only \$8.3 billion (including AAA subsidies), while farm population has increased by 1,500,000. In 1937 the average per capita cash farm income was still 19% less than 1929. Considering that in 1929 fifty per cent of the farmers marketed only 11% of the cash crops, the per capita income for these families was only \$74. Now, the bottom half of the farmers is getting even less. About a million farmers have been receiving some form of relief from the government.

The number of 3 to 9 acre (subsistence) farms increased by 70%, as compared to an 8% increase for all farms between 1930-35. Farm tenancy increased 7.5% in the same period. Concentration of land ownership in the 1935 Census report by the fact that 18.6% of all farms (those 175 acres and over) had 66.6% of all land in farms.

While total mortgage indebtedness declined from \$9 billions to \$7.5 billion between 1930-35, this was accomplished by foreclosures on over 1,300,000 farms. Today there are more than 1,600,000 owner-operated farms under mortgage and the average size of mortgages have increased from 40 to 50% of the farm value.

Unpaid family labor on farms increased 2½ times between 1930 and 1935. Total agricultural wages dropped from \$1 billion to half this figure in the same period. In 1934 over 280,000 farmers reported off-the-farm earning as farm wage hands. In 1929 only 7,875 farms, each producing about \$30,000 in crops, accounted for 11% of the total wages of farm labor. Eastern, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Coast states accounted for the highest expenditures for farm labor. An increase in the use of farm machinery on large farms is also significant of the last 5 years.

It is evident that agriculture had not recovered from the last crisis and that the vast majority of small farmers (owners and tenants) are in a much worse

condition at the beginning of the present crisis. The capitalist development on large farms is proceeding. Small farmers are being driven into greater poverty, thousands of them off the land, and many more thousands out of commercial production. Mass struggles of farmers for existence on the land will increase as the effects of the crisis get sharper.

*Democratic front.*—The largest farm organizations (the National Grange, with 800,000 members, the Farm Bureau Federation, with 410,000 members, and most of the cooperatives, with a total of 3,280,000 members), suffer from conservative, bureaucratic leadership that lines up with reaction against the New Deal. However, these organizations have supported all New Deal farm measures (with occasional reservations), and most of their programs oppose fascism but support isolationist peace policies. The bulk of the members are small and middle-sized farmers who traditionally hate Wall Street. The conservative leaders are being forced into the position of having their members demanding better farm legislation and more farm aid, while they still support reactionary Republicans who advocate "hands off the farmer". The possibility of progressive New Deal and labor forces drawing these organizations into a broad democratic front movement against the trusts and to improve the farmers' welfare should be explored everywhere.

The American Youth Congress made a beginning in work among rural and farm youth. As a result, progressive farm youth leaders, in cooperation with the AYC, are planning for a Rural Youth Congress. The 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America, Farmers Union Juniors, Junior divisions of the Grange and Farm Bureau, the American Country Life Association, and so on, are being involved in this movement. Every possibility of furthering a Rural Youth Congress and the election of progressive youth leaders should be encouraged, and similarly, support for the World Youth Congress in August, with special emphasis on convincing young people of a collective security peace program.

The progressive movement should initiate Farmer-labor conferences everywhere possible, on the basis of the Farmers Union-LNPL agreement, to further develop the democratic front movement and influence the members of the larger farm organizations. In every election campaign, the progressive forces should put forward a clear program for farmers and secure full participation of farm groups in the campaigns.

While the New Deal has tackled a few of the major farm problems, the results are far from satisfactory, with a strong tendency to benefit only the middle and large farmers.

The *Agricultural Adjustment Act* has raised prices of the major crops through curtailment of production. The prices are far below cost of production and amendments to raise prices to approach cost of production should be proposed. Also, protection for small farmers by establishing the average production on a family-sized farm as the minimum marketing quota should be proposed. Soil conservation work under the AAA should be increased.

The *Farm Tenant Act* was passed after a five-year struggle for a land program. It is supposed to provide loans to rehabilitate tenants and sharecroppers, to refinance heavily mortgaged farmers and for purchase of farms by landless farmers. Reactionaries in Congress sabotaged this program through limitation of funds. One of our chief demands should be for large increases in the appropriations for the Farm Security Administration.

The *Agricultural Marketing Agreements Act* empowers the Department of Agriculture to work out agreements between farmers and dealers to regulate marketing and establish minimum prices for milk, fruits, and vegetables. This Act should be revised to insure adequate protection for the farmers, and guard against Trust control.

A *Production Loan Appropriation* of \$50 million has been authorized by Congress each year since 1931 to provide credit for farmers. The size of this appropriation should be enlarged and administration transferred from the conservative Farm Credit Administration to the Farm Security Administration.

A *key demand for each of these measures is More Democracy.*—In every case these measures should be amended to insure control by small farmers. The struggle for democratic control in the county and state administrative committees will sharpen the conflict between farmers and the bankers and landlords and guarantee all possible benefits from legislation to the farmers.

The *Federal Land Banks*, which hold 40% of the farm mortgage debt and own about 10% of the farm land outright, are in danger of being taken over by the

Wall Street bankers. The progressive movement should demand continued government control plus thorough changes in policy to democratize them and make them serve the interests of the small farmers instead of bailing out the insurance companies.

Around the larger towns and cities, labor and farmers should cooperate to establish either farmer or municipal control of marketing to reach the consumer by the shortest route and eliminate racketeers and middlemen. This direct form of farmer-labor cooperation can win the support of independent grocers and consumers. Farmers should be encouraged to place a Union Label on their dairy products, fruits and vegetables.

State and national programs should include demands for mortgage moratoriums, increased relief, protection and financial aid for cooperatives, curbing of the trusts and monopolies, rural electrification, homestead tax exemption up to \$10,000 and the graduated land tax, liberal production credit, and so forth.

In all cases, the farmers must be urged to support a collective security peace policy. So far, the strongest isolationist tendencies exist among rural people.

Through exploring and using all avenues of contact with farmers and farm leaders, through development of a broad farmer-labor alliance, and through a real party building drive among farmers, it will be possible to build a strong democratic front involving the masses of farmers for security, peace, and democracy.

*Principle Farm Organization Memberships by States*

State	Total Farmers	Grange	Farm Bureau	Farmers Union	All Co-ops	Independent
New England.....	158,240	140,000	10,430	100		
New York.....	177,000	135,000	39,000		124,200	12,000
Pennsylvania.....	191,284	68,000	500	2,500		
Ohio.....	255,146	80,000	19,000	3,000	167,600	
Michigan.....	196,500	25,000	8,500	3,000	129,600	
Indiana.....	200,835		29,300	1,000	160,100	
Illinois.....	231,312		64,100	1,000	269,630	
Minnesota.....	203,302		28,350	3,000	332,100	
Wisconsin.....	199,890		1,500	3,000	192,500	
Iowa.....	221,986		38,090	3,000	259,480	
North Dakota.....	881,606			15,000	87,630	
South Dakota.....	83,303			8,000		
Missouri.....	278,454		5,895	1,000	174,150	
Kansas.....	174,590	15,000	16,227	4,000		
Nebraska.....	133,600		8,130	16,000	150,770	
Oklahoma.....	213,312			20,000		
Texas.....	501,000		14,350	1,000		
California.....	150,360	22,000	24,150	1,000	77,380	1,000
Oregon.....	64,826	22,000	350	1,000		
Washington.....	84,381	35,000	1,000	1,000		
Louisiana.....	170,216		5,780	1,000		10,000
Mississippi.....	311,683		9,090	200		
Alabama.....	273,455		19,610	3,000		
Tennessee.....	273,783		7,900			
Arkansas.....	253,013		14,565	1,000		
Georgia.....	250,544			200		
Carolinas.....	466,470		7,900			
Virginia.....	197,632		4,427			
Kentucky.....	278,298		12,600	200		
United States.....	6,812,350	800,000	410,000	110,000	3,280,000	Large

*Cooperatives by commodities*

Commodity	Number	Members	Business
Dairy Products.....	2,300	750,000	\$410,000,000
Grain.....	3,125	580,000	315,000,000
Livestock.....	1,197	110,000	175,000,000
Fruit & Vegetables.....	1,082	158,000	200,000,000
Poultry.....	164	85,000	53,000,000
Miscellaneous.....	925	507,000	160,000,000
Purchasing.....	1,906	790,000	187,000,000
United States.....	10,700	3,280,000	1,530,000,000

NOTE.—Grange, Co-op, and Independent Unions membership figures by states are not complete.

MAY 1938.

## INFORMATION MEMORANDUM ON THE PEOPLE'S HEALTH ISSUE

The question of the people's health is a major political issue. The toiling masses are suffering from appallingly bad health conditions caused by their poverty and lack of medical care, and these must be remedied by political action. These conditions are becoming increasingly more acute, especially in the slum and poor rural districts, because of lowered standards of living produced by the industrial crisis. The U. S. Public Health Service has completed a survey of three-quarters of a million families which shows the devastating results of the last crisis. The shocking rates of sickness and premature death revealed in this report are growing rapidly worse as the present crisis develops. The U. S. Surgeon General, Dr. Thomas J. Parran, has stated, in testifying before the Special Committee on Unemployment and Relief, on March 16, 1938, that:

"The great majority of the unemployed are unable to buy food, clothing, and shelter. Practically all of them are unable to buy medical care on any basis. None of them can bear the cost of catastrophic serious illness. The excess of illness among the unemployed results from lowered standards of living which they experience. Among relief families, there is more than 12 times the amount of permanent disablement of the family head than among those in comfortable circumstances."

The National Health Survey revealed that every year, 40,000 young people between the ages of 15-45 die from the ravages of tuberculosis. Proper care would cut the death rate by 50%. Every year, 75,000 infants are still-born and more than 60,000 more die during the first month of life. With proper care, these rates could be cut in half. 15,000 women die in child-birth every year in the U. S. More women have died in child-birth in this country, most of them needlessly, during the past 20 years than there were casualties of American soldiers on the battlefields during the World War. 75% of the maternal deaths are preventable. Among the Negro people, statistics of infant and maternal deaths are nearly twice as great as among whites. The devastating disease, silicosis, which destroys the lungs of workers, is one of the worst occupational diseases.

In matters of public health, this country stands today where it was in relation to public education during the middle of the last century. Then, poor people could not send their children to private elementary schools run for profit. Poor people today are without adequate medical care, though this is a necessity of life. Throughout the country, many health movements are on foot, initiated by public as well as private agencies. A welter of legislative bills are pending in many state legislatures and in Congress dealing with some angle or other of the people's health question. Among the doctors, the 430 insurgents, who declared that the health of people is "a direct concern of the government," are ripe for action in support of a people's health movement. This open opposition movement among the physicians in the American Medical Association has now increased to nearly 1,000 members. There is a strong movement for a Federal health program, in which the Roosevelt Administration is displaying interest. The Committee on Economic Security, in its report to President Roosevelt, declared in favor of a "nation-wide Public Health Program, financially and technically aided by the Federal Government." Similarly, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the A. L. P., and many other mass organizations, including the I. W. O. and Workers Alliance, have taken a stand on this issue. The masses are increasingly demanding the right to health, with their other demands for social security.

It is of the utmost importance that we participate in all of these movements. It is necessary that our forces participate in all health issues affecting the people and that our forces shall attach themselves to the existing health agencies in all communities to give support and leadership on so important a political issue. In every State Committee, a Party Health Commission should be set up to take the initiative in developing the fight for the health needs of the people.

A partial solution to the question of bringing adequate medical care to the masses is through a *compulsory national health-insurance plan*, to be paid for by taxation upon the rich. This should include full medical, diagnostic, preventive, and curative care, with periodic medical examinations included as a *preventive* measure. The demand should be raised for *people's health centers* in every community, with the people represented in the administration to air their grievances and adjust complaints. An important means to finance such centers would be through W. P. A. health projects to supplement local and state funds. The

W. P. A. has already built 99 new hospitals and repaired 934 others, while W. P. A. medical and dental clinics have performed services in 9,000,000 instances.

We might fight to extend the Social Security legislation to provide health protection, adequate medical care, health insurance, maternity insurance, safeguards against occupational hazards, liberal Workmen's Compensation Laws, and special provisions to protect women and young workers in industry, as a necessity of life.

"Our Citizens," says the U. S. Surgeon General, Dr. Thomas J. Parran, Jr., "should have an equal opportunity for health as an inherent right, coequal with the right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

The American people, the progressive members of the medical profession who now constitute a powerful opposition movement over the heads of the reactionary hierarchy in the A. M. A., the trade unions, A. L. P. and Farmer-Labor Parties, will rally to the struggle. The broadest possible united front can and should be built around the issue to amend the Social Security Law. This movement to meet the critical health needs of the masses opens up new channels for strengthening the democratic front.

MAY 1938.

### REPORT ON NEGRO WORK

#### MATERIAL FOR THE NEGRO COMMISSION, 10TH PARTY CONVENTION

The main slogan before the people of the country is unity. We have the task of achieving unity in the trade-union movement, unity of the nation, and we have as the main instrument the democratic front as the immediate expression of this unity. The line of the Party to pay special attention to the problems of the Negroes and to begin a more intensified struggle around Negro rights.

When National Negro Unity was on the agenda in 1866-70, it was at that point a struggle for the rights of the Negroes and against the oppressors. Following this unity the reactionaries gained ascendancy and thus we see the basis of the unity of the people flows out of the slave days. This unity can be achieved only on the basis of overcoming the reactionaries. This means struggle against discrimination and also overcoming the contradiction that we are confronted with in the struggle for the Negroes. The only way to overcome it is by doing away with the special form of oppression that they face. The Negroes must not wait for the whites to take on the burden and we must overcome the resistance of the whites to do nothing about it. We must see the necessity of impressing on the Negroes that they must fight in their own interest and that the main instrument is the National Negro Congress. We must break down the resistance among the white people to achieve the unity which is so necessary.

The main link now to be seized is that link around employment discrimination or limitation in employment opportunities. We have here not only the need to unify the Negroes and fight in the interests of the Negroes but many related problems. We must take a stand against monopolies and the fascist organizations. The more we develop this campaign the easier will be the development of the democratic movement.

Now we have a few lessons to draw from this because of the situation confronting the Negroes. There is a tendency in Harlem to incite against the Jews, against the small store keeper and not against the big corporations, the big monopolies. In these there are very few Jews among the Board of Directors. They are usually aryan. The reactionary forces in the Negro neighborhood seize upon the fact that the Jews are small businessmen and say that they are the main enemy. There is a lesson insofar as unity is concerned, unity between Negroes and whites, unity in the trade unions. The key to the whole question is an energetic fight both to organize the Negroes and to force through concessions. Certain concessions have been gained from the monopolies; Negroes have been placed in jobs. With the aid of the Transport Workers' Union we hope to have Negro bus drivers in 1938.

Now to move to the next point which was the discussion how to work among the Negro people. We must find that main mass organization where the people are and we must recognize that to be the church. A lot has been said on how to get into the church. The best way is to join it or one of the many auxiliaries in the church. Every one of us can join one of the organizations in the church and there become leaders in the biggest mass organization among the Negroes. They constitute 8,000,000 out of the 13,000,000 in the United States. Another thing in connection with the church is the Negro youth. The Negro youth to-

day, because of unemployment faces demoralization. They face certain problems which make them subject to propaganda of the fascists. They speak favorably of Hitler and Mussolini and say that we need such people for this country. They speak against discussion on political questions, but when it comes to singing they sing and can teach others to sing. They come to branch meetings only once a week and they do not utilize them.

We must get these comrades who can sing to open our meetings with songs. They can also create songs, new songs in the interest of the people. Then we have the actors in the Party. We have a movement of Negro actors and now we have learned how to use little skits to get over a point. They don't have to be able to read to understand statements. We can utilize these people to put over our political points and propaganda and education work of our sections and districts.

For more than fifty years the A. F. of L. did almost nothing to organize Negro labor. As a matter of fact it barred them through constitutional measures. The top leaders said, "You can't organize Negroes."

The Committee for Industrial Organization has organized more than a quarter million in less than two years.

Why could the C. I. O. do it, and not the A. F. of L.? First of all, the policy of the C. I. O. is a correct one. It is a policy that states clearly, that all workers regardless of race, creed, or color must be organized. Secondly, its correct policy of industrial organization gives greater confidence to workers. The great mass of workers are learning that their best interest can only be protected by such a policy.

For many years the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. refused to grant the Pullman Porters an International Charter, thus hampering the growth of this labor organization. Under the leadership of A. Phillip Randolph, an International Charter was finally won. Today the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is a serious factor in the ranks of Negro labor.

Wherever Negro labor, under the A. F. of L. attempted to organize and protect itself against the employers, the discouraging hand of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. could be felt. The usual method of hamstringing Negro labor, by the officialdom of the A. F. of L. was through "Federal" charters which tied them to the apron strings of reactionaries like Green, Woll, and Hutchinson.

These people tried to place the blame for lack of Trade-Union Organization amongst Negroes, not where it rightly belonged—upon their own shoulders. They blamed the Negro workers.

The whole world knows that Negroes are loyal fighters when given half a chance.

Until the C. I. O. was born, what little trade-union organization there was among Negroes, that is, the ones that joined the A. F. of L. joined in the face of great difficulties. They joined in spite of the barriers erected by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

We must state, however, that there were many white trade-unions who carried on a relentless struggle against the destructive policy of the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. Men who saw many years ago, that only a policy of industrial organization, a policy free of all forms of discrimination because of race, creed, or color, would serve the best interest of the American working class. Outstanding among these was Wm. Z. Foster.

Foster, and many other real builders of the American Labor movement, were expelled from the American Federation of Labor by the same reactionary elements that are now in control of the Executive Council. The clique that is leading the fight against C. I. O. This clique must be halted in its attack on the labor movement. The labor movement must be united. The American working class must be united into one powerful organization based upon the principle of industrial unionism. The Committee for Industrial Organization has shown the way.

Insofar as the Negro worker is concerned, the C. I. O. has proven—if proof were needed—that Negroes are ready, and eager to join the ranks of organized labor. Not only are the Negro workers eager to join unions, but, they have demonstrated their willingness to go the limit in defense of the cause of organized labor.

It is no accident that the C. I. O. has been able to organize over 250,000 Negroes in the short space of 2 years. While the A. F. of L. during 57 years of its existence reluctantly enrolled 40 to 50,000, and this under pressure.

The task confronting our entire party on the question of trade-union unity, is the one of bringing new thousands of Negroes into the unions, especially



C. I. O. unions. However, we must not neglect for a single moment those Negro workers, who, under the impetus of the C. I. O. drive joined the A. F. of L. They must be enlisted in the struggle for trade-union unity.

Our trade-union Commissions must have as one of its chief tasks, the winning over of the great mass of Negro labor into the organized labor movement—into the unions. This means among other things, the training of our whole party membership to be conscious, alert, and vigilant in fighting for job security, and equal opportunity in advancement for Negroes.

Systematic and planned enlightenment work must be carried on amongst the white workers, winning them to struggle against all jim-crow barriers erected against Negro Labor.

It is only by rallying the white workers in defense of Negro labor, against all forms of Negro discrimination, and for equal rights, will we be able to build the powerful labor movement that will stop reaction in its tracks. It is thus we will build the Democratic Front, the Peoples Front, and lay the base for Socialism.

As the menace of fascist reaction threatens the Negro people with double ferocity, there exists the greatest desire for unity among them, United action, greater community cooperation is the foremost need that face the Negro people today.

The struggle of the Negro people for their own freedom and the struggle of the forces of progress and democracy meet on a common ground against their common enemy, against fascist reaction.

The National Negro Congress has come forward as the Herculean helmsman in building the unity of action among the Negro population, of welding unity of all sections of the Negroes in the direction of improving their general lot as well as towards a serious consideration of their problems in the international arena.

The struggle around the antilynching bill which was sponsored by the N. A. A. C. P. occupied a central place in the development of the whole progressive movement in the country. The National Negro Congress was a foremost supporter of this struggle and helped to raised the struggle to new high levels. It was the foremost Negro Peoples' united front organization which carried this struggle into the deep South and strengthened the direct offensive against entrenched landlord and manufacturing class, who are afraid growing progressive movement in the country, and particularly in the south, who are afraid of the rising strength of labor and who are terrorized at the increasing unity of Negro and white in the trade-unions because they know that this is a prelude to unity in political action.

The Second National Negro Congress which met in Philadelphia in October 1937 was attended by 1,200 delegates as compared with 912 delegates who attended the First Congress which met in Chicago in 1936. The Second Congress was a remarkable success over the first. However, the increase in the Congress's numerical strength as indicated by the manner of delegates at the Second Congress does not at all fully indicate the actual strength and influence which the Congress enjoys among the masses. Its prestige is more far-reaching than is indicated by its numerical growth.

The fact that the second National Negro Congress was greeted by President Roosevelt, Farmer-Labor Governor Elmer Benson, of Minnesota, John L. Lewis, and Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, is a striking manifestation of the growing prestige which it has placed upon the recognition of outstanding progressive leaders of the movement for progress and democracy in the country.

The program and aims of the National Negro Congress must be made known to the greatest number of people. Our task is to solicit and secure the active support of every local and national organization of the Negro people in the country and all mixed and white organizations that are willing to join in the fight for economic and social justice for Negroes, such as trade-unions, civic, fraternal, church, business, and professional organizations to help build the Congress and make it a greater success.

As a result of the successful work done by the Congress and because of the important place which it occupies in the American progressive movement, there has arisen a greater desire among millions of Negro people and many progressive white people to establish closer relationship with the National Negro Congress.

There are millions of individual members of organizations who are anxious to support and cooperate with the Congress, but because their respective organization or trade-union may be unaffiliated with the Congress, a closer contact through which they can fully participate has been insufficiently realized.

Existing in the midst of the rapid growth of the democratic and progressive movement in the country, and the necessity of rallying the great masses of the Negro people around and to this movement raises an important task for the National Negro Congress. That is the task of providing for the greatest and fullest participation of millions of individual progressives in the work of the Congress.

The task then, therefore, is to bring the National Negro Congress more effectively and more closer to the Negro population in the country and to provide greater opportunities for the fullest cooperation and participation of all progressives in building the Congress.

The National Negro Congress has inaugurated a campaign to secure Sponsors in the various progressive organizations, trade-unions, clubs, and in the neighborhoods. Individual members of organizations can become official Sponsors of the Congress in their respective organizations or union and among their friends in their communities by contributing a fee of fifty (50) cents for which they will receive National Negro Congress Sponsors Buttons.

Thousands of individuals can be approached to become Sponsors of the Congress. Every effort should be put forth to develop the campaign for sponsors. Individual members of organizations, clubs, and trade unions who are sponsors of the Congress can play a significant role in bringing the Congress into their organization and help to draw the organization into the work of the Congress and prepare the basis for their organization's affiliation to the National Negro Congress.

In the neighborhoods where several Sponsors have been secured in an assembly district or a ward, these people should be brought together to form a Sponsors Club on the A. D. or ward basis. These sponsors Clubs will function under the supervision of the central body of the Congress in a particular borough, county, town, or city.

The question of securing National Negro Congress Sponsors should be one of the central points of preconvention discussion in every Party branch, unit, and fraction. Party organizations and committees should develop discussions around the Negro Peoples' Front, building the National Negro Congress, the history of the Negro people and building the Communist Party as the Party of the Negroes. In addition to the material in the preconvention discussion bulletin, every Party member should read: Earl Browder's Lincoln and the Communists, The Peoples' Front, and James W. Ford's speeches at the First and Second Congresses of the National Negro Congress.

Communists in the trade unions should consult the educational committee of their unions and arrange to include in their educational program discussions on the National Negro Congress and the trade-unions, etc. Trade-union meetings should be covered by people with folders, leaflets, Sponsor buttons, and who should ask for the floor to give five-minute speeches on the Congress and appeal for fifty cents Sponsors.

We Communists have always stood as the vanguard in the ranks of the fighters for Progress and Democracy. The Communist Party strives to further develop the National Negro Congress, the United Negro Peoples' Front as an inseparable part of the People's Front for democracy, peace, and equal status for the Negro people.

We must develop further the role of the Communist Party as the vanguard in the struggle for Negro rights, in the liberation struggle of the Negro people, and its role in continuing the revolutionary traditions of our country. Our Party continues the role of Marx and Engels in the struggle for democracy in the United States who rallied the British workers to the side of our democracy on the side of the slave owners of the South. Our Party personifies Lenin, who aided the American working class in their struggle to unify and organization. His Letter to the American Working Class and his contribution toward the solution of the Agricultural Question in the United States exemplifies Lenin's role in America which must be brought home to the Negro people. The role of Stalin can and must be brought to the Negroes in all our work. On the basis of Stalin's contribution to the solution of the National Question, our Party has been able to work out its correct analysis and approach to the Negro people in the United States out of which the existence of the National Negro Congress is an outstanding result.

In building the National Negro Congress, we must strive to advance the struggle for Negro rights and the unity of Negro and white toilers. We must dramatize all the democratic demands of the Negro people as inseparable from the struggle

of the progressive white people for democracy and peace. The National Negro Congress is a meeting ground of the Negro people in the United States to join in the building of their own united front against reaction, for their freedom, peace, progress, and ultimate liberation. In the struggle for the democratic front of which the National Negro Congress is an integral part, the Negro people will learn still more the need for building the Peoples' Front in America, through which struggle they will, together with the revolutionary Negro and white proletariat, under the leadership of the Communist Party will advance to complete liberation, to Socialism.

Green, Woll, and Hutchinson tried to place the blame for lack of trade-union organization amongst Negroes, not where it rightly belongs, upon their own shoulders. They blamed the Negro workers. The whole world knows that Negroes are loyal fighters when given half a chance.

Until the C. I. O. was born, what little trade-union organization there was among Negroes, that is, the ones that joined the A. F. of L. joined in the face of the greatest difficulties. They joined in spite of the barriers erected by the leadership of the American Federation of Labor.

We must state, however, that there were many white trade-unionists who carried on a relentless struggle against the destructive policy of the top officialdom of the A. F. of L. Men who saw many years ago that only a policy of industrial organization, a policy free of all forms of discrimination because of race, creed, or color, would serve the best interest of the American working class. Outstanding among these was Wm. Z. Foster.

Foster, and many other real builders of the American Labor movement, were expelled from the American Federation of Labor by the same reactionary elements that are now in control of the Executive Council. The clique that is leading the fight against the C. I. O. This clique must be halted in its attack on the labor movement. The labor movement must be united. The American working class must be united into one powerful organization based upon the principle of industrial unionism. The Committee for Industrial Organization has shown the way.

Insofar as the Negro worker is concerned, the C. I. O. has proven, if proof is needed, that Negroes are ready, and eager to join the ranks of organized labor. Not only are the Negro workers eager to join unions, but they have demonstrated their willingness to go the limit in defense of the cause of organized labor.

It is no accident that the C. I. O. has been able to organize over 250,000 Negroes in the short space of two years. While the A. F. of L. during 57 years of its existence reluctantly enrolled 40-50,000 and this under pressure.

The task confronting our entire party on the question of trade-union unity, is the one of bringing new thousands of Negroes into the unions, especially C. I. O. unions. However, we must not neglect for a single moment those Negro workers, who, under the impetus of the C. I. O. drive joined the A. F. of L. They must be enlisted in the struggle for trade-union unity.

Our trade-union Commissions must have as one of its chief tasks, the winning over of the great mass of Negro labor into the organized labor movement—into the unions. This means among other things, the training of our whole Party membership to be conscious, alert, and vigilant in fighting for job security, and equal opportunity in advancement for Negroes.

Systematic, and planned enlightenment work must be carried on amongst the white workers, winning them to struggle against all jim-crow barriers erected against Negro labor.

MAY, 1938.

#### REPORT ON WOMEN'S WORK

##### MATERIAL FOR THE WOMEN'S COMMISSION, TENTH PARTY CONVENTION

Women passed through a harsh experience in 1929-34. They have seen the rise of fascism in European countries which destroyed all the gains women made. In our own country, women see reactionary monopolies attempting to destroy democratic rights of the people. By their increased activities in 1936-38, women in the United States have indicated that they are aware of the need to fight for democracy, that they are organizing against the inequalities of women existing in nearly all phases of life; these inequalities which in themselves are a violation of democracy; they are organizing against the callous indifference to the position of woman and her problems.

In 1936-38 large numbers of women took part in strikes for the recognition of the industrial union; many joined the unions; there were outstanding women's demonstrations for jobs on W. P. A. projects; Negro and white women united

on picket lines, demanding jobs for Negro women; in a number of cities, large numbers of Negro women, through their organizations have become part of a united movement for jobs for Negro young women; housewives sent brigades to Washington, demanding increased budgets for the unemployed; the activities of the wives of auto and steel workers in support of trade unions is known nationally. The new trade-union auxiliaries are a result of this mass activity. The demonstrations and the picketing of housewives against increased prices for meat, milk, bread, rents, and increased gas rates is outstanding. The League of Women Shoppers, a middle-class women's organization, has increased its organization in 20 cities as a result of its active support of the labor movement, and its monthly magazine.

These activities of the women are all part of the developing progressive movement today.

Other manifestations of women's part in the developing progressive movement, are the women's anti-silk peace parades; their ever-widening activities in the boycott of Japanese goods; mother's peace-day parades and peace mass meetings, which in 1938 have taken on a mass character, making the communities peace conscious and arousing the community to the necessity for aid to mother and child; the united people's conferences against the high cost of living, the united movement taking in nearly the whole community (in Paterson, N. J.) around issues of interest to working mothers; the broad women's movements for women's and children's all-day clinics; the women's activities in support of democratic Spain—the mass women's delegation to Washington demanding the lifting of the embargo and the many sided women's activity in support of the O'Connell peace bill, the day of fasting in support of Loyalist Spain by the women delegates to the Y. W. C. A. convention.

A series of national conventions of mass women's organizations held in 1938 made keynote speeches against fascism and for democracy. The Y. W. C. A. convention stressed that Christians must block fascism in the U. S. A.; that Nazism in Germany could have been avoided by unity of the people; the League of Women Voters Convention stressed the need to preserve democracy. Convention speeches were publicized attacking the reactionary Supreme Court and supporting the Reorganization Bill. The convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing nearly two million members, decided to conduct community welfare work around health and other such issues, as part of the human democratic rights of the people. The Jewish women's organizations convention stressed that not Communism, but fascism, is the danger today. Over 30 women's organizations in 13 southern states, some representing the entire South, and entire States in the South, adopted resolutions against lynchings. An antifascist note was heard even in the D. A. R. convention, when President Roosevelt reminded the delegates that our forefathers threw off a fascist yoke. Even here, there is a growing sentiment against fascism, so much so that the leaders had to veil their reactionary proposals with antifascist phrases. The Cause and Cure of War conference representing 11 women's mass organizations with a membership of 14 million adopted a collective security policy for peace. They are sending a large delegation of women to Europe this summer on a peace mission. Millions of these women belong to many church organizations. The large number of women delegates to the Congress of the American League for Peace and Democracy and its enthusiastic women's session, indicates how active women are in the peace movement. The composition of the audiences with its many first-comers at the Mother Bloor mass meetings in celebration of International Women's Day is also an indication of the growing eagerness on the part of masses of women to fight against war and against reaction and for democracy.

The basic organized masses of women in the U. S. A. have demonstrated in 1936-38 that they are on the side of progressive forces. The form in which this progressive position presents itself is mostly around *general issues* involving peace and democracy, in the general people's movements, and in the separate women's organizations. Separate women's organizations here and there do carry on some work for special legislation to improve economic conditions for women. But a united women's movement for equal rights for women does not yet exist. The Women's Charter movement aroused much discussion about the necessity for such a movement. For the first time, a stir has been created in women's organizations on this subject. For the first time, some conventions of women's organizations are discussing this subject. However, organizationally only the first steps have been taken to build the united women's movement for women's equal rights. However, we can say that whereas prior to 1936 there did not exist even talk about a united women's movement, today there is beginning to be signs of an

orientation in that direction. The united activities of a number of organizations demanding jobs for women, the temporary conferences to limit hours of work for domestic workers, the beginnings of united front conferences to aid mother and child, the small groups that are being developed around the Women's Charter, the Mother's Day united peace committees, the attempt to unite the opposition to the "Equal Rights" amendment—all is an indication in this direction.

The Women's Charter Group which came out of Washington has now been reorganized into the Joint Committee for Women's Work, with the resolution adopted at the International Labor Conference in Geneva as the basis for its work. This resolution was presented in Geneva by the United States Government delegation. This resolution is a good guiding document for the building of the united women's movement for equal rights. It contains the principle that should be embodied into an act to be presented to Congress by the progressive moment, to abolish the legal discrimination that exists against women and to safeguard the principle of special legislation that fits the special needs of women. Such congressional action would substitute the utopian "Equal Rights" amendment sponsored by the Women's Party.

Organizationally, the united women's movement is not a finished movement. Organizationally, it is less advanced than other progressive united movements. Nevertheless, it is a decisive section of the democratic front. We must understand its form of development to help it mature and strengthen itself. That is of especial importance to the progressive movement as a whole. Its main weakness comes from the fact that women in trade-unions are active only to a limited degree in the women's equal rights movement. The main task in the building of the united women's equal rights movement is for the trade-unions to hold special meetings of its women members to work out legislative programs for women of their particular industry. Of the 22 States having minimum-wage laws for women, which employ two-thirds of all working women and 70% of all women in manufacturing, very few have the necessary government machinery to apply that law. The cotton industry, which employs the largest number of women, is concentrated in States still without any minimum wage provisions. Increased activities of women in the trade-unions around a legislative program for women will bring into the trade-unions many unorganized women.

The fulfillment of this main task will strengthen the work of the women's mass organizations to improve woman's social position. It will help convince many leaders of mass women's organizations about the need for a united women's movement around equal rights for women. Certain of the women's organizations have had experience in united women's activities around the peace issue as the Cause and Cure of War Committee, representing 11 mass women's organizations; also the Women's Joint Congressional Committee which is made up of 22 of the most representative national women's organizations (it does legislative work). As part of this main task, it is necessary to help activate the rank and file members in the mass women's organizations around the progressive policies adopted in their national conventions, to help them become active in support of democratic Spain, to aid the babies of Spain, to support the O'Connell Peace Bill, to lift the embargo against Spain, and to extend the boycott of Japanese goods movement; to make Mother's Day a mass day for peace and aid to mother and child; to work for women's conference against lynching and in support of the anti-lynch bill. This work should include the building up of the membership in the American League for Peace and Democracy.

Women are nearly half the voting population. In some States, as Illinois, women are 51% of the voters. The reactionaries have already opened their election campaign to win the votes of the women in the 1938 elections. Hoover already made his appeal to the women of the nation against Roosevelt's budget for jobs and relief under the slogan of fight the "Moral Recession" in government. This speech was immediately followed up by the call of the Women's National Republican Club calling upon women to unite to defeat the New Deal with its "spending" budget. It blames the Roosevelt administration for the worsened condition of the family, and openly asks the women to vote for the candidates of reaction in the 1938 elections; because, it says that success in 1938 (for reaction) will point toward a Republican President in 1940. In the speech of Hoover in the call of the Women's National Republican Club, in the statements of the Women's Rebellion committee organized by the fascist elements in New York who are campaigning against all progressive measures—there is a common plank—defeat the Roosevelt plan for jobs and relief, cut the federal budget for relief and public works, and save the billions of the monopolies; shift the burden for the relief of the unemployed to the communities—meaning to the people.

The reactionaries are already trying to exploit the sentiments against fascism as expressed in the women's conventions. They are operating under the demagogic slogan of no dictatorship in government.

Much support is extended to the reactionaries by the isolationist polices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. This organization until recently was considered a progressive one. Not knowing about its present reactionary policies, women can be misled. It blames the Roosevelt administration for continuing the depression as a way to war. This detracts from the guilt of the real culprits who are responsible for the miseries of the people—the reactionary monopolies.

The women isolationists are finding themselves in the same camp with the renegade Lovestonites. They, together with the would-be women liberals in the United States who attack the Soviet Union, who side with the Trotskyite agents of fascism, do not represent the masses of women in the United States. Blinded by their isolationist polices, and the fascist propaganda of the Trotskyites, they do not see the great and active support that the millions of women in the Soviet Union are giving to the leaders of their government, to Stalin, for the elimination of the traitors who plotted to open the Soviet frontiers for fascism to come in. The masses of women fighting war and fascism in the United States will pass such would-be leaders by.

But with such great effort on the part of reactionaries of all shades to win the women, it is not so certain that many women's votes will not be given to reactionary candidates, that women may be temporarily swayed away from their progressive position if the progressive political organizations do not speed up their efforts to win the women.

In preparation for the 1938 elections, progressive political organizations should request their Congressmen and Senators to:

1. Include a clause in the Hours-and-Wages Bill providing equal application of the benefits in that Bill to women.

2. To amend the National Security Act, title V, Section 502, authorizing an adequate sum to be appropriated annually to the States for maternal and child health services.

3. Support the Child Labor Amendment.

Progressive political state conferences and progressive election campaign committees should include the following in their platform:

1. Full opportunity for women to work.

2. Safeguarding of women's health in employment.

3. Full opportunity for education for women.

4. State and W. P. A. aid to mother and child.

5. Dowry subsidy for women on W. P. A. and relief.

6. All-day women's and children's clinics in hospitals or medical centers.

7. Equal rights for Negro women.

Progressive political State conferences and organizations should initiate and support state measures to abolish legal discriminations against women that exist in their States. A model state law for this is the Wisconsin State Law, guaranteeing civil and political rights to women and at the same time recognizing the need for special laws to improve the position of women.

The women in the trade-unions, together with women's organizations in the city and state, with the support of the progressive political organizations, including the progressive women's clubs of the Democratic and Republican parties, should initiate city and state women's conferences, for the realization of this program.

Such conferences will promote the welding together of women in the trade-unions with various women's organizations for the building of a broad national united women's movement as part of the democratic front movement to block the road to fascism and war.

#### WOMEN IN TRADE-UNIONS

Each local trade-union, separately or jointly with unions in other industries, should create a women's joint committee to work on a project as to what should constitute a living wage for women in the state for various industries, the findings of this project committee to be proposed to the State Minimum Wage Board. Similar project committees can work for improvement of women's health in employment. The project committee, through trade-unions and women's organizations, may rally to get their proposal adopted. A state bill limiting the hours of work for domestic workers should be initiated through the trade-unions

or the Y. W. C. A. whose recent convention decided to work for the organization of the domestic workers. Through the W. P. A. Women's Division and the Workers Alliance, the women should be organized to work for maintenance and extension of W. P. A. projects for women.

#### COMMUNITY ACTIVITY

Women's trade-union auxiliaries, Parents and Teachers Associations, Women's political clubs, women's committees of progressive political organizations, may band together in the community to set up a Women's Community Welfare Committee. This to include: W. P. A. and Municipal Aid to mother and child, particularly maternal assistance, with special attention to the need of Negro mothers; the improvement and extension of health centers with women's and children's clinics, including birth control information service; day nurseries for working mothers; better schools; recreational centers for the children and the youth. These community committees may be joined together on a city-wide basis and trade unions and city women's organizations support sought to work for state maternity insurance and amendment of the National Social Security Act for adequate funds to states for mother and child health services.

#### WORK AGAINST THE H. C. L.

Efforts to get affiliations of Consumers organizations and united front conferences against high prices to the National Consumers Federation should be stressed. This organization is a clearing for experiences in consumers work and helps to unite the City Consumers with the small farmers.

Support for the investigation of the food monopolies by the Federal Government should be connected with the 1938 election campaign. Neighborhood women's organizations, trade-union auxiliaries, are very effective in bringing the work against the H. C. L. into the neighborhoods.

The Party has more than doubled its women membership since the 9th Party convention, and has tripled the number of working women in the Party. We set as our task that by International Women's Day, March 1939, we shall improve more considerably, the number of working women in our Party—by then, to build permanent state, district Party commissions for women's work.

To improve the composition of these commissions by the inclusion of a larger number of working women. The commissions to set up the necessary committees for work among women in the 1938 Congressional campaign. That larger numbers of women students be included in the general Party Training Schools. That special Party women's study circles be organized. The Party shall improve its work among the masses of women of the nationalities, especially Italian and Jewish, and among the Catholic women. To get support for the antifascist Italian women's paper. Our Party press shall carry more material on the life conditions, the problems and the activities of women. To make "Women on the March" a permanent publication. Systematic publication of literature on the Party's position on the family, or religion in relation to women, on the life and work of the women in the Soviet Union and on activities of women against war and fascism in other countries, shall be published. More literature on the Communist position on the woman question shall be published.

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#### WOMEN'S WORK OF THE NATIONAL BUREAUS

Compiled by CLARA BODIAN

MAY 1938

Women's Commission C. C.

In interviewing the various leaders of the Language organizations I was much impressed with their interest and enthusiasm at our effort to gather this information. They were very cooperative and indicated that the I. W. O. has organized a women's section in their national organization. As a result of this, they have high expectations of the attention to be paid on women's problems.

Only three of the women's language bureaus, namely, the Finnish, Hungarian, and Italian have their own periodicals. The others get special columns in the regular press. None have a planned educational program. All expressed the need for such a program to raise the political level of their membership. All

carry on united-front activity in one way or another, fitted in the general work of the national bureau.

Some are doing splendid work around Spain and China by raising funds and developing campaigns for lifting of the embargo on Spain. All are making strenuous efforts to work with other language groups. Very few however, have developed campaigns on day-to-day issues concerning their immediate problems.

The Jewish bureau which undoubtedly influences thousands of women in various organizations, was able to give me the least information, because of their lack of coordination among Jewish organizations. The Bureau head made the point that a tremendous campaign can be developed around Anti-Semitism among the conservative organizations, such as the Women's division of the American Jewish Congress, etc.

Because of the international situation as a whole, the field is fertile for co-ordinated work for Peace and against Fascism.

Every language group has a certain percentage of women in various industries. Finnish women in the East are primarily in the textile industry, also in the needle trades. In the Midwest they are engaged on the farms and in auto and on the West Coast are in canning and agricultural industries. Many of them are married women, who are housewives as well as industrial women.

The national work includes the teaching of language to children in special organized schools to reach larger numbers of the parents in this way.

The National mass organizations have comparatively small women membership, but they wield tremendous influence among thousands of women, both organized and unorganized. Then can play a definite role in the coming 1938 elections, since the program of the Democratic Front effects every one of those language women. The La Follette group has great influence over the progressive language groups, especially in the farm regions and in civil-rights issues. The major task for the language department and the national women's commission is the formation of plans of work and simple methods of approach.

It is important that women in the language mass organizations be recruited into the party. Many of them are ready and ripe for the Party.

It is of utmost importance that we work out a plan to correctly approach the religious groups and how best to raise the religious question as a whole.

We should concentrate particularly among Italian, German, Spanish, and Jewish women's organizations, also to urge groups to link up their work with issues in the United States, support of Spain and China, also support of political prisoners in the countries they come from, particularly in the reactionary and fascist countries.

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WOMEN'S COMMISSION, C. C.,  
May 1938.

The following is a partial list of women's organizations which adopted resolutions condemning lynching.

It is suggested that immediate attention be given to the organization of *women's conferences against lynching, to push the anti-Lynch Bill*, especially in those states as listed here, where women's organizations have already declared themselves against lynchings.

1. Women's Auxiliary to the National Council of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the diocese of: Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, and Mississippi.
2. Women's Missionary Society of: Kentucky, Florida, Georgia.
3. The Women's Advisory Committee of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., of Georgia and Virginia.
4. The Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, embracing Alabama, Central and West Texas, Florida, Kentucky, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Georgia, N. Carolina, North Mississippi, Oklahoma, S. Carolina, Tennessee, Upper S. Carolina, Virginia.
5. The Women's Missionary Union of the Southern Baptist Convention.
6. The Southwestern Regional Conference rep. the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Arkansas Democratic Women's Club, the Georgia Council of Federated Church Women, the Georgia Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Louisiana Assn. of Peace Officers, the Mississippi Women's Christian Temperance Union.
7. The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching has been active against lynching for many years.



## MASS WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

Women's Trade Union League,  
 Parents and Teachers Ass'ns.  
 Young Women's Christian Ass'ns.  
 Language Women's organizations.  
 National Colored Women's Council.  
 Jewish Women's Council.  
 Federation of Women's Clubs.  
 F. L. P. Women's clubs.  
 League of Women Voters.  
 Community organizations.

Women's Trade Union Auxiliaries.  
 Progressive Women's Councils.  
 Cause and Cure of War Committee.  
 Federation of Negro Women's Clubs.  
 Catholic Women's Council.  
 League of Women Shoppers.  
 Farm women's organizations.  
 Progressive political women's clubs.  
 Auxiliaries American Legion.  
 Auxiliaries Vets. of Foreign Wars.

## GENERAL ORGANIZATIONS

International Workers Order.  
 National Negro Congress.  
 Workers Alliance.

American League for Peace and Democracy.

## REPORT OF NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL, 1936-1937, 1937-1938

A decision to establish a six-month full-time National Training School, accommodating about 60 students per term, was made toward the end of 1935. This decision was prompted by the following considerations:

- (1) The resurgence of the labor movement, and the awakening of broad masses to a conscious political life;
- (2) The growth of the influence of the Party and its rapid maturity to the position of a potent factor in the political life of the country, and as a driving force and integral part of every progressive movement directed against reaction and for the defense of democracy;
- (3) The growing complexity of the problems of the Democratic and People's Front, of trade union unity, and consequently the need everywhere of trained forces intimately connected with every movement, with every development, providing direction, giving answers to the politically awakening masses and showing the way at each turn;
- (4) The decisiveness of the task for understanding how to independently bring forward the vanguard role of the Party in each situation, in each crystallization of the movement of the people against reaction, and on this basis of building the Party and the Party press;
- (5) The relatively low theoretical level of the membership and the still existing gulf between the brilliant line and directives of the Party leadership and their application by the lower organs down below among the masses; and
- (6) The political task in this situation of undertaking along broad lines the systematic internationalist Socialist education of the masses on the basis of their fundamental experiences and growing political consciousness.

All of these made it necessary to place the question of Party education, of Marxist-Leninist training of Party personnel, as a decisive question of the hour. The establishment of the new six-month National Training School was an important step in meeting this need.

Since the decision, two such National Training Schools have been held. Let us briefly examine the work of these two schools in an attempt to determine to what extent they have answered the main need of the Party, to what extent they have fulfilled their main tasks.

## CURRICULUM

The experiences of the two 6-month schools already concluded establish the fact that, in the main, the curriculum was adapted to the political requirements of training personnel. The main courses consisted of the History of the United States (history of the people, of the labor and revolutionary movements), Political Economy (the main laws of capitalist development, the development of classes and class relations), History of the Communist Party, of the Soviet Union, Leninism, and Organization. Besides these central courses, the subjects History of the First International, Struggle against Trotskyism and Lovestoneism, Public Speaking, Shop Paper and Leaflet Technique, as well as a series of lectures on special organizational problems and lectures on most important current developments constituted an integral part of the curriculum.

In the second school (1937-1938), an additional course developed for the first time—the course on the History of our Party—which was an important political addition to the curriculum, and a significant element in Party training.

In general, the results of the two schools established the correctness of the general line of the curriculum which succeeded in providing a rounded training in the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory and its application to the current political and organization tasks of the Party.

It can also be registered that the methods of administration, of instruction and organization, were in the main proven successful by the intensity and quality of work of the students and the high political morale that marked both schools. However, there is need for a still greater degree of coordination of the various courses, for a more marked and clearer correlation of theory and practice in every subject, and still greater attention to the development of technical courses.

An important factor in making the two schools generally successful, was the participation of leading members of the Polburo and Central Committee on the teaching staff. This brought to the school comrades in the leadership of definite phases of the work of the Party with first-hand knowledge, and equipped to provide the comrades with a sound basis for the solution of the main problems of the day.

The physical accommodations provided by the Central Committee had a very important bearing on the fulfillment of the political tasks of the school, by providing excellent material conditions which freed the comrades of all obligations except concentration on their studies.

## COMPOSITION

Even a cursory examination of the composition of a Party school will establish beyond doubt that the selection of students determines to a great degree the results and effectiveness of the school. The Central Committee has carried on a consistent struggle over a period, to politically convince the leading comrades in the districts of the need for a serious political attitude toward the selection of students for Party training schools. This struggle has not been without success, especially the very clear reference of Comrade Browder at the June (1937) Plenum of the Central Committee to the need for selecting "comrades who cannot be spared," as students to Party schools. That this emphasis brought results, is evident from the improved composition of the Party schools held since. If we compare the two National Training Schools, 1936-1937 and 1937-1938, we see a definite improvement in composition.

	1936-1937 (out of 59)	1937-1938 (out of 65)
<b>General Analysis:</b>		
Sent by Districts.....	39	43
Polburo Quota.....	13	13
Y. C. L. Quota.....	7	9
Total Number in School.....	59	65
<b>Party Functions:</b>		
National functionaries (Party, Y. C. L. and mass organizations).....	0	6
District functionaries.....	8	6
State Committee Members.....	11	13
County and Section Organizers.....	10	14
Trade-Union Organizers.....	0	10
Trade-Union Affiliation..... percent	27	55½
<b>Industrial Composition:</b>		
% of industrial workers..... do.	60	67½
Number from basic industries.....	7	12
Women..... percent	13½	21½
Negroes..... do.	12	14
Negro Women.....	1	2
Nationality: Native born..... percent	83	87
Average Age..... years	28.2	*28.6
<b>Length of time in the Party:</b>		
5 years and over.....	12	23
1 year to 5 years.....	41	37
Under 1 year.....	6	5
<b>Previous Party schooling:</b>		
Regional and District Schools..... percent	15	19
Section Schools..... do.	5	15
Y. C. L. Schools..... do.	8	15½
Workers' Schools..... do.	8	15½

\*4 students over 40 years of age brought up the average age.

While this general improvement in composition reflects a better political orientation in the districts toward the question of Party education, still it must be registered that the improved composition in the last year did not result sufficiently from the initiative of the districts. It still required several months of pressure on the part of the School Commission, and in some cases even the direct intervention of Comrade Browder to secure comrades for the School.

We call attention especially to the following districts for selecting leading comrades for the school: The Chicago district, which selected a Sub-District organizer, the organizer of the most important County organization, as well as a leading Negro comrade; the Pittsburgh district, which sent to the school three members of the District Bureau, as well as three C. I. O. organizers; the New York district, which selected a district functionary, a city-wide leader of the Workers' Alliance, as well as some of the most important section organizers; New Jersey, which selected two members of the District Bureau, the organizers of the most important counties. The Florida and Oklahoma districts both sent their District Organization Secretaries as students, etc.

The Y. C. L. should be highly commended for its choice of a group of eleven able, promising, and leading Y. C. L. functionaries, three of whom are members of the National Committee of the Y. C. L. We wish to stress particularly the splendid composition of the Negro comrades, all capable, developed, and promising leaders of the Negro people, and of the large number of able and effective women comrades, showing an improved orientation in the Party generally to the question of the training of women cadres.

Weaknesses in composition, however, that apply to both National Training Schools, which we must call sharply to the attention of the districts, are the following:

1. We still find too many cases of comrades sent to the highest Party educational institution without any previous training or experience. This situation necessarily tends to lower the political quality of the entire school, tends to discourage the comrades who are in no position to keep average pace in their studies, and places special burdens upon the Administration and teachers, which necessarily hinders the fullest development of the entire school. In the future, candidates for the National Training School should be systematically prepared for the school by the districts in advance. The selection should not be more or less haphazard, but purposeful. Comrades should be chosen with definite functions in mind, should be selected for specific training to fill definite needs for personnel. These comrades should go through previous training and receive consistent attention from the districts with a view of preparing them for the highest Party school.

2. The lack of attention in the districts to the physical condition of the comrades sent to school has been a serious problem, especially in the last National Training School, when 5 students were sent home, too ill to study. The National Training School does not exactly offer a vacation to sick comrades. We urge the most serious attention on the part of the districts to physical examinations of candidates, and to preparing the comrades in advance to make themselves physically fit.

A political problem of great importance, particularly in the National Training School, due to its duration, is the problem of overcoming to the fullest extent possible the isolation of the students from the mass struggles and their Party organizations. Even the few simple steps we urged upon the districts were insufficiently carried out by most of the districts. We urged, for instance, that the districts provide their students with their local papers, at least their trade-union organ, and one bourgeois paper. We appealed time and again for the districts to maintain regular correspondence with their students, sending them periodically material, reports on local developments, on Party campaigns, etc. But this appeal did not meet with the response that should have been expected. We urge again that the districts in the future carry out these simple obligations as their responsibility to their students.

For any real evaluation of the extent to which Party training schools fulfill their main tasks, it is essential that records be kept on the work of the graduates for some period after their training. From the general information available to us, the biggest majority of the graduates of the 1936-1937 school are active, leading Party workers, in different fields of activity. We have asked for reports from the district organizations on the utilization of the students from the 1937-1938 National Training School. We wish to stress the importance of receiving such reports, let us say, two or three times a year.

In our opinion, the general method of selecting students more or less in a hurry by the District Organizations, as a result of all kinds of communications

and pressure from the Center, must be entirely changed. A real Party personnel policy requires that selections for Party schools be carried out as a system, all year around, in the day to day mass work of the Party. The District leadership should at all times keep a careful, political personal watch over the best capital the Party possesses, our human material. Comrades active in mass work, who prove themselves in the trade-union movement, in the struggles of the unemployed, in the United Front and political progressive movements, comrades who show ability, who are stable, who build the Party in the course of the struggle, especially comrades from the basic industries and important plants, should be systematically watched for training. The districts should prepare their list of candidates for students on the basis of their daily contact with the above types of comrades, instead of waiting for the final telegram from the School Commission, at the last minute to begin to worry about students for the school.

With the serious attention the School Commission of the Central Committee is devoting to the central political problems, of the curriculum and teaching staff, and with a more serious political approach to the problem of selection of students, there is no doubt that our schools in the future will have even greater achievements to record.

Fraternally submitted,

NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL,  
GEORGE SISKIND, *Director*.

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MEMORANDUM ON THE WORKERS' SCHOOLS FOR THE 10TH CONVENTION OF THE  
C. P. U. S. A.

At the 9th National Convention of the Party, the need for building Workers' Schools and strengthening those which already existed had been strongly emphasized in the report of the Commission and in the general resolution. We regret to state that very little progress can be recorded in that field since the 9th Convention.

Definite progress can be recorded by the schools in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. In Philadelphia the school has increased the number of students, reporting a total registration of 1,200 for the year 1936-1937. The task in connection with the school is to establish a firmer base and concentrate on the improvement of the quality of the work. In Pittsburgh the school ceased to function in 1935. It was reestablished in the winter of 1938 and is functioning well. The school reports a registration for the first term of 235, and for the second, Spring term, of 120 students. These schools are now functioning to a great extent because of the cooperation of the District leadership.

CHICAGO

The Workers' School shows sustained activity. In addition to the work in the central school, extension courses have been successfully conducted in various parts of the city.

BOSTON

Since the 9th Convention, the old Workers' School of Boston has been functioning as the PROGRESSIVE LABOR SCHOOL OF BOSTON. The registration of the school is very small and does not show any growth; on the contrary, it shows a decrease as compared with former years, despite the expectation of the comrades that the change of name would expand the school.

BALTIMORE

The report for 1937 shows a registration of 248 for the three terms of 1937.

SAN FRANCISCO

Since the General Strike when the Workers' School was smashed by the vigilantes, the Party was unable to reestablish the institution on a working basis. The comrades there are of the opinion that they should concentrate on inner-Party education.

## LOS ANGELES

The school in Los Angeles is not functioning at present as a centrally located school, but the work is concentrated on neighborhood classes. The plan is to reestablish the school as soon as new and suitable quarters are obtained.

## CLEVELAND

Cleveland reports a sharp decline in the work of the Workers' School during the first term of 1937-1938. After a serious discussion on the question was held by the comrades of the school with the Party committee, the decline was checked and the Spring term shows a registration of 250 with a fairly large proportion of industrial workers.

## DETROIT

An incomplete report from Detroit shows that educational work has been conducted in the form of various classes during the Fall and Winter of this year.

No reports were received from Denver, Minneapolis, and a number of other places where schools formerly functioned.

## NEW YORK

The Workers' School in New York has maintained its scope of activity and has made substantial progress in several phases of the work. Most important achievements have been in the improvement of the quality of the work. This expressed itself in the higher theoretical and political level of the teaching personnel. The School Board and the Administration, through a systematic check-up of the work of the teachers, have been able to correct a number of weak points and replace several of the instructors who failed to satisfy the necessary requirements. Systematic discussions with the instructors through conferences and individual consultation helped to raise their theoretical level.

Improved quality can also be observed in the material used and in the teaching methods. Outlines for the various courses are often revised with a view to further improvements and bringing them up to date. The aim is to attune the outlines and other material to the political problems of the specific period.

The steps taken can be considered only as a partial improvement; more will have to be done.

Successful steps have been taken in the direction of broadening the school by the introduction of cultural subjects and subjects dealing with problems of interest to the labor movement generally, especially the trade unions. Such courses as LABOR LAW and INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS attracted more than 200 in three classes. A substantial number of active trade unionists took the course. Also a large number of the members of the legal profession registered for the course. In line with the whole political situation and tasks of the Party, the Workers' School has paid special attention to the courses in American History.

## GROWTH OF THE WORKERS' SCHOOL IN NEW YORK

The peak of the growth of the school was reached in 1935-36 when the total registration amounted to 9,707 students. The following year the registration dropped to 8,364, and this year, 1937-38, shows a registration of 7,136, not including the summer term. Taking an average summer registration of about 500, we will get about 7,600 students this year. This downward trend is due to a number of factors:

(1) The large educational program introduced by the W. P. A., which caused a considerable reduction in the Language Department of our School;

(2) The extensive inner-Party education program organized in the New York sections and counties of the Party. This tended to take away a number of members who formerly came to the Workers' School;

(3) The introduction of educational work in a number of trade unions which also affected the registration.

During the period of the drop in registration, the number of Party members increased as compared with non-Party students. While the registration of a large number of Party members is surely a positive feature, still it is necessary at the same time to carry on a broad campaign to increase the number of non-Party members.

The School has now a very important task: to increase the registration and continue further in the improvement of the quality of the work. At all times, the School maintained its Marxist-Leninist character and is today, as it has been during the last ten years, the largest Marxist-Leninist educational institution in the country.

#### SUMMER DAY SCHOOL

The Workers' School in New York is offering for the coming Summer a full-time six-week day school. The curriculum consists of Political Economy I and II, Marxism-Leninism I and II, and a survey of American History from colonial times to the present. Sessions will be held daily from 9 A. M. to 1 P. M., with special discussions on political problems on Friday morning. The term for the Summer Day School is from July 5th to August 12th. The active, early, response from many cities to this type of school, already indicates that it will be successful. The school is open to Party and non-Party people and offers an opportunity for comrades to receive an intensive, systematic, theoretical training.

#### TASKS

The main task emphasized at the 9th Convention still remains to be fulfilled. Workers' Schools for the teaching of Marxism-Leninism must be built and the existing ones strengthened. The State and local leadership must pay special attention to this phase of the work. A well-functioning Workers' School will aid in the development of Party education generally and will also stimulate education within trade unions and other mass organizations.

A tendency to replace our Workers' Schools with so-called non-partisan labor colleges must be combatted. Labor colleges organized by trade unions, the C. I. O. and others, have an important role to play, but we as a Communist Party must have an instrument for the dissemination of the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, precisely at this time when our Party is becoming more and more a decisive factor in the progressive movement.

Another task which is particularly important to the New York school is the integration of the school with the State organization of the Party. The school functions in New York and must become a part of the organization of the Party. It must be integrated with the school work and general educational work of the sections, counties, etc. The plan of work must include the utilization of the Workers' School as one of the most important instruments for the education of the broad Party membership, and the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism among the masses.

#### TRAINING OF INSTRUCTORS

Initial steps have been taken to train qualified instructors for the Party and mass education. Two courses for training teachers were carried through. The experiences of these two schools have proven that the Workers' School is equipped for this task, which now should be established as a definite phase of the work of the school. The task must be to train teaching personnel not only for New York, but for places outside of New York.

Comradely submitted,

A. MARKOFF.

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#### REPORT ON THE MIDWESTERN SCHOOLS, 10TH CONVENTION, C. P. U. S. A.

An important extension of work of the School Commission of the Central Committee was the organization of the Midwestern Regional School (Minnesota) and the District Schools in Missouri and Indiana. In the case of Missouri and Indiana, this was the first time that any Party training schools were conducted. The schools in the main were highly successful, and provided 85 people with a training in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. The schools provided forces for the mass work of the Party in those territories where the problem of forces is particularly acute. Especially with regard to the Missouri School, it can be said that the people trained provide the basis for the District leadership.

The *Minnesota Regional School* consisted of 19 students from 7 states (Minnesota, Wisconsin, North Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Utah, and New Mexico). The composition in general was good. Although 6 of the students were farmers,

still, considering that the object of the Central Committee was to make this school a special concentration for the training of forces for the countryside, we must say that the school did not entirely accomplish this purpose. This was due mainly to the fact that the districts did not take advantage of this special school (South Dakota, Iowa, Northern Michigan, etc.).

The *Missouri School* was conducted on a part-time basis for a period of four weeks for three different groups. One school was organized for steel workers which consisted of 18 students; another for electrical workers and miscellaneous trade unionist, consisting of 20 students, and a special class for women consisting of 12 students, making a total of 50 students for all three groups. Upon the conclusion of these three schools—12 students were chosen from the various classes for a one-week full time school.

The *Indiana School* was for a period of ten days, full time, and consisted of 12 students. The Indiana school supplied a number of forces for the counties and branches. However, the outstanding weakness was that the concentration industry, auto, was very poorly represented (1 student)—not a single student from South Bend, the main auto center of the state. Preparations are being made for another school this summer which will consist mainly of the workers from the basic industries of the state.

One thing very positive must be recorded in regard to all these schools, and that is, that they served to stimulate a great deal of interest in Marxist-Leninist training. This must be utilized by the districts to continue and expand this phase of Party training.

Comradely submitted.

JACK PERILLA.

### USE THESE FACTS

[Research Bulletin of the Communist Party, 12th A. D., 141 E. 29th Street, New York City, Vol. 2, #3, Feb. 8, 1937]

#### FINAL RESULTS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

[From the annual report of the Board of Elections, 1936]

#### *Registration of voters in the 12 A. D.*

	Males	Females	Total
Democratic.....	15,661	11,014	26,678
Republican.....	2,994	3,721	6,715
Socialist.....	109	111	223
Communist.....	129	64	184
Blank, defect., and missing.....			2,391
<b>Total.....</b>	<b>20,155</b>	<b>16,036</b>	<b>36,191</b>

#### VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

	N. Y. C.	12th A. D.
<b>Total Vote.....</b>	<b>2,823,191</b>	<b>34,740</b>
Roosevelt & G.....	1,802,502	22,261
Landon & Knox.....	665,951	9,559
Thomas & Nelson.....	38,529	563
Browder & Ford.....	31,952	594
Amer. L. P.....	238,845	1,287

#### VOTE FOR GOVERNOR

Lehman.....	1,572,315	19,353
Bleakley.....	874,087	12,052
Laidler.....	47,051	728
Minor.....	36,264	680
A. L. P.....	231,114	1,174

#### VOTE FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR

Bray, Demo.....	1,866,774	22,169
Robertson, Rep.....	634,642	9,044
Hahn, Soc.....	52,654	610
Sawyer, Com.....	61,091	881

#### VOTE FOR STATE COMPTROLLER

Tremaine, Demo.....	1,888,276	22,320
May, Rep.....	599,256	8,601
Cheney, Soc.....	53,088	696
Hutchins, Com.....	62,555	905

#### VOTE FOR ATTORNEY-GENERAL

Bennett, Dem.....	1,869,498	22,525
Perlman, Rep.....	611,363	8,601
Marks, Soc.....	53,117	589
Briehl, Com.....	62,160	904

Registration of voters in the 12 A. D.—Continued

VOTE FOR REPRESENTATIVE AT LARGE

Blue, Soc.....	56,043	601
Crosswaith, Com.....	55,332	587
Hudson, Com.....	64,121	907
Gerson, Com.....	63,903	901

VOTE FOR PRES. OF BOARD OF ALD.M.

Brunner, Dem.....	1,689,765	29,343
Morris, Rep.....	797,469	10,501
Baron, Soc.....	55,698	587
Amter, Com.....	64,436	918

VOTE FOR ASSOC. JUDGE, CT. OF APLS.

	N. Y. C.	12th A. D.
Rippey, Demo.....	1,852,656	21,996
Hill, Repub.....	605,380	8,738
Meserole, Soc.....	57,477	630
Schwab, Com.....	64,882	928

VOTE FOR JUSTC. OF SUPREME CT. FIRST JUDICIAL DISTRICT

Lipsig, Soc.....	25,455	604
Severn, Soc.....	24,621	580
Wortis, Com.....	35,192	906
Sternberg, Com.....	35,293	902

VOTE FOR JUDGES OF CT. OF GEN. SES

Bobrick, Soc.....	14,166	711
Paas, Soc.....	14,116	703
Braun, Soc.....	14,324	729
Brickman, All Peop.....	4,701	161
Under, All Peopl.....	4,658	168

VOTE FOR JUSTICES OF CITY COURT

Deison, Soc.....	13,980	725
Shapiro, Soc.....	13,329	641
Sugar, Soc.....	12,443	605
Gannes, Com.....	15,939	920
Trachtenberg, Com.....	16,065	918
Ingram, Com.....	15,923	908

VOTE FOR CONGRESSMAN, SIXTEENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

	6 A. D.	8 A. D.	10 A. D.	12 A. D.	14 A. D.	15 A. D.	Total
Total Votes Recd.....	3,339	1,328	7,539	31,599	9,540	2,912	59,248
O'Connor, Dem.....	2,334	773	2,989	20,709	5,298	979	33,082
Cudmore, Rep.....	535	281	3,580	8,929	2,930	1,577	17,832
Trager, Soc.....	57	33	151	586	173	44	1,041
Teichman, Com.....	65	98	278	801	110	36	1,378
Hastings, Loyal.....	64	19	101	1,285	294	45	1,811

VOTE FOR STATE SENATORS, SIXTEENTH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

	12th A. D.	14th A. D.	Total
Total Votes Recd.....	34,509	31,821	66,420
McNaboe, Dem.....	20,617	19,933	40,550
Bruke, Rep.....	9,827	8,359	18,186
Pushkoff, Soc.....	647	527	1,174
Baum, Com.....	816	411	1,227

STATE VOTE FOR GOVERNOR

Lehman, Dem.....	2,970,595
(Lehman, A. L. P.).....	262,192
Bleakley, Rep.....	2,450,104
Laidler, Soc.....	96,208
Minor, Com.....	10,406

STATE VOTE FOR LIEUT. GOVERNOR

Bray, Democratic.....	3,028,191
Robertson, Rep.....	2,136,506
Hahn, Soc.....	100,151
Sawyer, Com.....	66,132

VOTE FOR ASSEMBLYMAN—TWELFTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Edmund J. DeLany (Dem.).....	21,576
Joseph H. Williams (Rep.).....	8,890
Rose Pearlman (Soc.).....	671
Chapman T. Smith (Com.).....	818
Absentee ballots voted.....	141
Unrecorded.....	2,785
Total.....	34,740

FINAL NAT. & STATE VOTE FOR PRES.

	United States	New York State		United States	New York State
Roosevelt, Dem.....	27,752,309	3,263,222	Lemke, Union.....	892,793	-----
Landen, Rep.....	16,682,342	2,180,670	Colvin, Prohib.....	37,609	-----
Thomas, Soc.....	187,312	86,897	Aiken, Soc., Labor.....	12,793	-----
Browder, Com.....	80,096	35,609			



## DAILY WORKER NEWS

[12th A. D. Feb. 28. Daily Worker Dept.]

1. Well—did you read how the Party Builders did it in Wed., February 23rd's Daily—Here is someone that signed up 33 railroad workers, all Negroes—said "I simply concentrated my efforts and came regularly with the Daily Worker on that bridge. Without the Party press I could not approach these workers." James Woolman, Salt Lake City, who is 61 and recruited 26 said: "I followed the Daily Worker Route. You can generally count on the Daily Worker readers to sign up."

2. The route is coming along swell, how about these corner orders coming in from the Branches.

3. What are you doing to check up on carrying out our slogan of 2 Dailies, per day, per comrade.

4. How about some real Socialist competition among the units—Whose's challenging who—let us know—

5. Are you using the Daily as source material for your educational discussions. Let us help you, we have the material.

6. Are you using "The Daily Worker Marches On," it is swell stuff if used right. How about getting up a *Daily Worker Quiz*.

7. Why not have a display of articles appearing in the Daily on the subject of your educational discussion—e. x., religion—put up all articles on religion appearing in the Daily in the last 2 weeks.

Signing until next week—getting dry—bring in suggestions quick.

READ AMERICA'S MOST EXCITING NEWSPAPER—THE DAILY WORKER

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 NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

DEC. 5, 1936.

THE FIGHT FOR SPANISH DEMOCRACY—HOW THE SOVIET UNION HELPS SPAIN—  
OUR TASKS

Guide for Members of Educational Corps in leading Unit Discussions:

General note: The discussion leader should not try to repeat to the unit in a direct formal speech the entire content of the presentation made at the educational corps meeting. This tends to make the talk of the comrade mechanical and does not get the maximum discussion and participation by the Unit members. An introductory talk of about 30 minutes, designed to stimulate further discussion is best. The leader of the discussion, through participating in the general discussion and summary can present the necessary content. Application of the tasks must then be made by the unit, in the territory, shop, union and mass organization in which the comrades are active. A planned campaign of agitation and practical assistance to Spanish democracy will result not only in real help for the Spanish fighters but also result in Party recruiting and building the Party press.

Reference Reading:

1. Specific features of Spanish Revolution—by Comrade Ercoli in the Dec. '36 Communist.

2. Pamphlet, "How the Soviet Union helps Spain," by Comrade Games.

3. Close study of the Daily Worker for day to day events and party policy in regard to them.

SUGGESTIONS FOR INTRODUCTORY TALK

I. *The significance of the Spanish Revolution.*—A focal point in the struggle of all anti-fascists for democracy and world peace. Victory against fascism will lead to more rapid development towards socialism.

II. *Background of Spanish Revolution.*—The conditions in the country—the status of agriculture and industry. The cultural backwardness of the mass (see data inclosed).

III. *The building of the Peoples Front.*—The role of the C. P. of Spain in pressing for the broader united front of all anti-fascists. The present participation in the Peoples Front. The hope of Trotskyites to split the Peoples Front. (See December Communist.)

IV. *Some special features in the Spanish Revolution.*

- A. Carrying through democratic bourgeois revolution in the midst of armed struggle.
- B. The present civil war is, in a sense, a national revolutionary war.
- C. The influence of the Anarchists.
- D. The participation of the various nationalist forces and large sections of the petty bourgeoisie and even some sections of the bigger bourgeoisie.
- E. Why do we not pose the question of Socialism versus Fascism. The effect this would have inside and outside Spain. Show how posing this question this way would make certain elements necessary in the struggle desert the Peoples Front. This would be objective help to the Fascists.

V. The U. S. S. R. and "Non-Intervention".—Point out the responsibility of Leon Blum and the C. P. of France. The C. P. of France fought against this "non-intervention" pact from the beginning. The action of Blum and the swinging of the leaders of the labor movement of France and Great Britain behind this pact placed the Soviet Union in a difficult position. The Soviet Union joined the pact to hinder the shipment of arms to the fascists *while aiding in every possible way the Madrid Government*. In any race for arms to Spain, Italy, and Germany are in a far more favorable position than the U. S. S. R. (If possible get a map of Europe and show that "Soviet Union's only two routes to Spain are controlled by Germany in the North and Italy in the South"—Games' pamphlet.)

Show how, through the exposure made by the Soviet Union in the London Committee of the fascist help to Spanish reaction, the leaders of the Second International, the British Trade Unions, and the Amsterdam International were forced to change their original stand of support to the Non-Intervention.

The masses in all countries must aid the Soviet Union in breaking down all obstacles in the shipment of arms, ammunition, to legal government of Spain.

VI. *Indicate the role and growth of the C. P. of France.*—How is it fighting for democracy. The Peoples Front is in the present situation, a powerful united front of all forces fighting for democracy and peace, which will lead toward higher stages of struggle, to the emancipation of the working class, to Socialism.

VII. *Our tasks.*—To arouse the American people as to the significance of the struggle for democracy and peace as "the cause of all progressive mankind." Plan actual steps in the unit to mobilize for concrete help for Spanish democracy. Building the Farmer Labor Party in America so that "It Can't Happen Here." Building the Party and Party press.

## SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

I. *Background of the Civil War.*

1. Spain is a backward agrarian country with strong feudal oppression heavily falling upon the toiling population.
  - a. 57% of the population work on land and forests.
  - b. 2% of the landowners possess 67% of the land.
  - c. 1,173,000 peasants own 6 million hectares while 103,000 big landlords possess 12 million hectares. 5 million—peasants and landworkers—own nothing. 40% of the land actually in use. 50,000 large landowners in a population of 24 million. 3 million agricultural workers earning 50 cents to 75 cents a day.
  - d. The Catholic church is the largest landlord in the country, living on ground rent. There is one priest for every 900 inhabitants. There are 106,734 persons in the clergy.

## II. *Status of Industry.*

1. Home market limited due to small purchasing power of poverty-stricken masses.
2. Unable to compete in international market due to technical backwardness.
3. Semi-feudal character of agriculture hinders industrial development.
  - a. Modern industry is mostly in the hands of foreigners. Chemicals controlled by the German and French, pneumatic tire and electro-technical, by the French and Americans. The railroads controlled by French and English capital.
  - b. There are in Spain today about 2 million industrial workers, miners, railwaymen, dockers, etc., plus 300,000 domestic workers.
4. The working class is courageous, inclined to take revolutionary action, but has lacked, in the past, coordination between the struggles of the workers and peasants.

## III. *Cultural Development.*—Spain is culturally backward.

1. 45% of the population is illiterate.
2. The Catholic church has 4,804 cultural institutions with 601,950 students, 27,000 in secondary schools. 17,103 in professional institutions.
3. Great struggles have taken place in the past against feudalism and the church hierarchy resulting in the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, 1808, 1836, and 1852.

## IV. *The Struggle for a Democratic Republic.*—Development of the United Front and the Peoples Front.

1. The Republic of 1931 did not change any of the fundamental evils in Spain.
2. The Monarchist and feudal elements controlled the State apparatus and the huge wealth of Spain, hindering the application of the Dec. 1931 constitution.
3. The Constitution (1931) provided for—
  - a. A democratic republic of "workers of all classes".
  - b. Separation of State and Church.
  - c. Abolition of religious orders hostile to the Republic.
  - d. Civil rights, right of free speech, press, and assembly.
  - e. Protection of the workers, social legislation.
  - f. Equal rights for both sexes.
  - g. An agrarian reform law (passed in 1932).
4. Land only to 10,000 peasants since 1931 to the amount of about 100,000 acres. It is estimated that if this rate of land distribution would continue it would require 5,000 years to complete the so-called agrarian reform.
5. All provisions of the December Constitution were disregarded since it was enacted.
6. From 1931 the textile industry decreased 40%; coal mining suffered a surplus reserve of 300,000 tons.
7. Strike struggles, peasants unrest were spreading as a result of the suppression of the rights of workers, land hunger, and lack of civil rights.
8. The Gil-Robles-Lerroux dictatorship attempted to take away the vestiges of rights won in the struggle for democratic freedom. It provoked the uprising in October 1934. The C. E. D. A. deliberately attempted to put their men in the Lerroux cabinet. This incident gave rise to the revolt.
  - a. The working population of Asturias held power for 15 days.
  - b. 5,000 killed and 30,000 imprisoned throughout Spain.
  - c. Reign of terror was installed.
9. The causes for the failure of the October 1934 uprising were:
  - a. No working class unity and cohesion of the revolutionary parties.
  - b. Neutrality of the Anarchists.
  - c. Middle classes neglected.
  - d. Peasantry not won over.

### V. *The Peoples Front.*

1. In January, 1936, a pact was signed between the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, Left Republicans, the Republican Union, and the Catalo Left Party.
2. The pact contained the following main points:
  - Amnesty.
  - Reform of the Courts.
  - Reduction of taxes and excessive rents of the peasants.
  - Protection of small industry.
  - Public works for the unemployed.
  - Regulation of private banking.
  - Labor legislature, etc.
  - New Schools and higher education for workers, students.
  - International policy according to the principles and methods of the League of Nations.
3. The February 15, 1936, elections was an overwhelming victory for the Peoples Front. Of the total 473 deputies elected, 268 were of the Left and 205 of the Right and Center. C. P. elected 15 deputies.
4. A Victory despite the terror.

### VI. Some accomplishments of the Azana Republic from March to July 1936:

1. Reinstatement of discharged worker and employees for political activities and 6-month compensation wages.
2. General amnesty.
3. 25,000 peasants and their families, totalling 87,000 peasants, were provided with land.
4. Restoration of social legislation.
5. Disbandment of the smaller fascist groups.
6. Some of the police force purged of fascists.
7. A commission to fix the blame of the October murderers.
8. Semiautonomous status of Catalonia and Biscay.

VII. The Communist Party of Spain has repeatedly called for a series of strong measures to curb the fascists. The Government was weak and vacillating against the enemy.

1. The United Front between the Socialists and Communists made further advances.
  - a. The trade-union unification in one C. G. T.,<sup>1</sup> which at the outbreak of the fascist rebellion had one million.
  - b. The C. N. T.<sup>2</sup> not unified with the C. G. T. and has 700,000 members.
  - c. The Socialist and Communist youth organically united into 140,000 members (Previous to unification the Socialist youth had 65,000 members and the YCL 50,000).

VIII. *The fascist rebellion of July 18, 1936.*—International fascists help Counter-revolution.

1. A series of provocations preceded the planned rebellion of the fascists.
  - a. 90% of the strikes turned into lockouts.
  - b. closing of the factories.
  - c. Fascists carry out murders and burning of Churches.
  - d. 5 million pesetas smuggled out of Spain.
  - e. Smuggling of arms and ammunition into Spain.
  - f. The Millionaire Juan March finances the preparations.
  - g. Snajurjo spent a few months in Germany preparing the revolt.
2. It is a recognized fact that since the rebellion, German and Italian fascism have supplied weapons of destruction. The Foreign Minister of the Madrid government made a full report on the question at the League of Nations.
3. 75% of the standing army of 105,000 went over to the fascists. About half of the Civil Guard and the Assault Guard sided with democracy.

<sup>1</sup> C. G. T.—General Confederation of Labor, under combined influence of Socialist and Communist.

<sup>2</sup> C. N. T.—National Confederation of Labor—under anarcho-syndicalist influence.

## NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

DECEMBER 11, 1936.

## EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT

## THE SEAMEN'S STRIKE

*References:*

1. Labor Notes, November 1936.
2. Daily Worker—News and Editorials on strike note especially editorial of Dec. 10th, 1936 as aid in explaining to trade unions.
  - (a) The "outlaw" charge against the East Coast Maritime Strike.
  - (b) Who is David Grance?
  - (c) Unions officially in strike.

Strike of 39,000 maritime workers on the *West Coast*, October 30, paralyzed shipping industry. Basic demands are for continuation of hiring halls, preferential employment for licensed men, and six-hour day for longshoremen. Unions willing to arbitrate other demands including wage increases. Strike spread also to eastern and Gulf ports. Report on November 3rd indicated total of 278 ships involved and 80,000 men affected (including non-marine workers). *New York World Telegram* 11-13-36.

*Conditions of Seamen.*—Revealed in New Government Report Federal Coordinator of Transportation has recently published a report by the sections of Research and Labor Relations on "Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions in Domestic Water Transportation". Owing to complexity of this industry and the great detail of the data presented, we can cite only a few of the significant facts brought out. The survey on which the report is based was made during 1933.

"An accurate census of number of employees engaged in domestic water transportation," states the report, "is not available." Leaving out employment that is exclusively intrastate, it is estimated that in 1934 there were about 293,000 employees in both domestic and foreign trade. Of these, about 114,000 were employed on vessels, about 110,000 were stevedores and longshoremen, and about 69,000 were other shore workers. The following facts from the report deal largely with conditions of seamen:

*Hours:* A basic eight-hour day prevailed in June 1933 for the majority of seamen. But on common-carrier vessels in the Atlantic-Gulf Coastwise trade, a third of the deck crew and 55% of the workers in the steward's department were reported working on a 12-hour schedule. On common-carrier vessels in the Intercoastal trade, 28% of the deck crew were reported on a 12-hour schedule and 34% in steward's department were scheduled for 8 to 12-hour day. On Great Lakes common-carrier vessels, all officers, 12% of the engine-room personnel, 35% of the deck crew, and 33% of the steward's department were reported as scheduled for 12 hours a day.

While vessel employees of contract and private carriers on both the Atlantic-Gulf Coastwise and Pacific Coastwise service reported an 8-hour day, on the Great Lakes nearly 75% of the licensed officers and more than 50% of unlicensed personnel were scheduled for 12 hours a day.

On Atlantic and Pacific Inland common carriers and those on Mississippi River and its tributaries, a 12-hour day was found to be almost universal.

*Wages:* Lowest wage rates paid in June 1933 to unlicensed workers on common carriers engaged in offshore trade, were reported by Intercoastal ships, the next lowest by Atlantic-Gulf Coastwise ships. Seventy percent of the unlicensed personnel in the former trade and 59% of that in the latter received \$50 per month or less, as compared with 42% in Atlantic Coastwise service, 37% in Pacific Coastwise service, 43% in Pacific-Alaska service, and 39% on the Great Lakes.

Ninety-three percent of unlicensed workers on common-carrier vessels in the Atlantic Inland trade received \$75 per month or less; 4% received between \$76 and \$100 per month, as compared with 48% and 43% respectively for similar employees in the Pacific Inland service.

In barge-line operations on the Mississippi River and its tributaries, about 55% of the workers other than officers received between \$25 and \$50 per month.

*Overtime:* On Pacific Coast, unlicensed personnel in the offshore trades are paid at the rate of 60¢ per hour, except for members of the steward's department below

the rank of cook, whose overtime rate is 50¢; and in Pacific Steam Schooner and Pacific-Alaska services at the rate of 70¢. Atlantic agreement did not provide for overtime payment to unlicensed personnel until after September 26, 1936, when provision was made to pay overtime, but under conditions different from those in effect on Pacific Coast.

Living conditions: "No general survey of living conditions on board ships was undertaken," states the report, but statements made at public hearings and references to living conditions in union agreements indicate that "quarters of unlicensed personnel, however, are unusually overcrowded, ill-ventilated and unsanitary. While food allowances are adequate, there have been many complaints that food is often poorly cooked and badly served \* \* \*. It is evident that too little attention has been paid by ship architects and ship operators to the importance of living conditions."

Training and hiring: There has been little attempt to establish training procedures for able and ordinary seamen. "Lack of adequate training for certificated lifeboat men is particularly noticeable."

"Where unions have obtained sufficient strength to establish hiring halls, somewhat more orderly hiring procedures have been established."

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NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE

COMMUNIST PARTY

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT

MARCH 29, 1937.

MAY DAY DISCUSSION OUTLINE

I. *May Day an American Institution.*

- A. 1886.—The American Federation of Trades and Labor Unions called a one-day general strike in the struggle for an 8-hour day.
- B. 300,000 took part in the first May Day demonstration; the 8-hour day was won, but not without bloodshed, at the McCormack Factory "riot" and the Haymarket "riot." Eight labor leaders were framed and hung as a result of the Haymarket bomb explosion.

II. *May Day, 1936 to May Day, 1937, Marks Outstanding economic gains for the Working Class and unity in Struggle of Negro and white.*

The great task of organizing the unorganized and is going forward, under the impetus of the C. I. O., which has taken up the long-time party slogan of industrial organization.

1. *Marine Strike.*

West Coast: 40,000 men strike for 98 days.

Atlantic Coast and Gulf Coast joined and struck for 85 days. Laid foundation for National Maritime Federation as step toward industrial union in marine. Large increase in union membership and improvement of working conditions. Intensified successful fight on "fink books." Strengthened labor nationally.

2. *General Motors and Chrysler strikes.*

C. I. O. makes first drive in giant open-shop mass-production industry and uses new weapon—SIT-DOWN. Mass sit-downs in key plants affected 200,000 workers. Using industrial union, class struggle tactics proves successful.

*Capitalist bosses let loose all their forces.* Capitalist press with distorted news. Vicious news reels. Lying broadcasts. Vigilantes. State militia. Injunctions. Class-collaborating AFL leaders like Frey and Green.

Middle class generally sympathetic to strikers in strike area. Women and youth actively participated in struggle.

*Government administration.*

Murphy responded to mass pressure, the strike ended without the threatened force eviction of the strikers.

*Working class solidarity* tremendous in strike areas; the whole progressive labor movement and the leadership of the C. I. O. actively behind the strike. The Flat Glass Workers, for example, settled a 10-week-old

strike in order to bring pressure to bear on GM by selling glass to GM's competitors, Ford and Chrysler. In this way labor used a class strategy, concentrating all its forces on one point.

*The Victory.*

Recognition of U. A. W. as sole bargaining agent for workers in 20 plants for 6 months; and recognition as agent for its membership in 49 plants.

No discriminations against union members or strikes. Negotiations for conditions. \$25,000,000 wage increases. Injunction quashed. Membership in union multiplied. Open shop rule broken through. Other companies in automobile, etc., give wage increases. Strengthened progressive labor forces in the struggle in steel.

3. *Steel.*

Successful organization drive (unity of Negro and white) victory in auto, forces the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, the one that had smashed the Homestead strike in 1887, to settle with the C. I. O. in 1937. An agreement was signed affecting 120,000 men. Union recognition, the 40-hour week and wage increases were gained. The example of Carnegie-Illinois was followed by other steel mills.

4. *Pending struggles in mass production industries.*

General Electric, textile, coal, rubber, cement, hosiery, etc., etc.

III. *The Struggle Against Reaction: Towards a Farmer Labor Party.*

The Party's tactic of defeating reaction and building the forces of independent political action was successful and proved to be a factor in clarifying the issues (contrast Socialist Party sectarianism). Hearst, the Liberty League, Coughlin, and the camp of reaction were overwhelmingly repudiated. The people voted for a progressive legislative program and for a better life. Labor made strategic gains, which it began to cash in on in the strike wave after election, using pressure on Roosevelt and Murphy to help win in their demands.

In Congress there was formed an organized *progressive bloc*, which actually put forward its own nominee for Speaker and asked for Committee appointments in its own name. The bloc consists of Farmer Laborites, Wisconsin Progressive, and Progressive Democrats; it now numbers 17 to 20 representatives. It has taken progressive, determined positions on "neutrality," relief, W. P. A., sit-down strikes, and the Supreme Court.

Labor's Non-Partisan League, at its national conference, determined to cooperate with Farmer and other groups (National Negro Congress) and to form state organizations.

*Supreme Court.*

In an attempt to cheat the workers of their election victory, of their hard-won industrial victories, and to prevent progressive legislation, the camp of reaction has swung all its power behind the drive to defeat the President's Supreme Court proposals. The reactionaries have skillfully been able to split away some progressives like Wheeler and Nye, who raise the false issue of action by the slow process of constitutional amendment, as an alternative to the President's proposals.

Labor and all progressive forces must fall behind the President's proposals and not allow the issue to be confused. The question of *amending* the constitution is a supplementary issue. The C. P. favors *after* the passage of the present proposals the passing of an amendment to deprive the Supreme Court of its usurped power to review legislation.

IV. *International Solidarity.*

1. The foremost battlefield of the entire world—the anti-fascist movement—now lies in Spain. There the unity of the people's front is gathering sufficient strength to pass over to the offensive against the international fascist invasion. All possible support must be given to Spain, especially to kill the "neutrality" legislation. The fascist rape of Ethiopia and the invasion of Spain, and the threats against France, Czechoslovakia, and all democratic countries, especially the Soviet Union, the only proletarian democracy, marks the imminence of world war. May Day this year must symbolize the struggle against fascism for peace and support of the peace policies of the Soviet Union.

2. The action of the Soviet Union's courts in ferreting out the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites and exposing their connection with the war plans of 1937 of

Hitler and Japan constitutes a great service to the peace forces of the world. The peace policy of the Soviet Union thus scored another triumph for the people of the world.

3. The New Soviet Constitution, the greatest, most progressive document of its kind in world history, was a further blow against world reaction and forms a rallying ground in the struggle against fascism.

#### V. *May Day and the Communist Party.*

In all of the struggles recounted above, the Party has played a large, and at some times, a leading part. It is necessary to use the preparations of MAY DAY to BUILD THE PARTY. When you review the work and show non-Party masses what has been accomplished in the last year and what must be accomplished in the next, it should be possible to make thousands join the Party.

The DAILY WORKER must be strengthened in the May Day campaign. Trade unionists and others who are preparing for May Day can be made to understand the role of the Daily and Sunday Workers in these preparations.

In all agitation and propaganda, the role of the Party in these struggles can be brought forward to strengthen our work and build the Party.

#### VI. *The Ultimate Aim—TOWARDS SOCIALISM.*

The struggles of the past year form a step forward in the struggle for socialism. The movement towards mass industrial unionism, towards a National Farmer Labor Party is at the same time a struggle for Socialism, it is a realistic struggle which takes into account the present conditions of the masses. Let us raise vigorously the slogan, THROUGH DEMOCRACY TO SOCIALISM.

#### VII. *Organizational proposals.*

(a) If possible, organize local neighborhood meetings; (b) issue section and unit leaflets and shop papers; (c) special preparations to sell the special *pre-May Day* issue of the DAILY WORKER for April 14th; (d) special mobilizations to canvass with *May Day* edition of the Daily Worker; (e) intensification of neighborhood struggles for relief, housing, etc.; (f) stimulate trade-union organization in your locality.

#### VIII. *Slogans.*

ORGANIZE THE UNORGANIZED! EVERY TOWN A UNION TOWN! FOR A POWERFUL AND UNITED LABOR MOVEMENT!

ABOLISH THE USURPED POWERS OF THE SUPREME COURT! SUPPORT EVERY MEASURE WHICH CURBS THE AUTOCRATIC RULE OF THE JUDICIARY! PRESERVE AND EXTEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS! BUILD THE AMERICAN PEOPLES FRONT AGAINST REACTION, FASCISM, AND WAR! BUILD THE FARMER LABOR PARTY, THE PARTY OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST WALL STREET!

SUPPORT THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE SPANISH PEOPLE AGAINST THE FASCIST INVASION OF HITLER AND MUSSOLINI! END THE EMBARGO AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC AND FRIENDLY GOVERNMENT OF SPAIN! SUPPORT THE PEACE POLICIES OF THE SOVIET UNION—THE BULWARK OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY! KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR BY KEEPING WAR OUT OF THE WORLD! BUILD A MIGHTY PEACE MOVEMENT OF LABOR FARMERS AND ALL PROGRESSIVES!

#### *Reading Suggestions.*

"The Communist" for March and April.

Browder—Plenum report on the Election Results.

May Day Pamphlets.

THE DAILY WORKER.

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NEW YORK STATE COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

APRIL 6, 1937.

REMINDERS ON PROCEDURE IN DISCIPLINARY CASES

TO BE READ AT ALL UNIT MEETINGS:

Dear Comrades:

(1) Every accused member has the right to a hearing and must be given an opportunity to present his side before disciplinary action is taken against him. Notes or minutes should be taken at such hearings. These hearings, however, do not have to be legalistic affairs. Sometimes written statements in reply to charges are sufficient.



(2) Every accused member has the right to appeal the decision to a higher Party committee. Such appeals should be made in writing and explain on what grounds appeal is made.

(3) All disciplinary actions must be *immediately* reported by units to section, by section to counties; and by counties to the State Committee. Fractions in organizations must *immediately* report all cases to the counties in which they are functioning.

(4) In reporting cases the following information *must* be given: (a) name of accused; (b) home address; (c) his or her unit, section, county; (d) when joined Party; (e) any interruptions; (f) former and present functions in Party; (g) occupation; (h) which mass organization belongs to; (i) exposure of spies and swindlers should be accompanied with (in addition to above information) good personal description, and, if possible, with photos.

(5) The following are the disciplinary actions that may be taken against the accused member, in order of their severity:

- (a) Criticism or severe criticism.
- (b) Censure or severe censure.
- (c) Either of above with warning.
- (d) Removal from office.
- (e) Dropping from rolls.
- (f) Expulsions.

(6) All charges against section or higher functionaries must be reported to the District as soon as they are received, followed up later with findings and decisions.

All removals from office require the approval of the next higher committee.

ALL EXPULSIONS AND READMISSIONS OF PREVIOUSLY EXPELLED MEMBERS NEED APPROVAL OF THE STATE BUREAU OR STATE COMMITTEE.

State Disciplinary Com.

*KEEP THIS ON FILE FOR FUTURE REFERENCE*

Educational Department,  
New York State Committee,  
Discussion Outline.

MARCH 1, 1938.

#### WOMEN AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

(International Women's Day, March 8)

EARL BROWDER, The People's Front (p. 46, Report to the 9th Convention of the C. P.): "There are hundreds of thousands of women in the trade unions, there are multiplied numbers in industry still unorganized, there are millions of women in mass organizations of varied sorts. Their problems are growing more difficult, they are searching for answers, for a new way out, just as we have seen among the youth. All the possibilities exist for a women's movement on the same scale as the youth movement. It is the task of our Party to find and develop those women with the capacity of creating and leading such a movement."

#### I. INTRODUCTION.

The growing struggle for democracy, security, jobs, and peace has brought more and more women into social and political life. The celebration of INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY should therefore serve to rally the Party to intensify its efforts to involve women in activity and to guide their struggles into the channels of organization of a democratic front to defeat the reactionaries in the 1938 Congressional elections.

#### II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.

Just like May Day, International Women's Day is of AMERICAN origin.

The designation of a special day devoted to propaganda among women was first made by the Socialist Party in the U. S. A. in 1908. The day was conceived to be for the purpose of advocating woman suffrage which was then agitating the middle-class women and for general agitation among working women. It was designated on the last Sunday in February.

Clara Zetkin, at an International Conference of Socialist women in Copenhagen in 1910 proposed that this day become International. Comrade Zetkin then put this resolution into action in Germany and for the first time it was celebrated in 1911 in that country. During the campaign under Comrade Zetkin's leadership the fact that the struggle for equal rights for women was only part of the struggle for the emancipation of the workers from capitalism and called upon the women to mobilize and struggle for their special needs as well as for the improvements of the conditions of the toilers as a whole. The demonstrations in Germany were highly successful and in Berlin there were collisions with the police.

In 1914 Rosa Luxemburg in Germany rallied the women for the struggle against impending war and was arrested for her activity. On International Women's Day the women of Germany demonstrated against the arrest of Red Rosa and against war. Huge demonstrations against war were held in many countries under the leadership of the Socialist movement.

On March 8, 1917, the women of tsarist Russia, defying the brutal terror of the police, left factories and marched into the streets demanding "bread and an end to the capitalist war." Their action was thus the forerunner of the great October revolution and through the bitter years of intervention and famine the women fought valiantly along with the men to maintain the Soviet power. In 1918 and 1919 International Women's Day in the Soviet Union became the rallying cry for increased defense and against the international imperialist invaders. Today they enjoy the fruits of their struggle—equal with men in the building of Socialism. While the October Revolution freed the women, the new Soviet Constitution guarantees full security—complete civil and economic rights.

On March 8, 1936, International Women's Day in Spain was celebrated by 80,000 demonstrators marching through Madrid under the slogans of liberation of women of Spain from capitalist exploitation and the menace of war and fascism. A. Pasionaria, the most popular and beloved woman in Spain, inspired these demonstrators.

### III. MILITANT TRADITIONS OF WOMEN.

(a) Women began their struggle for equality during the Revolutionary War of 1776 and the struggle to enact the Constitution when they tried to have their rights recognized and guaranteed in the Constitution.

(b) In 1834, there was organized the first working women's association, in Lowell, Mass. After a great textile strike there, about 2,500 women organized the Factory Girls' Association. In 1835, in NEW YORK, a Female Union Association was formed, to be followed by similar groups in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Lynn, etc.

(c) In 1848, right in NEW YORK STATE (Seneca Falls), there began the *organized* struggle of women for equality at the Women's Rights Convention which drafted the Women's Rights Declaration calling for the right to vote, to hold political office, to own property, to make contracts, to testify in court, etc.

This was the beginning of what came to be known as the Suffragette Movement. It produced such outstanding women leaders as Frances Wright, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Susan B. Anthony.

(d) Abolitionism also found its women advocates and leaders. In Philadelphia, the Female Anti-Slavery Society supported abolition and memorialized Congress to free the slaves, and also organized lectures at which Negro and white mingled in the audience. The Negro people, however, developed their own great woman leader, HARRIET TUBMAN, friend of John Brown, and called Moses by her people because she led more than 300 of them to escape from slavery through the "Underground Railway." From New York she returned to the South 19 times (when there were rewards amounting to \$40,000 being offered for her capture) to help Negroes escape! During the Civil War she was a valuable aid to the Northern armies, for whom she served as scout, guide, nurse, and spy. She died in Auburn, New York, in 1913, respected by all friends of progress.

In contemporary times, women have been active and militant in the great labor struggles in textile, mining, transport, and steel. They have developed living leaders like Lucy Parsons, Ella May Wiggling, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ann Burlak, Maude Mae White, Negro woman leader of Ohio, our great and famous Mother Ella Reeve Bloor.

#### IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY.

What program? "Equal Rights" Amendment of the Woman's Charter?

##### (a) *The Equal Rights Amendment.*

Although it takes up the fine old slogan of the suffrage movement for equal rights, this proposed amendment to the U. S. Constitution is a demagogic threat to all women. It was formulated in 1922 by the Woman's Party, which has in recent years become a close ally of the Republican Party. The essence of the danger in this movement lies in the fact that if the Amendment were passed, it would wipe out all the valuable, necessary, and socially useful PROTECTIVE legislation that has been passed to safeguard women and mothers from double exploitation by the Big Business interests. Thus all minimum-wage legislation for women would be declared unconstitutional; all special health regulations would be abolished. The amendment would actually perpetuate the existing inequality that rises from the fact that the capitalists take advantage of women to give them less pay for the same work, to discharge them during pregnancy, etc. Anatole France pointed to the hollowness of bourgeois political democracy without economic democracy in his famous saying: "Under the law the rich and the poor are both prevented from sleeping under the bridges at night." So we might point to the falseness of the Equal Rights Amendment by saying: "Under this law, men and women would *both* have the right to bear children." The real way to wipe out existing inequalities is to pass special protective legislation for women to protect them from double exploitation.

##### (b) *The Women's Charter.*

This charter provides for *real* equality. The movement for it began in December 1935, and has gained great momentum. Recently the International Labor Conference in Geneva passed resolutions presented by the American delegation endorsing the principles of the Charter. These principles are simply and clearly presented in the full text, which reads as follows:

"Women shall have full political and civil rights; full opportunity for education; full opportunity for work according to their individual abilities, with safeguards against physically harmful conditions of employment and economic exploitation; they shall receive compensation, without discrimination because of sex. They shall be assured security of livelihood, including the safeguarding of motherhood. The provisions necessary for the establishment of these standards shall be guaranteed by government, which shall insure also the right of united action toward the attainment of these aims.

"Where special exploitation of women workers exists, such as low wages which provide less than the living standards attainable, unhealthy working conditions, or long hours of work which result in physical exhaustion and denial of the right to leisure, such conditions shall be corrected through social and labor legislation which the world's experience shows to be necessary."

#### V. WOMEN UNDER SOCIALISM.

The great Stalinist Constitution (Article 122) guarantees women full equality plus all the necessary protection: "Women in the U. S. S. R. are accorded equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life. The possibility of exercising these rights of women is insured by affording women equally with men the right to work, payment for work, rest and leisure, social insurance, and education, and by state protection of the interests of mother and child, maternity leave with pay, and the provision of a wide network of maternity homes, nurseries, and kindergartens."

#### VI. WOMEN UNDER FASCISM.

Unheard of misery and war is the lot of women. Wherever possible they are driven from their jobs, restricted to the home, and turned into breeders of cannon fodder. They are ruled out of the professions and industry and forced into domestic service. Their political rights are destroyed. Their wages are reduced. THE COST OF LIVING JUMPS, providing additional burdens for the housewife. The future for the children is dark and a source of constant worry and fear on the part of the mother.

#### VII. THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE PEOPLE'S FRONT MOVEMENT.

##### (a) *Working Women.*

Their great need is for trade unions, and hundreds of thousands of them are joining the C. I. O. unions in the present drive to organize the

unorganized (textile, laundry, office, department-store, white-collar unions, etc.). Their \* \* \*

(The remainder of this report was missing.)

New York County Committee  
Communist Party,  
Education Department.

MARCH 1, 1938.  
Discussion Outline.

#### SPAIN AND THE PEOPLE'S FRONT

Sections I and II are introductory. The bulk of the emphasis should be placed on Sections III, IV, and V. The comrade leading the discussion should, with the aid of the unit bureau, supply the items for V-F.

The growing seriousness of the present world situation, with Hitler and the fascist triple alliance driving ever faster and more openly toward world war, makes the struggle for collective security and for the defense of Spain and China of prime importance. Particularly the capitulation of Chamberlain to Italy, with the almost certain recognition of the Ethiopian conquest and the probable acceptance of fuller Italian intervention in Spain, places the struggle for the maintenance of Spanish democracy in the forefront of the tasks of the world proletariat.

"The aggression of which we are the victims is directed not only against Spain, all the free and independent peoples of Europe are the objects of this aggression. And the tragedy is that these peoples, deceived or else misled by their governments, have not yet been able thoroughly to understand this truth." Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain.

I. The advances of the People's Front government in the last nine months indicate conclusively that, barring open and complete intervention by Italy and Germany, the Spanish people can defeat fascism.

- a. Establishment of powerful, well-functioning military machine:
  1. Completion of the building of a regular army, with trained reserves.
  2. Setting up a single, unified command.
  3. Strengthening of civilian support.
  4. Compulsory military training.
  5. Elimination of untrustworthy and incompetent officers.
  6. Placing of industry on war footing.
- b. Institution of military offensive—with brilliant results:
  1. Brunete.
  2. Capture of Quinto and Belchite.
  3. Teruel.
  4. Fascists resort to barbarous murder of women and children as only way of retaliation:
    - a. Bombing of Valencia, Barcelona, Madrid.
- c. Liquidation of Trotskyists and the P. O. U. M.
- d. Heroic support of international proletariat, despite the vacillation and treachery of democratic governments.

"Our people will be forever thankful to the Communist International and to its glorious helmsman, Comrade Dimitroff, who has carried on an untiring struggle and is now engaged in the struggle to secure that all the forces of the international proletariat unite and act jointly in aid of Spain." Jose Diaz.

- a. Achievements of the International Battalion:
  1. Madrid.
  2. Guadalajara.
  3. Jarama.
  4. Teruel.
- b. Formation of People's Front organizations for—
  1. Financial support.
  2. Medical aid, food, clothing.
  3. Moral support.
- c. Support from the U. S. S. R.

"Only the Soviet Union has openly defended us at all international conferences, against the foul intrigues of the aggressors, and against the blind and criminal weakness of the diplomacy of the bourgeois-democratic countries." Jose Diaz.

1. Arms and technicians to counterbalance armed fascist intervention.
2. Food and money.
3. In international diplomacy:
  - x. League of Nations.
  - y. Nonintervention Committee.
  - z. Nyon Conference on piracy in Mediterranean.
4. Moral support.

II. The People's Front government, despite all obstacles, has brought about tremendous internal improvements:

a. Agriculture:

1. Expropriation of land belonging to landowners participating in revolt (bulk of land).
2. Institution of centers for aiding and educating peasants, which resulted in a technical revolution.
3. Development of cooperatives as agency of agrarian revolution.
4. Encouragement of voluntary collectives where feasible.

b. Industry:

1. Large industries owned by State.
2. Big capitalists eliminated.
3. Small shopkeepers and businessmen protected.

c. Trade Union Unity:

1. Under the People's Front Government the U. G. T. (Socialist) and C. N. T. (Anarchist) have been brought closer together:
  - a. Unity negotiations now under way.
2. C. N. T. opposed to political action on principle, has supported the Popular Front throughout.

d. Culture and education:

1. Considerable steps to liquidate illiteracy:
  - a. Organization of women and girls into shock brigades against illiteracy.
2. Education of talented children.
2. Establishment of workers' institutes, with salaries for needy students, short-term college courses, technical courses, etc.
4. Education among the soldiers.
5. Collaboration with agricultural ministry.
6. Responsibility for art treasures.

III. Role of the Communist Party in building the People's Front:

a. C. P. originally responsible for the united front with Socialists and for the formation of the People's Front.

b. Military achievements:

1. Fifth regiment, outstanding front line fighters despite heavy losses due to bad organization of Caballero government.
2. Had political commissariat established as link to people.
3. Fought for unified command:
  - a. Elimination of untrustworthy officers and elevation of civilian officers.
  - b. Institution of regular discipline and conscription.

c. C. P. worked most earnestly, faithfully, and vigilantly for the unity of Spain and the success of the People's Front government:

1. Headed off hasty, premature actions:
  - a. Stopped general strike, 1936.
  - b. Checked immediate or forced collectivization of farms.
    - x. Lack of material prerequisites for collectivization—power, machinery, technique, etc.
    - y. Peasants not yet prepared to accept collectivization.

2. Called for unity—The People's Front at all costs :
  - a. Worked for unity of Socialists and Communists.
  - b. Stopped quarrels between parties.
  - c. Checked personal rivalries, e. g., Caballero and Prieto for premiership.
  - d. Worked for unity in the trade-union movement.
  - e. Resistance to antireligious pressure of anarchists.
3. Fearlessly exposed Caballero when he proved himself inadequate as premier :
  - a. Failure to cleanse State Apparatus and army of fascists, spies, and traitors.
  - b. Failure to form a regular army with a unified command.
  - c. Failure to estimate correctly the extent of the war.
  - d. Failure to organize industry on a war basis.
  - e. Failure to react strongly to fascist-Trotskyist—P. O. U. M. uprising in Barcelona.
  - f. Considerable responsibility for fascist successes up to the gates of Madrid, for inactivity on the Aragon front, for the loss of Malaga, for the defeat of the Basques, etc.
  - g. Tendency to attack critics (especially C. P.) as traitors.
  - h. Stubbornness, lack of responsiveness to masses, political vanity.

IV. Spain is the living proof of the revolutionary character of the People's Front tactic, showing how the People's Front leads toward a higher form of democracy and indicating "the possibility for the peaceful development to Socialism:"

a. Popular revolution :

1. Government representative of and responsible to the people.
  2. Central authority established on popular basis.
  3. Church eliminated as political or economic force.
  4. Progress in popular culture.
  5. Technical progress in agriculture and industry.
  6. People's Army.
  7. Emancipated womanhood and youth.
- b. Special character differing from ordinary bourgeois democracy :
1. Change in conception of democracy :
    - a. Unparalleled mass participation in public life.
    - b. More direct mass influence on government.
  2. Change in content :
    - a. People armed.
    - b. No large landowners ; land distributed.
    - c. Large industries owned by State, Unions :
      - x. Run by workers.
      - y. Big capitalists eliminated.
    - d. No large private bankers :
      - x. In hands of State.
      - y. In hands of workers.

V. Tasks in U. S. A.

"I am distrustful. I only believe what I see. I have been deeply moved by the demonstrations of solidarity, but I would prefer more tangible things. If I would see more clothes, more food arriving—that is, if the concrete aid became more effective—then I would believe that the solidarity had grown. I have heard many words, many promises, during the last year. I would now like to see them followed by appropriate deeds." General Miaja, Commander in Chief of the Spanish Army.

- a. Increases support of Spanish Loyalists
  1. Support of the International Brigade
  2. Material needs, money, food, clothing, medical supplies, support of refugee children
  3. Intensive campaign for membership in the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade

- b. Pressure to change policy of isolation to one of collective action to guarantee the aggressor
1. Implement Pres. Roosevelt's Chicago address of October 5th
    - a. Passage of O'Connell Peace Act to embargo aggressors and open our markets to victimized nations
  2. Support of the American League for Peace and Democracy
  3. Boycott Japan, as a blow at international fascism
- c. Exposure of the sabotage of the Trotskyists, Lovestoneites and Socialists
1. Their defense of betrayals and counter-revolutionary activities in Spain
  2. The lying reports of Sam Baron
  3. The isolationist attitude of Norman Thomas
  4. Their support of Ludlow Amendment
  5. Their slanderous attacks on the U. S. S. R.'s policy toward Spain
- d. Clarification of the role of the U. S. S. R. and C. P. in building the People's Front
- e. The performance of these tasks will
1. Strengthen the Spanish People's Front and hasten its movement in the direction of Socialism
  2. Help to crystallize the People's Front in the U. S. A. and on a world wide scale
- f. Tasks of our unit

## SUGGESTED READINGS

- "Rally closer the Ranks of the People's Front"—Jose Dias (Communist International, January 1938)
- "The Change in Spain"—Robert Minor (The Communist, August 1937)
- Heroic Spain—Marty
- "The Victory of the Spanish People"—Diaz (Communist International, May 1937)
- The Spanish Revolution—Ercoli
- Spain in Revolt—Gannes and Repard
- Spain and the People's Front—Dimitroff
- Next Steps to Win the War in Spain—Browder and Lawrence
- How the Soviet Union Helps Spain—Gannes
- Life and Death of a Spanish Town—Paul
- International Press Correspondence—Vol. 17, Nos. 30, 42, 45, 49, 50, 53, 56; Vol. 18, No. 1.

## OUR ELECTION CAMPAIGN AND ITS RELATION TO THE AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

COMMUNIST PARTY, NEW YORK DISTRICT, August 26, 1936.

*Method of Presentation to Units.*—This material is not to be repeated to the comrades in a speech. Questions in writing or orally should be noted. Answers are to be given by comrades in general discussion. The leader of the discussion to use outlines as guide in meeting correctly the problems raised by the comrades. Where sharp differences develop, make careful notation of the questions and the answers, consult the section committee and bring back the opinion given, not as "orders," but as a guide for further discussion and acceptance by the unit.

I. *Parties, issues in the election campaign.*

(a) The chief enemy of the peace, freedom, and prosperity of the American people is the Republican Party and its reactionary allies. Defeat the Landon-Hearst-Liberty League-Wall Street alliance.

(b) Roosevelt and his administration are retreating before the attacks of reaction and surrendering position after position to the main enemy. Stop the surrender of our rights and interests in Washington.

(c) The Socialist Party, after breaking loose from its reactionary Old Guard, is moving into the backwater of doctrinaire sectarianism, drifting out of the mass currents of American life. Win the Socialists for the people's united front, for the Farmer Labor Party.

(d) The Farmer Labor Party is rapidly growing in states and localities, it is organizing itself on a national scale. Support the program and platform of the Chicago Farmer Labor Party conference, build the Farmer Labor Party.

(c) The Communist presidential ticket is the only banner in the national elections rallying and organizing all the forces of the people against reaction, fascism, and war, building the people's front in the United States. Vote the Communist presidential ticket.

## II. *Applying the general line of our party in New York City.*

Every community in the state must analyze the concrete situation and adopt a policy following the general line of the Party and based on actual conditions in the community.

(a) Nationally our main attack is against the Republican Party as the outstanding carrier of fascist trends, as the representative of the Hearst-Liberty League set-up. In New York City it is *Tammany that is tied up with the Liberty League* through Al Smith and others. In New York City Tammany is that extreme reactionary force that we brand Hearst. Tammany controls the head and high officials of the Police Department; the Board of Aldermen and the Board of Estimate. It has used this control in the same manner as the arch reactionary forces throughout the country. Brutality of police officials in the labor struggles, the role of the police in Harlem, the series of measures attacking foreign born workers, free speech and press, finger printing, etc. Many other instances can be given to substantiate our estimate of Tammany as the arch reactionary force in our city. In New York City *our main fire must be directed against Tammany.*

## III. *Our form of criticism and attack against La Guardia.*

LaGuardia is not fighting Tammany sufficiently. He does not struggle against the Tammany controlled city legislative bodies even for those mild reforms that he is proposing. LaGuardia accepts defeat in the Board of Alderman. He does not, as chief executive of the city, raise these issues before the masses in order to get their support for an attack by the people against Tammany Hall.

## IV. *Labor's Non-Partisan League in New York City and State—The American Labor Party.*

Nationally we estimated Labor's Non-Partisan League as a weak, a vacillating but nevertheless a beginning towards labor's independent political action, with possibilities of developing along the lines we hoped for that development.

In New York City and State Labor's Non-Partisan League has had to go further organizationally than it has done nationally. They have set up an organization, independent from the Democratic Party, in order to attract the tens of thousands of radical, independent voters.

## V. *The trends within the American Labor Party.*

Some within it agreed to this independent course only in order to get the maximum number of votes for Roosevelt. Others believe in some sort of realigning of political parties (as expressed in the recent national conference of the League), as, for instance, the breaking away of the liberals from the Republican Party, the extreme conservatives from the Democratic Party, and a realigning of forces within the present capitalist parties around the so-called liberalism of Roosevelt.

On the other hand there are forces within it that really are striving for a labor party as a permanent organization. They stand for a Labor Party in principle. They are quite a factor in New York City.

## VI. *Common ground between us and the American Labor Party.*

(a) On the issue of defeating Landon and arch reaction at all costs we agree.

(b) On the trend in the organization for a permanent Labor Party and labor's independent political action—we agree.

(c) On their intention to run local candidates as candidates of the American Labor Party—this is a good step forward as far as policy is concerned.

These positive aspects of the American Labor Party are of the greatest importance to us. Properly developed it gives us a means of carrying through the major political tasks now facing us—the forging of a united people's front against reaction and war, and the defeat of the Landon-Liberty League forces. This we can achieve by being within the American Labor Party, influencing its program and activities and strengthening those other forces within the American Labor Party moving in the direction of a completely independent and permanently established labor party.

They, of course, make as a condition for affiliation or support to the American Labor Party the acceptance of their complete program which is in the first instance the support of Roosevelt and Lehman. We do not agree with this part of their program. Our position has not changed since the national convention.



### VII. *Our attitude toward the American Labor Party.*

We realize that we are not able to determine the exact, pure course for the development of a Labor Party in America, but that there will be all kinds of developments in different localities. Since we have here in New York, in the American Labor Party a movement representing about one quarter million organized trade-union workers moving towards independent political action, we cannot remain neutral or in opposition, but have to work with it and become part of it. This we can do by urging every trade-union that we can influence to affiliate to the American Labor Party on their conditions. By being inside this movement we will:

(a) Strengthen those forces that are closest to our position as regards defeating Landon at all costs.

(b) Strengthen the tendency within the American Labor Party making for a permanent Labor Party—independent workers' political action.

(c) Influence as much as we can the number of local candidates to be selected, their programs and the types of candidate to be selected.

It is with this in mind that our fractions in the Trade Union Committee for a Labor Party and in the People's Committee for a Labor Party were instructed to influence these organizations to negotiate for affiliation to the American Labor Party.

Several prominent progressive trade-union leaders of the Trade Union Committee for a Labor Party, whose organization, upon advice of the Committee, have affiliated with the American Labor Party, have already been granted places on the city executive committee of the American Labor Party. So also with leaders of several left-wing unions. The American Labor Party has already granted affiliation to several Labor Party Clubs of the People's Committee and several leaders of the People's Committee have been placed on the State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party.

### VIII. *Position of Communists in trade unions affiliated to the American Labor Party.*

Every individual member of a trade-union or other organization is not bound to its full program by affiliation to the American Labor Party. Outstanding Communist leaders and members can, while urging affiliation to the American Labor Party, state the positive aspects of the American Labor Party and that he, as a Communist, does not agree with the support of the candidacy of Roosevelt and Lehman and will vote for Browder and Ford.

### IX. *The position of the Socialist Party in regard to the American Labor Party.*

The Socialist Party opposes the American Labor Party. It declares that it is not a "pure" Labor Party, that it endorses capitalist candidates, that it admits nonlabor elements. They insist that the Labor Party in America be born pure and in a mold exactly to its liking. This sectarian policy has led to its greater and greater isolation. Hillman, Dubinsky, and Potofsky have openly attacked the Socialist Party. Whereas the Socialist Party used to say, "Well, a united front with you (the C. P.) will jeopardize our relationship with the trade-unions," today, because of our greater strength in the trade-unions and because of their infantile sectarian policy, this question is reversed. We are trying in every way possible to convince them of the incorrectness of their position. While our arguments have not had much effect, great pressure is being brought to bear upon them in the trade-unions, especially by leaders, not only of the American Labor Party issue, but also on the method used in the selection of Hochman, Thomas' letter to Landon, and Thomas' speech to the Townsendites, and other issues. We will have to fight with and lick them in the trade-unions on the issue of the American Labor Party. (We have succeeded in doing this in every instance in the many trade-unions that have already acted on this matter.)

### X. *The position of the Lovestonites.*

They have made a complete about-face on the Labor Party issue and to prevent isolation are now supporting our policy as regards the American Labor Party.

### XI. *The position of the Old Guard.*

The Old Guard accepts the whole program of the American Labor Party, including Roosevelt. Due to the influence of the Forward, their influence in the Jewish trade-unions as well as over a substantial portion of the radical voters, very serious consideration had to be given them by Hillman and others. Since the Old

Guard have this influence and is not considered a political party in the sense that the Socialist and Communist Parties are, they have been accepted as an affiliate.

The Communist Party is not within the American Labor Party as a party, since the American Labor Party would not accept party affiliation nor would the Party affiliate under their conditions. However, this question has never been taken up by them and the American Labor Party has not taken an official position in this regard.

## XII. Full speed ahead with our Communist election campaign.

In order to continue being a factor and to strengthen our position in the American Labor Party we must show real strength as an independent force—a large Communist Party vote. There is the danger that while trying to get all of the left and progressive organizations to become part of the American Labor Party that we will slacken our Communist Party election campaign. We are not withdrawing Browder and Ford, nor our state candidates headed by Comrade Minor. We must get much more than the fifty thousand votes for our gubernatorial candidates, needed to keep our party on the ballot. A strong independent Communist Party election apparatus must be set up especially in those places where we support local united front or Labor Party candidates.

We must coordinate our Communist Party election campaign with our campaign for the building of the American Labor Party and support of American Labor Party or local united front tickets. In unions and other organizations whether these are affiliated with the American Labor Party or not—Browder-Ford clubs should be established wherever possible. The Communist Party election apparatus must be strengthened everywhere, bringing our platform and candidates to the masses.

Recruiting into our Party, the Daily and Sunday Worker, the sale of Communist Party literature, collecting for the election fund, must go hand in hand with a powerful Communist Party election campaign.

### EXHIBIT "A"

*Balance sheet as of December 31, 1937*

ASSETS	
Cash on Hand.....	\$1,403.86
Loans Receivable.....	68,715.90
Furniture & Fixtures.....	8,556.33
Deferred Assets.....	151.72
<b>Total Assets.....</b>	<b>78,827.81</b>
LIABILITIES	
Loans and Accounts Payable.....	10,429.88
<b>SURPLUS.....</b>	<b>68,397.93</b>

### EXHIBIT "B"

*Cash statement*

	1937		1936	
	Paid	Received	Paid	Received
Dues.....		\$77,116.67		\$69,446.75
Initiations.....		4,427.97		3,271.51
Org. Supplies & Buttons.....		5,509.84		3,511.39
Donations—Organizations.....		67,829.29		59,617.83
Donations—Individuals.....		59,379.59		56,753.42
International Solidarity (Sche. 1).....	\$35,083.61	35,538.54	\$33,645.27	34,159.03
9th Convention.....			17,869.59	21,353.01
Wages.....	20,106.95		20,035.00	
Organization Expense.....	9,722.47		7,270.74	
Labor Struggles Supported (Sche. 2).....	19,345.88		14,456.12	
Traveling.....	11,876.84		4,734.76	

## Cash statement—Continued

	1937		1936	
	Paid	Received	Paid	Received
Telegraph, Cables Communication.....	\$8,076.33		\$7,582.79	
Telephone.....	2,345.48		2,028.15	
Postage & Express.....	2,011.08		2,201.16	
Stationery & Supplies.....	4,549.70		4,686.86	
Rent.....	4,800.00		4,800.00	
Agitprop.....	10,237.34		10,650.42	
Plenums.....	5,101.11		3,281.32	
Recruiting Drive.....	1,775.94			
Orconference.....	520.23			
Taxes.....	356.61			
Editorial Expenses.....	550.00			
Traveling Auditor.....	501.59			
Painting & Repairs.....	1,756.54			
1936 Elec. Campaign.....	289.95		152,017.91	\$146,156.80
Miscellaneous.....	1,068.22		1,690.04	
Subsidies—Districts (Sche. 3).....	31,979.92		25,518.11	
Subsidies—Organizations.....	34,960.83		31,915.98	
Subsidies—Individuals.....	3,249.80		3,081.81	
Party press.....	21,506.64		25,059.28	
Loans Receivable.....	24,750.72		17,370.72	
Loans Payable.....		\$8,424.72	3,500.00	
Furniture.....	1,302.03		1,024.30	
<b>TOTAL RECEIVED</b> .....		<b>258,316.62</b>		<b>394,270.04</b>
<b>TOTAL PAID</b> .....	<b>257,729.81</b>		<b>393,453.66</b>	
Balance 1/1.....		817.05		67
Balance 12/31.....	1,403.86		817.05	
	259,133.67	259,133.67	394,270.71	394,270.71

## SCHEDULE 1

## International solidarity

Paid	1937	1936	Paid	1937	1936
Anti-Nazi.....		\$238.08	India.....		\$130.45
Brazil.....	\$70.00	1,482.69	Italy.....		655.00
Bulgaria.....	400.00		Mexico.....	\$6,825.15	2,033.87
Canada.....	364.26	3,358.81	Nicaragua.....	200.00	
Cuba.....	5,769.45	4,210.00	Philippines.....	2,225.96	3,868.56
Chile.....	93.25		Porto Rico.....	1,054.10	1,115.25
China.....	100.00		Portuguese.....	6.00	
Costa Rica.....	380.00	100.00	Delegations & Commu- nications.....	8,132.00	7,150.00
Caribbean.....	5.94	457.56			
Ethiopian Aid.....	62.50		<b>Total</b> .....	<b>35,083.61</b>	<b>33,645.27</b>
Germany.....	8,195.00	7,645.00			
Ireland.....	1,200.00	1,200.00			

## SCHEDULE 2

## Labor struggles supported

	1937	1936		1937	1936
Steel.....	\$5,600.22	\$3,593.54	Rubber.....	\$85.00	\$200.00
Auto.....	4,094.10	1,013.41	Oil.....	490.00	18.00
Textile.....	2,786.61	781.00	Mining.....	135.00	675.00
Railroad.....	1,907.75	1,250.00	District No. 17.....	120.00	462.54
Marine.....	1,858.75	2,998.55	Miscellaneous.....	978.45	1,986.82
Unemployed.....	1,085.00	95.00			
Metal.....	205.00		<b>Total</b> .....	<b>19,345.88</b>	<b>13,073.89</b>

## SCHEDULE 3

## Subsidies

District	1937	1936	District	1937	1936
1	\$485.00	\$484.00	20	\$1,257.09	\$842.43
2			21	1,307.00	1,772.38
3	521.09	1,061.85	22	749.00	754.50
4	625.90	221.81	23	840.25	853.89
5	2,910.00	2,473.89	24	1,398.80	1,115.51
6	1,510.00	1,053.50	25	1,675.94	1,101.42
7	364.00	116.00	26	372.72	5.00
8	1,210.00	123.00	27	830.00	683.00
9	1,305.66	8.94	28	720.00	367.95
10	878.00	941.02	29	1,404.91	1,600.05
11	299.94	99.55	30	1,349.03	435.00
12	115.75	60.19	31	809.90	326.39
13	143.25	1,501.31	32	623.00	419.57
14	30.00	317.00	33	1,024.60	
15			34	93.75	
16	3,056.61	1,581.42	35	245.00	
17	3,057.64	3,854.22			
18	443.43	589.79	Total	31,979.92	25,548.14
19	323.65	803.34			

## FINANCIAL STATEMENT, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U. S. A., JANUARY 1, 1938, TO MARCH 31, 1940

Statement of income and expenses<sup>1</sup> for the 27-month period January 1, 1938, to March 31, 1940

	Expenses	Income		Expenses	Income
Dues		\$197,176.09	Legislative Department	\$5,486.42	
Initiation		6,340.47	Industrial Department	21,401.21	
Supplies and Buttons		7,797.23	Organization Department	18,967.65	
Mass Meetings and Affairs		89,326.43	Other Departments	42,235.99	
Collections and Donations		81,777.41	Party News Bulletin	1,954.68	
Defense Assessment	\$14,950.40	15,869.98	Publicity & Press Service	7,591.07	
International Solidarity	110,196.72	110,623.89	20th Anniversary	5,934.66	
Schools	5,665.40	5,506.90	Auditing	460.00	
Tenth National Convention (N 1)		7,352.07	Social Security Taxes	1,797.50	
Natl. Nominating Conv. (11th)	300.00		Unemployment Insur. Taxes	2,434.54	
Wages	82,259.88		Repairs	752.51	
Rent	10,800.00		Miscellaneous Expenses	4,172.51	
Telegraph	4,712.55		Subsidies to Districts	90,233.06	
Telephone	5,972.87		Contributions	8,000.00	
Postage & Expressage	6,027.26		Total Received		\$521,771.36
Stationery & Supplies	5,718.42		Total Paid	508,756.23	508,756.23
Traveling	29,164.19		Total General Income		13,015.13
National Committee Meetings	9,696.17		Less Reserves for Defense Fund and I. S.		1,346.75
Party Building Congress	2,926.10		Net Income for the Period		11,668.38
Education Department & Literature	8,943.35				

<sup>1</sup> We are advised that this financial report is merely a cover-up, and that the Communist Party of the U. S. A. actually had 60% more funds that they did not account for.

## Balance sheet as of March 31, 1940

ASSETS	
Cash on Hand and in Bank	\$11,471.64
Loans Receivable	65,995.36
Furniture & Fixtures	9,259.95
Total Assets	86,726.95
LIABILITIES	
Loans Payable	2,883.56
Accts. Payable	2,430.33

*Balance sheet as of March 31, 1940—Continued*

RESERVES		
Defense Fund	-----	\$919. 58
International Solidarity	-----	427. 17
		\$1, 346. 75
 Total Liabilities	-----	6, 660. 64
SURPLUS		
Jan. 1, 1938	-----	\$68, 397. 93
Net Income	-----	11, 668. 38
		80, 066. 31
 Total	-----	86, 726. 95

## CERTIFICATION

*To the National Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.*

I have examined the Balance Sheet of the Communist Party, U. S. A., as of March 31, 1940, and the Statement of Income and Expenses for the 27 months ended that date. In connection therewith, I examined or tested accounting records of the Communist Party, U. S. A., and other supporting evidence, and have reviewed the system of internal control and the accounting procedure of your organization by methods and in the extent I deemed appropriate.

In my opinion the accompanying Balance Sheet and related Statement of Income and Expenses fairly present the financial position of the Communist Party, U. S. A., at March 30, 1940, and the results of their financial transactions for the 27 months' period ended that date.

MORRIS A. GREENBAUM,  
*Certified Public Accountant.*

The Communist Party of Germany is being aided in its fight against the Hitler regime in Germany by the Communist Party of the United States through a contribution of \$18,000. Five thousand dollars were contributed during the past six months.

This was revealed in the voluntary financial statement, certified by a public accountant, covering the period since the Party's last convention in 1938, made in a report to the National Nominating Convention of the Communist Party of the United States in session at the Royal Windsor, 69 W. 66th Street, New York. The report was made in accordance with previous convention procedure.

The Communist Party of the United States, according to attached financial report, had a total income of \$521,771.36 for the 27 months ended March 31, 1940. Assets of the Party as of that date were \$86,726.95. Of this, \$11,471.64 was in cash in hand and in bank; \$65,995.36 in loans receivable and \$9,259.95 in furniture and fixtures. Debts were \$6,660.54.

The statement disclosed that 17 percent of the Party's income came from mass meetings and affairs, and \$197,176.09 from dues.

Among the expenses of the Party was \$29,164.19 for traveling. On that basis of an allowance of two cents a mile, this figure revealed that leading Party members traveled 1,458,200 miles since the last convention in 1938.

The Communist Party of the United States contributed a total of \$110,623.89 to Communist Parties of other countries, of which \$18,000 went to the Communist Party of Germany since May 1938.

The Convention voted to raise a fund of \$140,000 to contribute to the Party's national campaign, and \$110,000 to aid the Daily Worker, official paper of the Communist Party.

## WORKERS SCHOOL—LABORING POWER

(From "Value, Price, and Profit" in "Essentials of Marx," Chapter 7)

Having now, as far as it could be done in such a cursory manner, analyzed the nature of value, of the value of any commodity whatever, we must turn our attention to the specific Value of Labor. And here, again, I must startle you by a seeming paradox. All of you feel sure that what they daily sell is their labor; that, therefore, labor has a price, and that the price of a commodity

being only the monetary expression of its value, there must certainly exist such a thing as the value of labor in the common acceptance of the word. We have seen that the amount of necessary labor crystallized in a commodity constitutes its value. Now, applying this notion of value, how could we define, say, the value of a ten-hour working day? How much labor is contained in that day? Ten hours' labor. To say that the value of a ten-hour working day is equal to ten hours' labor, or the quantity of labor contained in it, would be a tautological and, moreover, a nonsensical expression. Of course, having once found out the true but hidden sense of the expression "value of labor," we shall be able to interpret this irrational, and seemingly impossible application of value, in the same way that, having once made sure of the real movement of the celestial bodies, we shall be able to explain their apparent or merely phenomenal movements.

What the working man sells is *not directly his Labor*, but his *Laboring Power*, the temporary disposal of which he makes over to the capitalist. This is so much the case that I do not know whether by the English laws, but certainly by some Continental laws, the maximum time is fixed for which a man is allowed to sell his laboring power. If allowed to do so for any indefinite period whatever, slavery would be immediately restored. Such a sale, if it comprised his lifetime, for example, would make him at once the lifelong slave of his employer.

One of the oldest economists and most original philosophers of England—Thomas Hobbes—has already, in his *Leviathan*, instinctively hit upon this point overlooked by all his successors. He says: "The value or worth of a man is, as in all other things, his price: that is so much as would be given for the Use of his Power."

Proceeding from this basis, we shall be able to determine the value of labor as that of all other commodities.

But before doing so, we might ask, how does this strange phenomenon arise, that we find on the market a set of buyers, possessed of land, machinery, raw material, and the means of subsistence, all of them, save land in its crude state, the products of labor, and on the other hand, a set of sellers who have nothing to sell except their laboring power, their working arms and brains? That the one set buys continually in order to make a profit and enrich themselves, while the other set continually sells in order to earn their livelihood? The inquiry into this question would be an inquiry into what the economists call "Previous or Original Accumulation," but which ought to be called "Original Expropriation." We should find that this so-called original accumulation means nothing but a series of historical processes, resulting in a decomposition of the original union existing between the laboring man and his instruments of labor. Such an inquiry, however, lies beyond the pale of my present subject. The separation between the man of labor and the instruments of labor once established, such a state of things will maintain itself and reproduce itself upon a constantly increasing scale, until a new and fundamental revolution in the mode of production should again overturn it, and restore the original union in a new historical form.

What, then, is the Value of Laboring Power?

Like that of every other commodity, its value is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laboring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out, and must be replaced by another man. Beside the mass of necessaries required for his own maintenance, he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers. Moreover, to develop his laboring power, and acquire a given skill, another amount of values must be spent. For our purpose it suffices to consider only average labor, the costs of whose education and development are vanishing magnitudes. Still I must seize upon this occasion to state that, as the costs of producing laboring powers of different quality differ, so must differ the values of the laboring powers employed in different trades. The cry for an equality of wages rests, therefore, upon a mistake, is an insane wish never to be fulfilled. It is an offspring of that false and superficial radicalism that accepts premises and tries to evade conclusions. Upon the basis of the wages system the value of laboring power is settled like that of every other commodity; and as different kinds of laboring power have different values, or require different quantities of labor for their production, they must fetch different prices in the labor market. To clamor for equal or even equitable retribu-

tion on the basis of the wages system is the same as to clamor for freedom on the basis of the slavery system. What you think just or equitable is out of the question. The question is: What is necessary and unavoidable with a given system of production?

After what has been said, it will be seen that *the value of laboring power is determined by the value of the necessaries required to produce, develop, maintain, and perpetuate the laboring power.*

#### WORKERS SCHOOL—PRODUCTION OF SURPLUS VALUE

(Value, Price and Profit, Ch. 8, Essentials of Marx)

Now suppose that the average amount of the daily necessaries of a laboring man require six hours of average labor for their production. Suppose, moreover, six hours of average labor to be also realized in a quantity of gold equal to 3s. Then 3s. would be the price, or the monetary expression of the daily value of that man's laboring power. If he worked daily six hours he would daily produce a value sufficient to buy the average amount of his daily necessaries, or to maintain himself as a laboring man.

But our man is a wages laborer. He must, therefore, sell his laboring power to a capitalist. If he sells it at 3s. daily, or 18s. weekly, he sells it at its value. Suppose him to be a spinner. If he works six hours daily he will add to the cotton a value of 3s. daily. This value, daily added by him, would be an exact equivalent for the wages, or the price of his laboring power, received daily. But in that case no surplus value or surplus produce whatever would go to the capitalist. Here, then, we come to the rub.

In buying the laboring power of the workman, and paying its value, the capitalist, like every other purchaser, has acquired the right to consume or use the commodity bought. You consume or use the laboring power of a man by making him work, as you consume or use a machine by making it run. By buying the daily or weekly value of the laboring power of the workman, the capitalist has, therefore, acquired the right to use or make that laboring power work during the whole day or week. The working day or the working week has, of course, certain limits, but those we shall afterwards look more closely at.

For the present I want to turn your attention to one decisive point.

The value of the laboring power is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to maintain or reproduce it, but the use of that laboring power is only limited by the active energies and physical strength of the laborer. The daily or weekly value of the laboring power is quite distinct from the daily or weekly exercise of that power, the same as the food a horse wants and the time it can carry the horseman are quite distinct. The quantity of labor by which the value of the workman's laboring power is limited forms by no means a limit to the quantity of labor which his laboring power is apt to perform. Take the example of our spinner. We have seen that, to daily reproduce his laboring power, he must daily reproduce a value of three shillings, which he will do by working six hours daily. But this does not disable him from working ten or twelve or more hours a day. But by paying the daily or weekly value of the spinner's laboring power the capitalist has acquired the right of using that laboring power during the whole day or week. He will, therefore, make him work say, daily, twelve hours. Over and above the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his laboring power, he will, therefore, have to work six other hours, which I shall call hours of surplus labor, which surplus labor will realize itself in a surplus value and a surplus produce. If our spinner, for example, by his daily labor of six hours, added three shillings, value to the cotton, a value forming an exact equivalent to his wages, he will, in twelve hours, add six shillings' value to the cotton, a value forming an exact equivalent to his wages, he will, in twelve hours, add six shillings' worth to the cotton, and produce a proportional surplus of yarn. As he has sold his laboring power to the capitalist, the whole value or produce created by him belongs to the capitalist, the owner pro tem. of his laboring power.

By advancing three shillings, the capitalist will, therefore, realize a value of six shillings, because advancing a value in which six hours of labor are crystallized, he will receive in return a value of six shillings, because, advancing a value in which six hours of labor are crystallized, he will receive

in return a value in which twelve hours of labor are crystallized. By repeating this same process daily, the capitalist will daily advance three shillings and daily pocket six shillings, one half of which will go to pay wages anew, and the other half of which will form surplus value, for which the capitalist pays no equivalent. It is this sort of exchange between capital and labor upon which capitalistic production, or the wages system, is founded, and which must constantly result in reproducing the workingman as a workingman and the capitalist as a capitalist.

The rate of surplus value, all other circumstances remaining the same, will depend on the proportion between that part of the working day necessary to reproduce the value of the laboring power and the surplus time or surplus labor performed for the capitalist. It will, therefore, depend on the ratio in which the working day is prolonged over and above that extent, by working which the workingman would only reproduce the value of his laboring power, or replace his wages.

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#### WORKERS SCHOOL—VALUE OF LABOR

(Value, Price, and Profit, ch. 9, Essentials of Marx)

We must now return to the expression, "Value, or Price of Labor."

We have seen that, in fact, it is only the value of the laboring power, measured by the values of commodities necessary for its maintenance. But since the workman receives his wages after his labor is performed, and knows, moreover, that what he actually gives to the capitalist is his labor, the value or price of his laboring power necessarily appears to him as the price or value of his labor itself. If the price of his laboring power is three shillings, in which six hours of labor are realized, and if he works twelve hours, he necessarily considers these three shillings as the value or price of twelve hours of labor, although these twelve hours of labor realize themselves in a value of six shillings. A double consequence flows from this.

Firstly, the value or price of the laboring power takes the semblance of the price or value of labor itself, although, strictly speaking, value and price of labor are senseless terms.

Secondly, although one part only of the workman's daily labor is paid, while the other part is unpaid, and while the unpaid or surplus labor constitutes exactly the fund out of which surplus value or profit is formed, it seems as if the aggregate labor was paid labor.

This false appearance distinguishes wages labor from other historical forms of labor. On the basis of the wages system even the unpaid labor seems to be paid labor. With the slave, on the contrary, even that part of his labor which is paid appears to be unpaid. Of course, in order to work, the slave must live, and one part of his working day goes to replace the value of his own maintenance. But since no bargain is struck between him and his master, and no acts of selling and buying are going on between the two parties, all his labor seems to be given away for nothing.

Take, on the other hand, the peasant serf, such as he, I might say, until yesterday existed in the whole East of Europe. This peasant worked, for example, three days for himself on his own field or the field allotted to him, and the three subsequent days he performed compulsory and gratuitous labor on the estate of his lord. Here, then, the paid and unpaid parts of labor were sensibly separated, separated in time and space; and our Liberals overflowed with moral indignation at the preposterous notion of making a man work for nothing.

In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory or the workshop six hours daily for himself and six for his employer comes to the same, although in the latter case the paid and unpaid portions of the labor are inseparably mixed up with each other, and the nature of the whole transaction is completely masked by the intervention of a contract and the pay received at the end of the week. The gratuitous labor appears to be voluntarily given in the one instance, and to be compulsory in the other. That makes all the difference.

In using the word "value of labor," I shall only use it as a popular slang term for "value of laboring power."



## WORKERS SCHOOL—PROFIT IS MADE BY SELLING A COMMODITY AT ITS VALUE

(Value, Price and Profit, Ch. X, Essentials of Marx)

Suppose an average hour of labor to be realized in a value equal to sixpence, or twelve average hours of labor to be realized in six shillings. Suppose, further, the value of labor to be three shillings or the produce of six hours' labor. If, then, in the raw material, machinery, and so forth, used up in a commodity, twenty-four hours of average labor were realized, its value would amount to twelve shillings. If, moreover, the workman employed by the capitalist added twelve hours of labor to those means of production, these twelve hours would be realized in an additional value of six shillings. The total value of the product would, therefore, amount to thirty-six hours of realized labor, and be equal to eighteen shillings. But as the value of labor, or the wages paid to the workman, would be three shillings only, no equivalent would have been paid by the capitalist for the six hours of surplus labor worked by the workman, and realized in the value of the commodity. By selling this commodity at its value for eighteen shillings, the capitalist would, therefore, realize a value of three shillings, for which he had paid no equivalent. These three shillings would constitute the surplus value or profit pocketed by him. The capitalist would consequently realize the profit of three shillings, not by selling his commodity at a price over and above its value, but by selling it at its real value.

The value of a commodity is determined by the total quantity of labor contained in it. But part of that quantity of labor is realized in a value, for which no equivalent has been paid. Part of the labor contained in the commodity is paid labor; part is unpaid labor. By selling, therefore, the commodity at its value, that is, as the crystallization of the total quantity of labor bestowed upon it, the capitalist must necessarily sell it at a profit. He sells not only what has cost him an equivalent, but he sells also what has cost him nothing, although it has cost his workman labor. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist and its real cost are different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made by selling commodities not above, but at their real values.

## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY—A

(Introductory Lecture by Instructor at the First Session)

## WHAT POLITICAL ECONOMY IS AND WHAT IT TEACHES

Before we go into a detailed study of the problems dealt with in Political Economy it is necessary to explain what the scope of political economy is. It is self-evident that a full understanding of the meaning of political economy will be gotten only after some of the basic problems of political economy have been studied. At present we shall deal with the subject only in a general way.

## PRODUCTIVE FORCES AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS IN SOCIETY

The basis of every society including the capitalist society is the production of the means of existence. The productive process is a social process.

"The individual and isolated hunter and fisher, who forms the starting point with Ricardo and Smith, belongs to the insipid illusions of the eighteenth century. \* \* \* Production by isolated individuals outside of society—something which might happen as an exception to a civilized man who by accident got into the wilderness and already dynamically possessed within himself the forces of society—is as great an absurdity as the idea of development of language without individuals living together and talking to one another."—Karl Marx—"A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy," Introduction.

Thus Marx emphasized that material production, the basis in every historical epoch, is social production. It constitutes the basis for human existence and for social life in all epochs of history.

However, the conditions under which production takes place are not the same in all historical epochs. The character of production in one epoch differs from that of another epoch.

"From the bow and arrow, from the stone knife and the exceptional and occasional trading intercourse of the barbarian to the steam engine with its thousands of horse power, to the mechanical weaving machine, to the railway and the Bank of England is a tremendous leap"—"Anti Duehring" p. 176).

The technique in the particular epoch indicates the level of the development of those means and instruments of production with which man consciously acts upon the external world. The economic activities of men in every epoch are based upon the specific level of the development of technique and culture, i. e., on the productive forces in society. The productive forces include the means and instruments of production as well as human labor power in a given society. The level of the development of productive forces reflects the degree of the development reached by society in its struggle with nature. The development of the productive forces in society constitutes the basis of the development of that society.

The character of production relations, the character of those relations among human beings which are formed in the process of social production, depends on the level of development of the productive forces.

"In the social production which men carry on," says Marx, "they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material power of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation on which rise legal and political superstructures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness."—Karl Marx, Critique of Political Economy—Author's Preface.

Hence, the productive forces do not represent something immutable, frozen. Together with the development of the productive forces there takes place a change in the sum total of the production relations, or, in other words, in the economic structure of society.

The study of the productive forces of society, the study of how human labor, with the aid of various means of production, acts on the external world in order to obtain the necessary material welfare for society, belongs to the domain of technical science. The subject of political economy is not the technique of the economic process but the sum total of all the production relations formed among men in the process of production.

As we shall see later, not all the production relations are the subject of political economy, but production relations of a specific type.

All economic structures, all types of economy, can be reduced to two basic categories: organized and unorganized.

Of the organized types of economy we have: the primitive communal tribe, the feudal manor, and also the future communist society.

Of the unorganized types of economy—we have—the exchange economy (simply commodity and the capitalist economy).

In the following paragraphs we shall make a brief observation of both types of economies.

#### PRODUCTION RELATIONS IN AN ORGANIZED TYPE OF ECONOMY

If we take the primitive commune we find there the following characteristic features: First of all there is the common ownership of the means of production, the production and distribution of products in common. Social production and distribution are carried on according to a conscious definite plan. Here we have an organized human group on a collective basis where the functions of each member are definitely regulated. The commune under the leadership of the organizer or the patriarch determines the extent of its production, as for example, the amount of food, clothing, implements, etc., and organizes common labor in accordance with the needs of the commune. Every member of the commune fulfills a certain social function; one ploughs, the other hunts, the third care for the cattle, etc. In such society exchange, buying and selling has no place. Therefore in political economy such type of society is known as a NATURAL economy. If exchange of certain articles takes place in this society, it is as a rule accidental and occurs not within the commune but between two separate communes. Only later, exchange begins to penetrate into the commune itself, when the forces of production reach a higher stage of development; this causes disintegration of the natural character of the economy and together with it the breaking up of the commune itself.

The future Communist society will be an organized economy with a definite planned production and distribution. It must be understood that there will be a colossal difference between the future Communist society and the primitive communes, since the future Communist society will be a highly organized, complex structure with a very high degree of the development of the productive forces.

Already in the Soviet Union we find features of the future Communist society. The present economy in the Soviet Union is a transition economy between capitalism and communism. In the Soviet Union private ownership and control of the means of production has been abolished almost completely. The prototypes of the future planning organs are the Government Planning Commission, the Central Statistical Bureau, and the Supreme Council of Economy. With the aid of these institutions the working class in the Soviet Union, through its government, regulates production and distribution, takes account of the productive forces, the means of production and the labor power, distributes them in accordance with the needs of the basic industries, and carries on its economy on a definite planned basis (First and Second Five Year Plans).

It is obvious that this is only a beginning; that it is, so to speak, the first phase of the construction of communism; this is a phase where there are still present private commodity producers, where there are still remnants of even natural economy, where all elements of capitalist economy in the city and village have not been destroyed, where there is still a sharp struggle going on between the Socialist forces and capitalist elements. Through the successful completion of the First Five Year Plan the Socialist forces have had a tremendous victory over the capitalist elements and thus the hegemony of the working class and its planned economy have been definitely consolidated in the Soviet Union. With the introduction of the Second Five Year Plan begins the stage of Socialism, the period of a classless society.

The organized types of economy are not the object of study in political economy. The production relations in such society are quite clear and obvious to everyone. It is, however, entirely different with the unorganized type of economy. Here production relations are very much complicated; this will be the object of our study.

#### EXCHANGE ECONOMY—SIMPLE COMMODITY AND CAPITALIST ECONOMY

Exchange economy includes the simple commodity economy as well as the capitalist economy. In order to clarify the basic features of the exchange economy we shall abstract ourselves from the special features typical of the capitalist mode of production (capitalist exploitation, wage labor, etc.) and concentrate our attention, for the time being, on simple commodity production, the study of which will aid us in understanding the characteristics of the more developed, complex commodity economy—the capitalist economy.

What are then the features of simple commodity economy? First, in simple commodity economy, in contradistinction to the primitive communes and the future communist society, there exists private individual ownership of the means of production and of the products of labor. Here the means of production and labor power are not yet separated one from the other, as is the case in the capitalist society, and they do not stand in opposition to each other. The producer, the owner of the means of production, produces articles not for his personal use, but for sale, all products necessary for himself he obtains on the market, where he purchases them from other producers.

Secondly, in such a society there exists already a more or less developed social division of labor between the individual commodity producers. In the organized natural economy the members of the society own the means of production in common, they produce and distribute the products of their labor in common; in a simple commodity economy the situation is entirely different. Each producer produces a definite kind of product.

In each individual enterprise, in a shop or in agricultural economy, where products are produced for the market, there exists organized technical division of labor, according to a definite plan. But a general economy plan in such society does not exist; there is absent a social organ which could consciously and systematically regulate production and distribution. Here every commodity producer produces on his own risk. In such society none of the producers knows beforehand what the market requires, how much of one or the other commodity is required, what quality, in what manner, etc.

Consequently, in such a society ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION dominates. This anarchy of production is the consequence of private ownership of the means of production and of the unorganized, spontaneous social division of labor.

The special features of the division of labor in an organized and unorganized economy are characterized by Marx as follows: "In the primitive Indian community there is social division of labor, but the products do not become commodities. Or, to take an example nearer home, in every factory the labor is divided according to a system, but this division is not brought about by the operatives mutually exchanging their individual products. Only such products can become commodities with regard to each other, as a result from different kinds of labor, each kind being carried on independently and for the account of private individuals."—(Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, page 49, Kerr ed.).

In an organized society the labor activities of its members are regulated in a conscious planned manner, while in an unorganized society, in a commodity economy, such regulating is accomplished by exchange, by the market. Here each producer comes into contact with the other only through the market, through the exchange of the products of their labor—through the commodities.

Productive relations between men in a commodity society are not established directly, as is the case in an organized society or in an individual plant (factory, mill, etc.) they are formed spontaneously, indirectly through the medium of things, commodities.

"In order that these objects may enter into relation with each other as commodities, the guardians of the commodities must enter into relation one with another as persons whose wills reside in these objects, and must behave in such a way that neither appropriates the commodity of the other, nor parts with his own, except by means of an act performed with mutual consent."—(Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, page 96, Kerr ed.)

It is necessary to note that simple commodity economy in its pure form did not exist historically. It existed within other forms of society (for example—feudalism). Even at the present time we have remnants of the precapitalist elements in the persons of the artisans, handicraftsmen who produce articles for the market with their own tools.

It is understood that the economic role they play in society is very much subordinated to the capitalist relations in a capitalist society and to the socialist relations in the Soviet Union.

Simple commodity economy, i. e., the economy of simple independent commodity producers, appears as the simplest and general type of exchange economy. In its historical development it disintegrates the relations of the natural economy, and in its turn, under the influence of the development of the productive forces, becomes gradually more complex and is transformed into capitalist economy.

At one pole there is formed a comparatively small group increasing its economic power, concentrating in its hands more and more of the instruments and means of production, thus becoming transformed into capitalists using wage labor; at the other pole we find the basic mass of producers, who in the process of the development of exchange become gradually ruined, are separated from the basic means of production and are transformed into wage laborers, who own nothing but their labor power which they sell to the owners of the means of production—to the capitalists.

The owners of the means of production and the owners of the labor power stand in opposition to each other as two hostile classes; the capitalist class and the proletarian class. The exploitation of wage labor by capital is the most outstanding characteristic of the capitalist society.

Exploitation of labor existed also in the precapitalist epochs, for example in feudalism and in the slave system, but the exploitation was clear and obvious to everyone. It is different with the capitalist exploitation. Apparently, it seems (and this is supported by bourgeois economists), that wages are payment for labor and not for labor power as we shall see later. But if the worker receives payment for his labor, if he works, let us say, ten hours a day and receives a payment equivalent to the value created by his labor, the possibility for exploitation disappears. On the surface these relations between the capitalist and the worker appear as the movement of things, as the exchange of the commodity labor power for a definite sum of money. But in order to discover the real relations under the external wrapping, it is necessary to arm oneself with the Marxian theory.

PRODUCTION RELATION IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY AS THE DIRECT OBJECT OF STUDY OF  
POLITICAL ECONOMY

As we stated above, in a commodity economy production relations are not established directly; they are formed indirectly through the medium of things—commodities. The individual commodity producers are not connected with each other directly. Each one carries on production independently, at his own risk. The connecting link between the producers is established in the process of exchange of the products of their labor. Thus, the production relations in a commodity economy are hidden behind the movement of the commodities on the market.

The problem of political economy is to expose the production relations, to clarify the laws governing the capitalist economy. We, therefore, can define political economy as the science of Production Relations in the Capitalist Society.

Bourgeois political economy regards the capitalist society as something eternal and immutable. It considers the commodity form of the product, value, money, etc., as natural qualities of the thing rather than the result and expression of specific social relations of a commodity economy. Capital, for example, is looked upon not as a social relation peculiar to a definite economic form of society, but as something which is independent of the character of the socio-economic system. Thus, bourgeois political economy defines capital as the means of production. But if capital is nothing else but the means of production, it follows, therefore, that capital (the capitalist system, capitalist exploitation) was and will be forever, and that things cannot be otherwise.

Marxian political economy, on the other hand, exposes the real substance of the capitalist system, uncovers its inherent contradictions and points to its historically transitional character. In uncovering the laws of the origin, development, and the downfall of capitalism, political economy gives to the working class a mighty weapon in its struggle for the destruction of the capitalist system of society.

CONTROL QUESTIONS

1. What are the distinguishing characteristics of an organized economy? How are production and distribution organized in such a society?
2. Why does political economy study only the commodity-capitalist economy?
3. Discuss the differences between the simple commodity economy and the capitalist economy.
4. What are the characteristic features of the capitalist economy?
5. Why does not political economy study the production relations in an organized economy?
6. What is the significance of political economy for the class struggle of the proletariat?
7. What is political economy?

WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

FIRST SESSION—INTRODUCTORY—COMMODITY

1. How do we produce the things we live on (bread, meat, milk, sugar, coffee, clothing, shoes, light, fuel, rooms)?

2. Why is production always a social process?

(Consider production by primitive tribes—under slavery, feudalism, serfdom—in colonial times, at present—for colonial times use attached readings; compare production of pair of shoes by farmer's family, of skins, of cattle, killed and tanned by themselves, by itinerant journeyman, neighborhood cobbler, shoe factory.)

3. What are *Production Forces*—object of labor, labor power, means of production? Explain their interdependence and mutual effect of changes of one upon another. Give some idea of present productive forces of the United States; U. S. S. R. Improved land, area of harvested crops, natural resources, forest reserves, gainfully employed population, number of wage earners in manufacture and mines, number of farmers and farm laborers, mechanical horsepower, electric power installations. (Commerce Yearbook, 1932, V. 1, pp. 30, 31, 36, 37, 132, 214, 306, 325.) (Economic Handbook of the Soviet Union, pp. 11, 142, 145.)

4. What are *production relationships*?

What is your relationship to the forces of production, object of labor, labor power, means of production? What is the relationship of your employer to the forces of production? Is there any difference?

5. Does the difference in the relationship (of yourself, your employers, etc.) to the forces of production affect the way and the share you get of the things we live on? (Discuss the census of Mfrs. Commerce Yearbook, V. 1, p. 41.)

6. Compare production relationship under present capitalist mode of production, in primitive tribe, under slavery, serfdom, etc.

7. What is Political Economy?

8. Why do the farmers produce more agricultural products than they consume? What value has that surplus to them? (Discuss attached table on agricultural and farmers' income in the United States.)

9. What is use value, and what is exchange value? Is there any exchange value that is not also use value? Is there any use value that is not also exchange value?

10. What is a commodity?

Discuss contradictory nature of commodity. (Discuss attached readings on conditions.)

#### READINGS

Marxist Study Course in Political Economy, Lesson 1, p. 16-32.

Value and Labor, material mimeographed by Workers School, p. 1-15.

Lenin, The Teachings of Karl Marx, p. 18-20. Attached readings.

#### WORKERS' SCHOOL—READINGS FOR POLITICAL ECONOMY A—FIRST SESSION

USE VALUE AND EXCHANGE VALUE; FORMS OF VALUE: RELATIVE AND EQUIVALENT FORM OF VALUE; EXTENDED FORM OF VALUE; UNIVERSAL FORM OF VALUE; MONEY FORM OF VALUE

Source: Manufacture for Sale 1775—by the author of American Husbandry, Period 1775.

"Nothing is more difficult than to discover the amount of their manufactures for sale. \* \* \*

"That the manufactures for sale are not so great as some have imagined, may be conceived from the vast number of inhabitants, who in all probability work entirely for themselves, in a country where the minute division of landed property is so great as in the most populated of the northern colonies, and in a climate that will yield little valuable, it is impossible that the people should be able to purchase manufactures; poor countrymen in England do it because all their income is paid them in money, whatever may be their work; but in America day laborers are rarely to be found, except in the neighborhood of great towns: on the contrary, the man who in England would be a laborer, would there be a little freeholder, who, probably raising for many years but little for sale, is forced to work up his wool in his family, his leather, and his flax, after which, the rest of his consumption is scarce worth mentioning. The number of people in the northern colonies who come under this denomination is very great.

"This is productive of distressing incidents to small farmers who supply the markets with provisions; for whatever they have to sell, whether trivial or important, they receive in return nothing but an order on store for the value in goods; and as the wants of such persons are few, they seldom know what articles to take. The storekeepers turn these circumstances to advantage, and frequently force on the customer a thing for which he has no use; or what is worse, when the order is trifling, tell him to sit down at the door and drink the amount, if he chooses. As this is often complied with, a market day is mostly a scene of drunkenness and contention, fraud, cunning, and duplicity: storekeepers denying the possession of a good article till he fails in imposing a bad one. I have known a person to ask for a pair of shoes and receive for answer that there were no shoes in the store, but some capital gin that could be recommended to him. I have heard another ask for a rifle gun, and be answered that there were no rifles but that he could be accommodated with the best Dutch looking glasses and German flutes in the western country. Another was directed by his wife to bring her a warming pan, smoothing irons, and scrubbing brushes; but these were denied, and a wooden cuckoo-clock which the children would not take a week to demolish was sent home in their stead. I could not help smiling at these

absurdities, though I believe they deserve the name of impositions, till an incident reduced me to the condition of those whom I have just described.

"I rode an excellent horse to the head of the waters, and finding him of no further use from my having to take a boat there, I proposed selling him to the best bidder. I was offered in exchange for him salt, flour, hogs, land, cast iron salt pans, Indian corn whiskey, in short, everything but what I wanted, which was money. The highest offer made was cast-iron salt pans to the amount of a hundred and thirty dollars. I asked the proprietor of this heavy commodity how much cash he would allow me instead of such an incumbrance; his answer was, without any shame or hesitation, forty dollars at most. I preferred the pans, though they are to be exchanged again for glass bottles at Pittsburgh, tobacco or hemp in Kentucky, and dollars in New Orleans. These various commercial processes may occupy twelve months; nor am I then certain of the amount, unless I give 30% to secure it.

"The words buy and sell are nearly unknown here; in business nothing is heard but the word trade. Will you trade your watch, your gun, pistols, horses means, 'will you exchange your watch, gun for corn, pigs, cattle, Indian meal, etc. But you must anticipate all this from the absence of money.'" Prepared by Seminar in Marxian Economics.

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#### WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A—READINGS FOR FIRST SESSION

##### USE VALUE AND EXCHANGE VALUE. COMMODITY. FAMILY (DOMESTIC) PRODUCTION: FACTORY OR CAPITALIST PRODUCTION

Source: Industrial and Commercial Correspondence of Hamilton, p. 3-7.

Data: Letter from Col. John Chester, re Manufacturers in Connecticut. Period 1790.

"The manufactures of this State naturally present themselves to our view under the following heads: Those carried on in families merely for the consumption of those families; those carried on in like manner for the purpose of barter or sale; and those carried on by tradesmen, single persons, or companies for supplying the wants of others, or for the general purposes of merchandise, or commerce.

"Those which come under the first description, and which are purely domestic, are the most exclusive and important, there being scarcely a family in the state either so rich or so poor as not to be concerned therein. These domestic Manufacturers are of Linen, of Cotton, and of Wool, in their various modifications. Out of those raw materials are made an abundance of Linen, Cotton, Woolen, and Worsted Hose, worn by all ranks of people, so as greatly to lessen the Importation, particularly of the more ordinary kinds, notwithstanding our increased population and wealth has greatly increased the consumption of those articles. Next to those branches may be reckoned those of tow cloth, coarse linens, linen and cotton for shirting and sheeting, table linen, checked and striped linens, and bedticks; also coarse fustians and jeans for men's wear, and white dimity of the women. The manufacture of Wool is of various kinds of cloth for servants and the ordinary wear of the whole class of our farmers and most of those who follow any of the usual trades or laborious occupations \* \* \*.

"There is manufactured also large parcels of almost all the denominations aforementioned for the purpose of barter, or sale to the merchants, who export them out of the State—within these few years attempts have been made to extend our manufactures, and for improving the fabrics. This has been attempted either by single persons or by companies, with various success. Of this description is the Linen manufacture established at New Haven, from whence large parcels of coarse Linens have been shipped to the Southern States and to the West Indies. The same kind of manufacture has more recently been established at Middletown and New London, the Stock at all those places being raised by subscription, and managed by an agent for the benefit of the adventurers.

"The company at Hartford (Woolen Manufacture-MN) had expended so much of their small capital in buildings, implements, etc. that they found themselves under the necessity of applying to Government for aid. The Legislature, being sensible of the importance of encouraging this infant establishment, granted them a Lottery to raise 1,000, to enable them to procure a more complete set of machinery, and for extending their business. This Lottery will probably net them

three thousand dollars and enable them to make a further trial in this laudable attempt to establish so valuable a manufacture. The event is yet, however, very problematical. Those persons concerned in setting up new manufactures have every obstacle to surmount which can arise from clashing interests, or ancient prejudices, as well as from the smallness of our capitals, the scarcity of materials and workmen, and the consequent high prices of both. In this respect the obstacles which are opposed to the woolen manufacture are the greatest. \* \* \*

"In addition to the foregoing list should be subjoined the manufacture in wood, in iron, and in household furniture and steel carriages of all kinds are made in plenty and pretty good style—and considerable is exported to the Southern States and to the West Indies. The manufactures of iron are various and extensive, and exceed our demand for home consumption, except Cutlery and some part of the tools used by tradesmen. Our manufactures of Leather are considerable, so as to make a full supply of shoes and boots, saddles, bridles, horse harness, etc. even for exportation. We made also stuff and silk shoes nearly sufficient for the consumption of the State.

## LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

"As to the quantum of all these manufactures, either those used amongst ourselves, or those exported, or the value of them in money, I dare not hazard an opinion, not having the details on which to make the calculation, or ground such an opinion, but considering the number of our laborious and active citizens, and our modes of living, it cannot otherways than be considerable, and it is yearly increasing. The manufactures carried on in our families may be calculated to increase the value of the products, beyond that of the raw materials as three to one—those established in factories—such as the woolen manufacture at Hartford, not less than four to one, or even five to one."

Prepared by Seminar in Marxian Economics.

## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A—READINGS FOR FIRST SESSION

*Production forces and production relationship—Manufacturing industries, United States, 1919–29*

	1919	1929	Percent of increase (+) or decrease (-)
Number of Establishments.....	214,383	210,959	-1.6
Persons Engaged in Manufacturing Industries:			
Proprietors & Firm Members.....	250,571	133,210	-46.8
Salaried Officers & Employees.....	1,438,219	<sup>a</sup> 1,567,138	.....
Wage Earners (Average per year).....	9,000,059	8,838,743	-1.8
Horse Power (Rated Cap. of Power Equipment).....	29,327,669	42,931,061	+46.4
Wages.....	10,461,786,869	11,620,973,254	+7.1
Salaries <sup>d</sup> .....	2,880,868,375	<sup>b</sup> 4,195,501,362	-45.6
Total Wages and Salaries.....	13,342,655,244	<sup>c</sup> 15,816,474,646	+18.5
Cost of Materials, Containers, Energy.....	37,232,702,309	38,549,579,732	.....
Value of Product.....	<sup>e</sup> 62,041,795,316	<sup>e</sup> 70,434,863,443	+13.5
Value added to Mfr.....	24,809,092,926	31,885,283,711	+28.5
Appropriated by Proprietors:			
Value added minus salaries and wages.....	11,466,437,682	16,068,809,065	+40.1
Share of proprietors.....	46.2% <sup>c</sup>	50.4% <sup>c</sup>	+9.1
Share of wage earners.....	42.2% <sup>c</sup>	36.4% <sup>c</sup>	-13.7
Share of salaried officers and employees.....	11.6% <sup>c</sup>	13.2% <sup>c</sup>	+13.8

(a) Includes 208,363 employees of central administrative offices who were included in the figures in 1919.

(b) Includes 600,437,331 of salaries of employees of central administrative offices that was included in total of 1919.

(c) Included duplications due to the use of the products of some industries and materials by others.

(d) Salaries include a great deal of concealed returns of proprietors and firm members.



## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A—READINGS FOR FIRST SESSION

*Important items on the position of agriculture in the United States*

[Millions of dollars]

	Total value of all agricultural products	Value of products consumed at home	Value of products for the market	Taxes paid	Interest	Rent	Cash income after all expenses
1919	16,935	2,500E	14,435	380	590	N. A.	7,974
1920	13,566	2,000E	11,566	452	672	N. A.	5,579
1921	8,927	1,200E	7,727	633	685	N. A.	3,204
1922	9,944	1,500E	8,444	678	700	N. A.	3,778
1923	11,041	1,550	9,491	718	700	N. A.	4,392
1924	11,337	1,697	9,640	727	712		4,263
1925	11,968	1,882	10,086	729	705	1,005	4,335
1926	11,480	1,822	9,658	738	699	999	4,047
1927	11,616	1,744	9,872	754	690	1,034	4,276
1928	11,741	1,742	9,999	766	684	1,068	4,024
1929	11,911	1,777	10,134	777	681	1,110	4,222
1930	9,317	1,523	7,824	777	671	911	2,521
1931	6,920	1,100	5,820	700	600	692	1,591
1932	5,240	800E	4,440E	550E	550E	600E	1,015E
1933	6,200	1,000E	5,200E	550E	600E	600E	1,850E

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics of U. S.; Crops and Markets, Nov. 1932.

*Financial result for average farm in the United States 1930*

Total receipts	\$1,549
Cash outlay:	
Hired labor	\$304
Livestock bought	102
Feed bought	184
Fertilizer	55
Seed	34
Machinery and tools	62
Taxes on farm property	183
Interest paid	196
Miscellaneous expenses	167
	1,287
Profit	\$262

*Quantity and value of wheat produced during two periods*

	1919	1931
Quantity (millions of bushels)	968	892
Value on the farm (millions of dollars)	\$2,080	\$396
Price per bushel received (cents per bushel)	\$2.15	\$0.44

## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

## LESSON II

## USE—VALUE:

- A. List some use-values.
- B. How are these produced today?
- C. How were use-values produced in a simple commodity economy?
- D. Does the manufacturer go into business in order to produce things for use?
- E. Is the worker interested in the use-value of the things he helps produce?
- F. What is the aim of production today?

## EXCHANGE-VALUE:

- A. What is the relationship of the owner of a use-value to this use-value?
- B. What is the relationship of the owner of an exchange-value to this exchange value?
- C. What results from the latter relationship?
- D. Show how these commodity relationships are "economic relations."

## USE-VALUE AND VALUE:

- A. What is the difference between a pair of shoes as a use-value and this pair of shoes as an exchange-value?
- B. What determines this difference?
  1. What makes possible the exchange of a certain quantity of a commodity for a certain quantity of another commodity?

## COMMODITY:

- A. What is the two-fold nature of a commodity?

## LABOR:

- A. What kind of labor creates value?
- B. What kind of labor creates use-value?
- C. Can these two kinds of labor be kept mechanically separated?
- D. What is the relationship between socially necessary labor, production of labor and value?
  1. If the socially necessary labor is diminished as a result of an increase in the productivity of labor, what happens to value?  
Now you can tell why the boss class is not a productive force.  
Do so.  
Show from the above analysis the importance to the working class of a study of political economy.

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 WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

## ASSIGNMENT FOR LESSON III

p. 2:

1. What are the characteristics of a simple commodity economy?
  - a. productive forces.
  - b. productive relations.
  - c. nature of exchange.
  - d. difficulties.
2. What would the presence of money have accomplished?

p. 3:

1. What were the characteristics of the economic structure of the U. S. in 1790?
2. What are the characteristics of a capitalist commodity economy?
  - a. productive forces.
  - b. productive relations.
  - c. nature of exchange.
3. What conditions are necessary for the development of capitalism?

p. 6:

1. Contrast production for exchange.
  - a. in simple commodity economy.
  - b. in cap. commodity economy.

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 WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

## LESSON IV.—FORMS OF VALUE

Fall Term 1933

*Questions for W. W. Martin's Class:*

1. What is meant by the form of value?
2. What form of value is found in the first historical stage of commodity exchange?
3. Analysis of this form of value:
  - a. What is the relative form of value?
  - b. What is the equivalent form of value?
4. What is the total or extended form of value?
5. Show how this represents a higher stage of historical development.
6. What is the general or universal form of value?

7. Show how this represents a still higher stage of historical development.
8. What is the money form of value?
9. Show how this is the highest stage of historical development in capitalism?
10. Why is money a commodity?
11. Why is it that the previous metals have come to function as money?
12. What are the functions of money?

## THE FETISHISM OF COMMODITIES

*Review:*

1. What renders all human products exchangeable? (abstract labor).
2. Does this "element" reside in the commodities as a physical property of the commodities? (No.)
3. Where does it reside? (In the activity of the producers.)
4. Is this "element" an individual possession or a social relationship? (latter)

*New Lesson:*

1. When exchange occurs, what seems to happen between commodities?
2. What seems to be the character of commodities?
3. What is a fetish? (The production of human mind in concrete shape.)
4. Is there any similarity between a commodity as it seems to behave and a fetish?
5. What is meant by "fetishism of commodities"?
6. Show how this is not true for the period of Feudalism.
  - a. What kind of relations between persons exist under feudalism?
  - b. Contrast feudal relations between persons and capitalist relations between persons.
7. Why do bourgeois economist seek to uphold the notion underlying the fetishism of commodities?
8. What is the significance of the Marxist exposure of this notion?

## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

## LESSON VI—MONEY (CONTINUED)

W. W. Martin's Class  
Fall Term, 1933

1. Explain the following:
  - a. measure of value
  - b. standard of price
  - c. means of circulation
  - d. hoarding
  - e. means of payment
2. What is meant by the Gold Standard?  
What is meant by going off the G. S.?
3. What is meant by Inflation?  
What is the effect of Inflation on the working class?
4. Prove that the Roosevelt program is an inflationary one causing increasing misery to the working class.
5. What are the functions of money in the Soviet Union?
6. Should the working class demand in its struggle against inflation?
7. Bourgeois Theories of Money:
  - a. Keynes; Fisher
  - b. Social Credit.

*Readings:*

Lapidus: pp. 48-63.  
Capital: pp. 106-162.

## WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY

## LESSON VII—CAPITAL

W. W. Martin's Class  
Fall Term 1933

*Questions:*

1. What is meant by the circulation of commodities?
2. Show how the circulation of commodities contains the distinction between money as money and money as capital.

3. What are the differences between money in transaction C-M-C and money in transaction M-C-M.
4. In actuality, however, the circulation of money as capital completes itself in what result?
5. What is capital?  
What is a capitalist?
6. Show how the bourgeois concept that "surplus value" is a result of the process of circulation is wrong.
7. What is the source of Surplus Value?
8. What conditions are necessary and fundamental to the emergence of capital?
9. Is the barbarian owning and using a simple instrument a capitalist?
10. Does "capital" as defined above exist in the U. S. S. R.?

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WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

LESSON VIII—LABOR, LABOR POWER, WAGES, CAPITAL, SURPLUS VALUE

W. W. Martin's Class  
Fall Term 1933

1. What is the distinction between labor and labor power?
2. What is the monetary return to the worker called?
3. What is the distinction between wages and the value created by the workers?
4. Why is the receipt by the worker of the value created by him an impossibility under capitalism?
5. What is the bourgeois view of wages?
6. Show how American Federation of Labor and Socialist support of the N. R. A. is support of the bourgeois view of wages and hence of capitalism.
7. Is it correct to say that "labor is the source of all wealth"? (No. 2, pp. 30-33, Critique of G. Prog., sect. 1.)
8. What is the twofold result of the twofold character of labor in the labor process?
9. What is meant by—
  - a. Constant capital.
  - b. Variable capital.
10. Show how labor power, and not the means of production, is the source of surplus value.
11. Show how capital is a bourgeois social relation of production.
12. What is meant by the fetishism of capital?

*Readings:*

Marxist Study Course in Political Economy—No. 2.  
Capital, Vol. I, pp. 169-208 (Paul Trans.).

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WORKERS SCHOOL—POLITICAL ECONOMY A

LESSON IX. RATE OF SURPLUS VALUE

W. W. Martin's Class.  
Fall Term, 1933.

1. What is the value of the product at the end of the labor process?
2. What is the source of "s"?
3. In determining rate of surplus value, why do we determine the ratio between s and v thus:  $\frac{s}{v}$  ?  
Why not the ratio between s and (c plus v) ?
4. Why is it correct to determine the rate of surplus value by the ratio between surplus labor to necessary labor?
5. Why is the rate of surplus value considered as the degree of exploitation of the worker?
6. What is meant by the surplus product?
7. What is meant by the working day?
8. What is the amount of surplus value equal to?
10. What is the result of an increase in the variable capital?

11. When looked upon from the point of view of the labor process, what is the relation between instruments of production and worker in the process of production?
  12. When looked upon from the point of view of capital, what is the relation between instruments of production and the worker in the process of production?
  13. What is meant by absolute surplus value?
  14. What is meant by relative surplus value?
  15. What is the effect on relative surplus value of an increase in the productivity of labor?
  16. Why is the capitalist class anxious to increase the productivity of labor?
- Readings:*  
No. 3 of the Marxist Study Course in Political Economy.

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#### WORKERS SCHOOL—VALUE AND LABOR

(Essentials of Marx, Chap. 6)

At first sight it would seem that the value of a commodity is a thing quite relative and not to be settled without considering one commodity in its relations to all other commodities. In fact, in speaking of the value, the value in exchange of a commodity, we mean the proportional quantities in which it exchanges with all other commodities. But then arises the question: How are the proportions in which commodities exchange with each other regulated?

We know from experience that these proportions vary infinitely. Taking one single commodity, wheat, for instance, we shall find that a quarter of wheat exchanges in almost countless variations of proportion with different commodities. Yet, its value remaining always the same, whether expressed in silk, gold, or any other commodity, it must be something distinct from, and independent of, these different rates of exchange with different articles. It must be possible to express in a very different form these various equations with various commodities.

Besides, if I say a quarter of wheat exchanges with iron in a certain proportion, or the value of a quarter of wheat is expressed in a certain amount of iron, I say that the value of wheat and its equivalent in iron are equal to some third thing, which is neither wheat nor iron, because I suppose them to express the same magnitude in two different shapes. Either of them, the wheat or the iron, must, therefore, independently of the other, be reducible to this third thing which is their common measure.

To elucidate this point I shall recur to a very simple geometrical illustration. In comparing the areas of triangles of all possible forms and magnitudes, or comparing triangles with rectangles, or any other rectilinear figure, how do we proceed? We reduce the area of any triangle whatever to an expression quite different from its visible form. Having found from the nature of the triangle that its area is equal to half the product of its base by its height, we can then compare the different values of all sorts of triangles, and of all rectilinear figures whatever, because all of them may be resolved into a certain number of triangles.

The same mode of procedure must obtain with the values of commodities. We must be able to reduce all of them to an expression common to all, distinguishing them only by the proportions in which they contain that identical measure.

As the exchangeable values of commodities are only social functions of those things, and have nothing at all to do with the natural qualities, we must first ask, What is the common social substance of all commodities? It is labor. To produce a commodity a certain amount of labor must be bestowed upon it or worked up in it. And I say not only labor but social labor. A man who produces an article for his own immediate use, to consume it himself, creates a product, but not a commodity. As a self-sustaining producer he has nothing to do with society. But to produce a commodity a man must not only produce an article satisfying some social want but his labor itself must form part and parcel of the total sum of labor expended by society. It must be subordinate to the Division of Labor within Society. It is nothing without the other divisions of labor and on its part is required to integrate them.

If we consider commodities as values, we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of realized, fixed, or, if you like, crystallized social labor. In this respect they can differ only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labor,

as, for example, a greater amount of labor may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than in a brick. But how does one measure quantities of labor?

By the time the labor lasts, in measuring the labor by the hour, the day, etc. Of course, to apply this measure, all sorts of labor are reduced to average or simple labor as their unit.

We arrive, therefore, at this conclusion. *A commodity has a value because it is a crystallization of social labor.* The greatness of its value, or its relative value, depends upon the greater or less amount of that social substance contained in it; that is to say, on the relative mass of labor necessary for its production. The relative values of commodities are therefore, determined by the respective quantities or amounts of labor, worked up, realized, fixed in them. The correlative quantities of commodities which can be produced in the same time of labor are equal. Or the value of one commodity is to the value of another commodity as the quantity of labor fixed in the one is to the quantity of labor fixed in the other.

I suspect that many of you will ask, does then, indeed, there exist such a vast, or any difference whatever, between determining the values of commodities by wages, and determining them by the relative quantities of labor necessary for their production? You must, however, be aware that the reward for labor, and quantity of labor, are quite disparate things. Suppose, for example, equal quantities of labor to be fixed in one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold. I resort to the example because it was used by Benjamin Franklin in his first Essay published in 1721, and entitled, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*, where he, one of the first, hit upon the true nature of value. Well, we suppose then, that one quarter of wheat and one ounce of gold are equal values or equivalents, because they are crystallizations of equal amounts of average labor, of so many days' or so many weeks' labor respectively fixed in them. In thus determining the relative values of gold and corn, do we refer in any way whatever to the wages of the agricultural laborer and the miner? Not a bit. We leave it quite indeterminate how their day's or their week's labor was paid or even whether wages labor was employed at all. If it was, wages may have been very unequal.

The laborer whose labor is realized in the quarter of wheat may receive two bushels only, and the laborer employed in mining may receive one-half of the ounce of gold. Or, supposing their wages to be equal, they may deviate in all possible proportions from the values of the commodities produced by them. They may amount to one-half, one-third, one-fourth, one-fifth, or any other proportional part of the one-quarter of corn or the one ounce of gold. Their wages can, of course, not exceed, not be more than the values of the commodities they produced, but they can be less in every possible degree. Their wages will be limited by the values of the products, but the values of their products will not be limited by the wages. And above all, the values, the relative values of corn and gold, for example, will have been settled without any regard whatever to the value of the labor employed, that is to say, to wages. To determine the values of commodities by the relative quantities of labor fixed in them, is, therefore, a thing quite different from the tautological method of determining the values of commodities by the value of labor, or by wages. This point, however, will be further elucidated in the progress of our inquiry.

In calculating the exchangeable value of a commodity we must add to the quantity of labor last employed the quantity of labor previously worked up in the raw material of the commodity, and the labor bestowed on the implements, tools, machinery, and buildings, with which such labor is assisted. For example, the value of a certain amount of cotton yarn is the crystallization of the quantity of labor added to the cotton during the spinning process, the quantity of labor previously realized in the cotton itself, the quantity of labor realized in the coal, oil, and other auxiliary substances used, the quantity of labor fixed in the steam engine, the spindles, the factory building, and so forth. Instruments of production properly so-called, such as tools, machinery, buildings, serve again and again for a longer or shorter period during repeated processes of production. If they were used up at once, like the raw material, their whole value would at once be transferred to the commodities they assist in producing. But as a spindle, for example, is but gradually used up, an average calculation is made, based upon the average time it lasts, and its average waste or wear and tear during a certain period, say a day. In this way we calculate how much of the value of the spindle is transferred to the yarn daily spun, and how much therefore, of the total amount of labor realized in a pound of yarn, for example is due to the quantity

of labor previously realized in the spindle. For our present purpose it is not necessary to dwell any longer upon this point.

It might seem that if the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor bestowed upon its production, the lazier a man, or the clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labor required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I used the word "social labor," and many points are involved in this qualification of "social." In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the quantity of labor worked up or crystallized in it, *we mean the quantity of labor necessary for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given social average intensity, and average skill of the labor employed.* When, in England, the power loom came to compete with the hand loom, only one-half the former time of labor was wanted to convert a given amount of yarn into a yard of cotton or cloth. The poor hand loom weaver now worked seventeen or eighteen hours daily, instead of the nine or ten hours he had worked before. Still the product of twenty hours of his labor represented now only ten social hours of labor, or ten hours of labor socially necessary for the conversion of a certain amount of yarn into textile stuffs. His product of twenty hours had, therefore, no more value than his former product of ten hours.

If, then, the quantity of socially necessary labor realized in commodities regulates their exchangeable values, every increase in the quantity of labor wanted for the production of a commodity must augment its value, as every diminution must lower it.

If the respective quantities of labor necessary for the production of the respective commodities remained constant, their relative values also would be constant. But such is not the case. The quantity of labor necessary for the production of a commodity changes continuously with the changes in the productive powers of the labor employed. The greater the productive powers of labor, the more produce is finished in a given time of labor; and the smaller the productive powers of labor, the less produce is finished in the same time. If, for example, in the progress of population it should become necessary to cultivate less fertile soils, the same amount of produce would be only attainable by a greater amount of labor spent, and the value of agricultural produce would consequently rise. On the other hand, if, with the modern means of production, a single spinner converts into yarn, during one working day, many thousand times the amount of cotton which he could have spun during the same time with the spinning wheel, it is evident that every single pound of cotton will absorb many thousand times less of spinning labor than it did before, and, consequently, the value added by spinning to every single pound of cotton will be a thousand times less than before. The value of yarn will sink accordingly.

Apart from the different natural energies and acquired working abilities of different peoples, the productive powers of labor must principally depend:

Firstly, upon the natural conditions of labor, such as fertility of soil, mines, and so forth.

Secondly, upon the progressive improvement of the social powers of labor, such as are derived from production on a grand scale, concentration of capital and combination of labor, subdivision of labor, machinery, improved methods, appliance of chemical and other natural agencies, shortening of time and space by means of communication and transport, and every other contrivance by which science presses natural agencies into the service of labor, and by which the social or cooperative character of labor is developed. The greater the productive powers of labor, the less labor is bestowed upon a given amount of produce; hence the smaller the value of the produce. The smaller the productive powers of labor, the more labor is bestowed upon the same amount of produce; hence the greater its value. As a general law we may, therefore, set it down that:

*The values of commodities are directly as the times of labor employed in their production, and are inversely as the productive powers of the labor employed.*

Having till now only spoken of value, I shall add a few words about price, which is a peculiar form assumed by value.

Price, taken by itself, is nothing but the monetary expression of value. The values of all commodities of this country, for example, are expressed in gold prices, while on the Continent they are mainly expressed in silver prices. The value of gold or silver, like that of all other commodities, is regulated by the

quantity of labor necessary for getting them. You exchange a certain amount of your national products, in which a certain amount of your national labor is crystallized, for the produce of the gold and silver producing countries, in which a certain quantity of their labor is crystallized. It is in this way, in fact by barter, that you learn to express in gold and silver the values of all commodities, that is the respective quantities of labor bestowed upon them. Looking somewhat closer into the monetary expression of value, or what comes to the same, the conversion of value into price, you will find that it is a commodities, that is, the respective quantities of labor bestowed upon them, homogeneous form, or by which you express them as quantities of equal social labor. So far as it is but the monetary expression of value, price has been called *natural price* by Adam Smith, *prix necessaire* by the French physiocrats.

What then is the relation between value and market prices, or between natural prices and market prices? You all know that the market price is the same for all commodities of the same kind, however, the conditions of production may differ for the individual producers. The market price expresses only the average amount of social labor necessary, under the average conditions of production, to supply the market with a certain mass of a certain article. It is calculated upon the whole lot of a commodity of a certain description.

So far the market price of a commodity coincides with its value. On the other hand, the oscillations of market prices, rising now over, sinking now under the value or natural price, depend upon the fluctuations of supply and demand. The deviations of market prices from values are continual, but as Adam Smith says: "The natural price is the central price to which the prices of commodities are continually gravitating. Different accidents may sometimes keep them suspended a good deal above it, and sometimes force them down even somewhat below it. But whatever may be the obstacles which hinder them from settling, in this center of repose and continuance they are constantly tending towards it."

I cannot now sift this matter. It suffices to say that if supply and demand equilibrate each other, the market prices of commodities will correspond with their natural prices, that is to say with their values, as determined by the respective quantities of labor required for their production. But supply and demand must constantly tend to equilibrate each other, although they do so only by compensating one fluctuation by another, a rise by a fall, and vice versa. If instead of considering only the daily fluctuation you analyze the movement of market prices for longer periods, as Mr. Tooke, for example, has done in his *History of Prices*, you will find that the fluctuations of market prices, their deviations from values, their ups and downs, paralyze and compensate each other; so that apart from the effect of monopolies and some other modifications I must now pass by, all descriptions of commodities are, on the average, sold at their respective values or natural prices. The average periods during which the fluctuations of market prices compensate each other are different for different kinds of commodities, because with one kind it is easier to adapt supply to demand than with the other.

If then, speaking broadly, and embracing somewhat longer periods, all descriptions of commodities sell at their respective values, it is nonsense to suppose that profit, not in individual cases, but that the constant and usual profits of different trades spring from the prices of commodities, or selling them at a price over and above their value. The absurdity of this notion becomes evident if it is generalized. What a man could constantly win as a seller he would as constantly lose as a purchaser. It would not do to say that there are men who are buyers without being sellers, or consumers without being producers. What these people pay to the producers, they must first get from them for nothing. If a man first takes your money and afterwards returns that money in buying your commodities, you will never enrich yourselves by selling commodities too dear to that same man. This sort of transaction might diminish a loss, but would never help in realizing a profit.

To explain, therefore, the general nature of profits, you must start from the theorem that, on an average, commodities are sold at their real values, and that profits are derived from selling them at their values—that is, in proportion to the quantity of labor realized in them. If you cannot explain profit upon this supposition, you cannot explain it at all. This seems paradox and contrary to everyday observation. It is also paradox that the earth moves round the sun, and that water consists of two highly inflammable gases. Scientific truth is always paradox, if judged by every-day experience, which catches only the delusive appearance of things.



AN OUTLINE ON COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY TROTZKYISM—FOR MEMBERS OF  
EDUCATIONAL CORPS

Prepared by: National Education Dept. C. C.

## Reference Readings:

1. Olgin, "Trotskyism."
2. Vyshinsky, "Trotskyism in the Service of Fascism."
3. Lang, "Trotskyism and Fascism."
4. Daily Worker, Nov. 13 & 14. Watch editorials and articles.

*What is Trotskyism?*

Trotskyism is a complex of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist theories, including:

- (1) The theory of permanent revolution.
- (2) The theory of the impossibility of building Socialism in one country.

Organizationally, Trotskyism meant:

- (1) The denial of the necessity of iron discipline within the Party.
- (2) The freedom of factional groupings within the Party.

Practically, Trotskyism meant:

- (1) Unprincipled formation of blocs against the Party.
- (2) Attacks against the leadership of the Party.
- (3) Refusal to obey decisions.
- (4) Utilization of enemies of the Proletariat for the struggle against the Party and its leadership.

*The theory of permanent revolution.*

TROTSKY'S theory of "permanent revolution" was developed in 1905 in opposition to Lenin's theory of the growing over of the bourgeois-democratic revolution into the proletarian revolution. It involved the character of the relationship of the proletariat and peasantry (petty-bourgeois masses). The theory of "permanent revolution" advanced by Trotsky states:

- (1) The peasantry as a whole constitute one reactionary mass.
- (2) The proletariat will have to fight against the broad masses of the peasantry.
- (3) This fight can only be successful if the victorious proletariat of other countries come to the rescue.
- (4) If this support is not given, the rule of the proletariat in one country is hopeless.

This theory is linked up with Trotsky's.

*Theory of the impossibility of building socialism in one country.*

This theory was developed in opposition to Lenin's formulation in 1915 of the possibility of Socialism in one country as a result of the unevenness of development of capitalism in the epoch of imperialism.

Trotsky's theory denies:

- (1) The law of the uneven development of imperialism discovered by Lenin.
- (2) That the proletariat of any country, even in a highly industrialized one, cannot maintain its rule unless the victorious proletariat of Europe comes to its rescue.

Trotsky's theory affirms:

- (1) That the proletariat of one country can seize power but cannot hold it.
- (2) That the pre-condition for building Socialism in one country is the seizure of power in the majority of countries.
- (3) That if this does not take place, the capitalist elements within one country will inevitably defeat all attempts to establish Socialism.
- (4) That, therefore, without the world revolution proletarian rule in one country must perish.

*Basic characteristics of these theories.*

- (1) Over-estimation of the strength of capitalism and under-estimation of the forces of revolution.
- (2) Conceptions of the development of the proletarian revolution viewing:
  - (a) all epochs of capitalism as identical.
  - (b) the world revolution as a simultaneous process.
  - (c) the peasantry as a whole as a capitalist class.

- (3) Denial of the peasantry as an ally of the proletariat.
- (4) Denial that the proletariat has the strength to lead the peasantry onto the path of Socialism.

From these theories flow :

*The Trotskyist conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat.*

This Consists in :

- (1) Viewing the dictatorship of the proletariat as the dictatorship of the Party over the proletariat.
- (2) Viewing the dictatorship of the proletariat as a power which enters "into hostile collision with the broad masses of the peasantry."

This means :

- (1) Rejection of the Marxist-Leninist conception that "the emancipation of the working class can only be achieved by the working class itself" and the bourgeois substitution of the idea that the masses do not count—power is not class power, but the power of leaders.
- (2) Rejection of the Leninist conception that "the supreme principle of the dictatorship is the preservation of the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry in order that the proletariat may continue to retain the leading rule and state power."

*The practice of Trotskyism—a survey by Lenin in 1910.*

"Trotsky represents his own personal vacillations, and nothing more. In 1903 he was a Menshevik; he abandoned Menshevism in 1904, returned to the Mensheviks in 1905 and merely flaunted ultra-revolutionary phrases; in 1906 he left them again; at the end of 1906 he advocated electoral agreements with the Cadets (i. e., was virtually once more with the Mensheviks); and in the spring of 1907, at the London Congress, he said he differed from Rosa Luxemburg on 'individual shades of ideas rather than on political tendencies.' Trotsky one day plagiarizes the ideological stock-in-trade of one faction; the next day he plagiarizes that of another, and, therefore, declares himself to be standing over both factions.

'Let the readers now judge for themselves whether Trotsky represents a 'general Party' or a 'general anti-Party' trend in Russian Social-Democracy.'—Lenin: *Selected Works*, Volume 3, pp. 517.

This quotation shows that Lenin condemns Trotsky for :

- (1) Unprincipled political behavior.
- (2) Phrase-mongering.
- (3) Egotism.
- (4) Deceit.

*Trotskyism in action against Leninism to 1917.*

1905. Against Lenin's slogan, "Revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry," Trotsky advances slogan, "Down with the Czar and up with a Workers' government." This slogan ignored the peasantry and meant skipping an important stage in the revolution. If it had been carried out in practice it would have meant throwing the peasantry into the arms of the counterrevolution.

1910. While the Bolsheviks under Lenin were endeavoring to maintain Party discipline and to carry through its tasks which were opposed by the petty-bourgeois currents within Russian Social-Democracy, Trotsky wanted to conciliate all factions on the basis, not of Bolshevism, but of Menshevism.

Said Lenin: "Trotsky's resolution \* \* \* is drafted very 'cautiously' and lays claim to 'super-factional' fairness. But what is its meaning? The 'Bolshevik leaders' are to blame for everything \* \* \* this is (its) philosophy of history."—Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 39.

1911. Trotsky intrigues with various factions to fight Lenin and the Party. "Trotsky merely revealed the plan of the liquidators, whom he faithfully serves \* \* \* the termination of the struggle (by Lenin) against the liquidators \* \* \* full freedom to fight the Party."—Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 106.

"Trotsky has been deceiving the workers in the most unprincipled manner by assuring them that the obstacles to unity were principally (if not wholly) of an organizational nature \* \* \* In reality \* \* \* in the forefront now is the question of the entire program, the entire tactics, and the whole character of the Party."—Lenin: *Selected Works*, Vol. 4, p. 95.

1912. Trotsky forms the infamous "August Bloc." A direct attack on the principles of Bolshevism. All the groups in this bloc were united on one point—

destruction of the power of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party in the Russian labor movement.

1913. Trotzky continues his intrigues contacting everyone who might be of service in the struggle against Leninism. "The whole structure of Leninism is at present based on lies and falsification, and harbors the poisonous germs of its own decomposition."—Trotzky to Choidze, April 1, 1913.

1915-1917. Lenin advances revolutionary slogan—transforms imperialist war into civil war. Trotzky attacks slogan, saying it is narrow and unsuited for mass propaganda.

Lenin advances slogan—defeat your own bourgeoisie. Trotzky assails Lenin, stating: This slogan simply amounts to an inverted nationalism, or nationalism with a minus sign.

Lenin says: "Break with the waverers and the conciliators." Trotzky: Lenin's attitude is sectarian, a heritage of the past.

1917. Trotzky attacks Lenin as a dictator. "You do not know Ilyitch's (Lenin's) regime. Ilyitch brooks no thinking other than his own."—Trotzky to Melnikovski—a letter.

Trotzky joins the Bolshevik Party with reservations.

"The Bolsheviks have debolshevized themselves, and I cannot call myself a Bolshevik. \* \* \* The acceptance of Bolshevism cannot be demanded of us."

*Summary of Trotzkyist action up to 1917.*

- (1) Continual attacks upon the Bolsheviks
- (2) Unprincipled intrigue
- (3) Attacks against the leadership, especially Lenin, who was accused of being "the leader of the reactionary wing of our Party," "a party disorganizer," "a professional exploiter of every backward feature in the Russian labor movement." Trotzky also called Lenin a demagogue and liar, characterizing Lenin's Bolshevik statements as "Those hideous wantonly demagogic lies of Lenin."

*Trotzky during the Civil War.*

Conflict with C. C. on plan of attack against Kolchak in summer of 1917 Trotzky resigns. C. C. accepts resignation. Autumn 1919. Trotzky summoned from southern front to attend meeting of C. C. Central Committee recalls Trotzky from southern front on demand of military workers. Operations on southern front and defeat of Denikin take place without the participation of Trotzky. During this period Trotzky reveals bureaucratic handling of the Red Army.

*The Brest-Litovsk Treaty.*

Trotzky becomes panic-stricken when the revolution meets with difficulties. Tries to sabotage Lenin's proposal to sign the Brest-Litovsk Treaty which would give the revolution a breathing spell to consolidate its forces. Advanced slogan: "Neither peace nor war." Due to this attitude of Trotzky the treaty when finally signed contained more onerous provisions than had originally been proposed by the German militarists.

*Trotzky and Trotzkyism during the liquidation of war communism, 1920-1921.*

Discussion on the Trade Union question. Trotzky advocates transforming trade unions into state organs, naming its leaders from above. This idea was later realized by Hitler and Mussolini. Lenin condemned Trotzky's bureaucratic standpoint, pointing out that trade unions must be democratically controlled, and that the relationship of the Party to the trade unions is determined by persuasion not compulsion as advocated by Trotzky. "Trotzky's mistake consists in forgetting Marxism, in a theoretically false eclectic definition of the relation of politics to economics." "Trade unions are not state organs; they are schools of Communism." Lenin 1921.

*Trotzkyism condemned by 10th Party Congress.*

Lenin demands a cessation of Trotzky's attempts to build a faction. Trotzky is accused of an anarcho-syndicalist deviation by Lenin. The Congress called for the immediate liquidation of all factionalism.

*Trotzkyism in 1922.*

Trotzky gathers together different oppositional groupings for an attack on the Party leadership "which has brought the country to the verge of ruin." Advocates colonial methods of exploitation of the peasantry.

*Trotsky continues factional attacks upon the leadership.*

The 13th Party Congress condemns Trotskyism as a social-democratic deviation from Leninism.

*Trotsky's desire for power leads him to attack the Party openly after the death of Lenin—in the name of Leninism and Bolshevism.*

From 1924 to 1927 Trotsky was engaged in a campaign of falsification and slander against the Party.

- (1) He tried to set the youth against "the old Bolsheviks." "The youth," he said, "is the barometer of the Party."
- (2) He accused the Party of ruining the country.
- (3) He accused the Party of being agents of the kulaks.
- (4) He systematically falsified the history of the October revolution minimizing the role of Lenin and magnifying his own.
- (5) He violated decisions of the Party, carrying his opposition to these decisions to non-Party masses.
- (6) He developed the tactic of double-dealing, making declarations of willingness to carry out the Party line and simultaneously organizing cliques for sabotaging the Party line.
- (7) He tried to instill a spirit of pessimism and hopelessness among the masses who were called upon to proceed with the construction of Socialism.
- (8) He accused Stalin of all the things he had formerly accused Lenin of.
- (9) He developed an inordinate hatred of Stalin and the leadership of the Party because the Party membership had rejected his theories in favor of Leninism which was preserved and developed by Stalin.
- (10) He organized secret printing presses with the aid of elements connected with White Guardists.
- (11) He and Dreitzer (one of the terrorists executed after the recent trial) organized a counterrevolutionary demonstration against Soviet Power in November 1927 together with Zinoviev.

*Trotsky after expulsion from the Communist Party.*

Main aim: to destroy the Communist International. Tactics:

- (1) to spread confusion in the ranks of the working class;
- (2) to hinder the defense of the Soviet Union;
- (3) to supply information to the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie;
- (4) to oppose everything done by the C. I. and the Soviet Union;
- (5) to inspire and organize hatred of Stalin and the leadership of the Soviet Union; and, from 1931 onwards, to organize terrorist groups for the purpose of murdering the leaders of the proletariat;
- (6) to use for this purpose white guardists and the Nazi secret police;
- (7) to bore from within by putting his agents into the Party by double-dealing tried to deceive the Party and to prepare for terrorism against its leaders.

*How Trotskyism carried on its attacks in print.*

*On the first Five-Year Plan:*

"Industry is racing toward a crisis \* \* \* on account of the monstrously bureaucratic methods used in the construction of the plan."—Trotsky, *Militant*, March 15, 1930.

*On the Second Five-Year Plan:*

"It is necessary to put off the second Five-Year Plan."—Trotsky, *Militant*, Jan. 7, 1933.

"The bureaucratic leadership \* \* \* which has been blinded by the mirage of socialism in one country has brought national economy to the brink of absolute chaos."—Trotsky, *Militant*, March 13, 1933.

*On Stalin:*

"Stalin's autocratic rule has erected nepotism, selfwill, profligacy, pillage, and bribery into a system of administration."—Trotsky, *New Militant*, 1936.

*On the new Soviet Constitution:*

"To smother the protest of the workers against the growing social inequality by the weight of the more backward masses of the village—this is the chief aim of the new constitution."—Trotsky, *New Militant*, 1936.

*Pollution of Socialist Party by Trotskyism.*

Finding it impossible to prevent the united front of Socialist and Communist workers, Trotskyites enter the Socialist Party in 1936 in order

- (1) To provide themselves with machinery for anti-Communist propaganda
- (2) to destroy united front moves on the part of Socialist workers
- (3) to slander the People's Front in France and Spain to prevent the formation of the Farmer-Labor Party
- (4) to mislead the Socialist youth onto the road of counter-revolution
- (5) to slander the Soviet Union and its peace policy
- (6) to influence workers in trade unions under Socialist control to reject Communist proposals for unity
- (7) to prevent Socialist workers from directing their main blow at the Liberty League-Hearst-Landon combination as the main forces driving towards fascism in the U. S. A. This means objective support of fascism.

*Trotsky justifies terrorism in the public press.*

"Individual terror is \* \* \* of the *greatest symptomatic importance* because it characterizes the sharpness of the antagonism between the bureaucracy and the wide masses of the people, especially the younger people."

"Marxists, as is well known, have irreconcilably rejected and continue to reject individual terror. *But this has never prevented us from always siding with William Tell and not with the Austrian despot Gessler.*"—Trotsky, *New Militant*, Feb. 1, 1936.

*The conclusion of Trotskyism—Fascist assassination.*

Trotsky to Fritz David in Copenhagen, Nov. 1932:

"There is now no way out other than the violent removal of Stalin and his followers. Terror against Stalin—that is the revolutionary task."

Trotsky to German-Yurin:

"Stalin must be physically destroyed."

Smirnov, close friend of Trotsky, stated at the trial:

"I admit that I received through Gaven the directives from Trotsky concerning terror. \* \* \*"

Goebbels to the press in Nazi Germany:

"You are to print nothing about the trial in Moscow which links Trotsky to the Gestapo."

*Lessons from the trial of the Trotskyist assassins.*

Trotskyism always contained mechanistic and idealistic elements, revealed in its underestimation of new material conditions, in a tendency to rely upon the impulses of the will, in a tendency toward adventurism. As Lenin showed, any deviation from dialectical materialism leads to reaction and darkness. The ideology of Trotskyism coincides with the ideology of fascism.

Trotskyism in the course of its degeneration traversed all forms of oppression to Bolshevism, always adapting itself to the form of struggle carried on by the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary Party. When the bourgeoisie utilized the liberals in Russia, Trotsky attacked Bolshevism from the liberal standpoint. When the bourgeoisie used social-democracy, his attack was based on the standpoint of the latter. And finally, when the bourgeoisie began to resort to fascism, Trotsky utilized both the demogogy and the terror developed by fascism.

Trotskyism at the present time is the utilization of all the devices castigated by Lenin—carried to its lowest point, namely, deceit, hypocrisy, slander, lies, disreputation, double-dealing, and stool pigeoning.

Trotskyism means MURDER OF COMMUNISTS LEADERSHIP AND AID TO THE FASCIST WAR MAKERS FOR THE PURPOSE OF DESTROYING THE SOVIET UNION AND DEFEATING THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION EVERYWHERE.

*What is to be done?*

- (1) Proletarian vigilance against all attempts to smuggle into the Party anti-Leninist ideas.
- (2) Proletarian vigilance against any attempt to weaken the discipline of the Party.
- (3) Proletarian vigilance against rumors, gossip, slander, cynical remarks calculated to weaken the Party and its leadership.
- (4) Proletarian vigilance against those who try to weaken the Party's struggle against enemies outside the Party and against disguised enemies who worm their way into the Party for the purpose of weakening it.
- (5) Every member of the Party must study the principles of Marxism-Leninism in order to be equipped to fight against the enemies of Party.
- (6) Every Party member must ask himself with the utmost seriousness: Have I carried out the tasks assigned me in the spirit of Bolshevism? Have I done all in my power to strengthen the Party? Have I been vigilant enough against the petty-bourgeois tendency towards loosening of Party discipline?

No. 3

#### TENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION

##### DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

#### OUR TASKS IN DEVELOPING PARTY SCHOOLING

By Charles Krumbain

When we consider the situation in which our Party is operating, we can see that personnel is decisive: On the world scene, the opposing poles of democracy and fascism are in a life-and-death struggle, in which the part played by the United States can be decisive. In our country we see on the one hand, the forces of reaction consolidating, and fighting viciously against everything progressive and against the democratic institutions which the American people have established through struggle. On the other hand, the forces of progress and democracy are rapidly mobilizing their strength to give combat to reaction through the Democratic Front.

We can say without any boastfulness that our Party is playing an active role, varying in degree, in every progressive movement in the country. Full understanding and determined application of our mass policies in these forward movements can be a very important factor in the tempo of their advancement. The struggle to win more and more millions of the American people for the Democratic and People's Front, for our correct peace policy, to meet the needs and aspirations of our people, confronts us with more complex tasks than ever before in the history of our Party. Hence, not only is there greater need for special training of leading forces to meet this situation, but education of our Party members generally is one of our most important and serious problems.

Since our Ninth Convention, where the problem of personnel was made a central question, some advances have been made towards its solution. Our Party generally, and particularly our leading comrades, have become much more conscious of the need of a scientific and well-rounded personnel policy. What is more, we have been doing something about it.

#### PARTY SCHOOLS

In this article we want to deal only with one phase of this problem—Party Schools. With regard to this phase, it can be recorded that a much larger program has been carried through than ever before. In the last year alone, the Central Committee has organized and conducted a full-time school of 6 months' duration with 60 students; a school to train comrades in Negro problems, of 10 weeks' duration with 25 students; two regional schools, one in the Northwest and one in the South, of 8 and 6 weeks' duration. A number of State organizations have given real serious attention to this phase of work, especially the New York, California, Ohio, Illinois, and Texas State organizations. Other States have also done something on this field or have adopted plans for Party schools. In quite a number of States and localities, part-time schools were organized with

considerable results. These achievements mark definite progress, but they are only a beginning, since the needs are so great.

An important problem in connection with training of personnel that has yet to be solved, is schooling of those comrades who are mass leaders and are unable to find time for study. Our Party registration of January 1, 1938, has shown that more than 5,000 members went through some kind of Party school, but these include very few of the mass leaders. And it is precisely these comrades for whom schooling in Marxism-Leninism is especially important, because they are in contact with thousands of workers. Since there is the need, we can find the way. Some methods can be suggested here. Have a group of them take a week off and organize a class of 8 or 9 days' duration, from Saturday to Sunday of the following week. Or at least organize a group in the important centers that shall meet weekly on a Saturday or Sunday in a study circle, where current issues can be discussed and given a Marxist-Leninist interpretation. Of course, wherever possible, these comrades should be first considerations for all our schools.

Our experiences in organizing and conducting Party schools are so fruitful and varied that it is now possible for us to review our work to make definite improvements, and thereby extend it and get still greater results. Some conclusions can be drawn, although a full review of our Party school work of the past two years must still be made.

#### FOR IMPROVED METHODS

First, we believe it will be necessary to revamp drastically the curricula of all our schools. We must organize our curricula so that there is much greater integration of the theoretical subjects taught with the tasks and immediate political objectives of our Party, in addition to integrating a number of the subjects. In most of our schools we have had too much theory in the abstract.

A few illustrations will make this point clear. In our theoretical study of the character and role of the State, it is necessary at the same time to bring in all the lessons of American traditions and to interweave our whole concept of the People's and Democratic Front. Likewise in the same subject must be brought in the role of the women, Negroes, youth, and national groups. Or again when we take up Marxian economics and draw the lessons of the class forces in society, we must bring in the role and program of monopoly capital in America which is the spearhead of reaction, as well as the question of unemployment and how to meet the problems of the unemployed. The concept of a theory as a guide to action must be made to run through all subjects taught in our schools like a steel rod.

The second problem, requiring much more serious attention, is the selection of students. While we can record considerable improvement in this respect, it is still far from satisfactory. We have not yet fully grasped the import of Comrade Browder's demand that we want for our schools precisely those comrades "who cannot be spared."

Too often students are selected who have had no mass experience, with the result that it is hard for them to relate theory to practice. Not sufficient comrades representing the young American type who have come into the Party through mass struggle are picked for the schools. All of us, from the Central Committee down to the branch leaders, must continuously have our eyes open for prospective students, listing them for schools and seeing to it that they are given some preliminary training, that is, that they read some of our fundamental literature. If the comrade is picked, then he is already somewhat prepared. If not, the reading he has done will stand him in good stead. This will stimulate self-study, so necessary for all our members.

Last but not least, we must be much more careful regarding health in the selection of students. We have had much bad experience in this regard. A comrade in bad health is not able to give the necessary energy to his studies but he also has an adverse effect on the rest of the student body.

Thirdly, it is necessary, especially for the leading comrades and the leading committees of the Party, to make Party schooling an integral part of all Party work. Every Party organization should plan well ahead. National, regional, or State schools should not be considered as sufficient. The need is so great that all States, counties, sections, and large branches need to plan for and organize some form of school or study class. Full-time schools, even though a short duration, can and should be organized by every State organization as well as by those counties, cities, and sections that are in a position to do so. District budgets should provide for this important phase of work. The Center is in a position to give help with curricula, bulletins, etc. A careful survey of our Party membership will show that we have comrades who, with a little preparation, can teach in such schools.

## PART-TIME SCHOOLS

An important type of school that can be organized wherever there is 50 or more Party members, is the part-time school. It can be conducted three or four evenings and Saturday afternoon or Sunday each week for a 6- or 8-week period. Practically no expense is involved. Workers from important industries and shops who cannot get away for full-time schooling can go to these schools. The students, however, should be relieved of all other Party tasks for the duration of the school. These part-time schools may be of a general nature as well as on an industrial basis, or devoted to comrades in specific fields of work—branch organizers, women's work, Negro work, educational work, literature, finances, etc.

Lastly, although the leading comrades and committees must give attention to this work, to guarantee the proper planning and execution of the plans, it is necessary to establish a special apparatus for Party schools. Every large State organization should have a director and a commission for this work, directly responsible to the State Committee. Smaller districts, counties, and cities should have a special subcommission as part of the Organizational-Educational Commission.

All the above is put forward for discussion. Serious consideration should be given this problem at all coming conventions. We feel certain that as a result of the increased consciousness of the importance of training personnel, and with the experiences already gained we will be able to make further advances in this important task. Great help can be given by all who are especially concerned with this field of activity, particularly by instructors and graduates of Party schools, in seeing to it that these tasks and the problems connected with them, are raised and pushed wherever they find themselves, as well as by sending to the Center all suggestions and proposals for improvement.

## DRAFT OF AMENDED CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

*The draft amended Constitution and By-Laws of the Communist Party, U. S. A., published herewith, is submitted by the Political Bureau, for discussion by the Party membership.*

*Final action on this draft, and on all amendments and changes to be submitted, will be taken by the coming Tenth Convention.*

*All Party Units should devote at least one meeting to a discussion of the Draft Constitution and By-Laws.*

*Units, Party Committees, and individual Party members have the right to submit amendments or additions, either through their elected delegates or directly to the Central Committee prior to the opening of the Convention.*

## ARTICLE I

The name of this organization shall be the COMMUNIST PARTY of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

## ARTICLE II

*Emblem*

The emblem of the Party shall be the crossed hammer and sickle, with a circular margin having at the top "Communist Party of the U. S. A." and underneath "Affiliated to the Communist International."

## ARTICLE III

*Membership*

SECTION 1. Any person, 18 years of age or over, regardless of race, sex, color, religious belief, or nationality, who is a citizen or who declares his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States and whose loyalty to the working class is unquestioned, shall be eligible for membership.

SECTION 2. A Party member is one who accepts the Party program, attends the regular meetings of the membership branch at his place of work or in his territory or trade, who pays dues regularly and is active in Party work.

SECTION 3. An applicant for membership shall sign an application card which shall be endorsed by at least two members of the Communist Party. Applications are subject to discussion and decision by the basic organization of the Party (shop, industrial, neighborhood branches). After the applicant is ac-



cepted by a majority vote of the membership of the organization, he shall take the Party pledge, as follows:

"I pledge firm loyalty to the best interest of the working class and full devotion to all progressive movements of the people. I pledge to work actively for the preservation and extension of democracy and peace, for the defeat of fascism and all forms of national oppression, and for the establishment of Socialism. For this purpose, I solemnly pledge to remain true to the principles of the Communist Party, to maintain its units of purpose and action and to work to the best of my ability to fulfill its program."

SECTION 4. There shall be no members-at-large without special permission of the National or State Committee.

SECTION 5. Party members, two months in arrears in payment of dues, cease to be members of the Party in good standing.

SECTION 6. Members who are four months in arrears shall be stricken from the Party rolls. Every member, three months in arrears, shall be officially informed of this provision, and a personal effort made to bring such member into good standing.

#### ARTICLE IV

##### *Initiation and Dues*

SECTION 1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50¢, for an unemployed person, 10¢.

SECTION 2. Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by action of the Party Convention.

SECTION 3. The income from dues is distributed to the various Party organizations as follows:

- a. 25 percent to the Branch.
- b. 35 percent to the National Office.
- c. The remaining 40 percent shall be distributed between the respective State, County, City, and Section organizations in accordance with decisions of the State Conventions.

#### ARTICLE V

##### *International Solidarity and Assessment*

SECTION 1. Every four months, all members of the Party shall pay an extra assessment amounting to average dues payment per month for the previous four months, for an International Solidarity Fund. This money shall be used by the National Committee exclusively to aid our brother Communist Parties in other countries suffering from fascist and military reaction.

SECTION 2. All local or district assessments, or collections, are prohibited, except by special permission of the National Committee. Special assessments may be levied by the National Convention or the National Committee. No member is considered in good standing unless he purchases such special assessment stamps.

#### ARTICLE VI

##### RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS

SECTION 1. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. upholds the democratic achievements of the American people. It opposes with all its power any clique, group, circle, faction, or party, which conspires or acts to subvert, undermine, weaken, or overthrow any or all institutions of American democracy whereby the majority of the American people have obtained power to determine their own destiny in any degree. The Communist Party of the U. S. A., standing unqualifiedly for the right of the majority to direct the destinies of our country, will fight with all its strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within, to impose upon our people the arbitrary will of any selfish minority group or party or clique or conspiracy.

SECTION 2. Every member of the Party who is in good standing, has not only a right, but a duty, to participate in making of the policies of the Party, and in the election of its leading committees in a manner provided for in the Constitution.

SECTION 3. In matters of state or local nature, the Party organizations have the right to exercise full initiative and to make decisions within the limits of the general policies and decisions of the Party.

SECTION 4. After thorough discussion, the majority vote decides the policy of the Party, and the minority is duty-bound to carry out the decision.

SECTION 5. Party members disagreeing with any decision of the Party organization or Committee have the right to appeal that decision to the next higher body, and may carry the appeal to the highest bodies of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., its National Committee, and the National Convention. Decisions of the National Convention are final. While the appeal is pending, the decision must nevertheless be carried out by every member of the Party.

SECTION 6. In pre-Convention periods, individual Party members enjoy unrestricted rights of discussion on any question of Party policy and tactics, and the work and future composition of the leading committees.

SECTION 7. The decisions of the Convention shall be final and every Party member and Party organization shall be duty-bound to recognize the authority of the Convention decisions and the leadership elected by it.

SECTION 8. All Party members in mass organizations (trade unions, farm and fraternal organizations, etc.) shall work jointly in a comradesly manner to promote and strengthen the given organization.

SECTION 9. It shall be the duty of Party members, within the democratic procedure of the organization to which they belong, to explain the mass policies of the Party and the principles of Socialism, to endeavor to win support for them, and they shall abide by the democratic decisions of the mass organizations.

SECTION 10. All Party members shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

SECTION 11. All offices and leading committees of the Party from the Branch Executive Committee up to the highest committees, are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

SECTION 12. All Party officers may be removed at any time from their position by a majority vote of the body which elected them.

SECTION 13. Requests for release of a Party member from responsible posts can be granted only by the Party organization which elected him, in consultation with the next higher committee.

SECTION 14. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with Trotskyites, Lovestonites, or other known enemies of the Party and the working class.

#### ARTICLE VII

##### *Structure of the Party*

SECTION 1. The basic organization of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are the shop, industrial and territorial branches.

The Executive Committee of the Branch shall be elected at least yearly directly by the membership.

SECTION 2. The Section Organization shall comprise all Branches in a given territory of the city or State. The Section territory shall be defined by the higher Party committee and shall cover one or more complete political divisions of the city or State.

The highest body of the Section Organization is the Convention, or special annual Council meeting, called for the election of officers, which shall convene every year. The Convention or special Council meeting discusses and decides on policy, and elects delegates to the higher Convention.

Between Conventions, the highest Party body is the Section Council, composed of delegates elected proportionately from each Branch for a period of 2 years. Where Councils do not exist, the highest Party body is the Section Committee elected by a majority vote of the Section Convention, which also elects the Section Organizer.

The Section Council or Section Committee shall elect the Section Executive Committee which is responsible to the body that elected it. Nonmembers of the Section Council can be elected to the Executive Committee only with the approval of the next higher committee.

SECTION 3. In localities where there is more than one section Organization a City, or County, Council may be formed in accordance with the By-Laws.

SECTION 4. The State Organization shall comprise all Party organizations in one State.

The highest body of the State Organization is the State Convention, which must convene every 2 years, and shall be composed of delegates elected by the Conventions of the subdivisions of the Party or Branches in the State. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength.

A State Committee of regular and alternate members shall be elected at the State Convention with full power to carry out the decisions of the Convention and conduct the activities of the Party Organization until the next Convention.

The State Committee shall elect from its body an Executive Committee, which shall be responsible to the State Committee.

Special State Conventions may be called either by a majority vote of the State Committee, or the written requests of the branches representing one-third of the membership of the State, with the approval of the National Committee.

SECTION 5. District Organizations may be established by the National Committee, covering two or more States. In such cases the State Committees shall be under the jurisdiction of the District Committees, elected by and representing the Party organizations of the States composing these Districts. The rules of convening District Conventions, the elections of leading committees, shall be the same as that provided for the State Organization.

#### ARTICLE VIII

##### *National Organization*

SECTION 1. The supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U. S. A. is the National Convention. Regular Conventions shall be held every two years. Only such a National Convention is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership.

SECTION 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength of the State Organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 3. For two months prior to the Convention, discussions shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolution of the National Committee for consideration at the Convention.

SECTION 4. The National Convention elects the National Committee, a National Chairman and General Secretary by majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members shall have voice but no vote.

SECTION 5. The size of the National Committee shall be decided upon by each National Convention of the Party. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Party for at least three years.

SECTION 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between Party Conventions, is responsible for enforcing the Constitution, for securing the execution of the general policies adopted by the democratically elected delegates in the National Convention assembled. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the Party between Conventions. It organizes and supervises the various departments and committees of the National Committee of the Party; conducts all its political and organizational work; appoints or removes the editors of its press, who work under its leadership and control; organizes and guides all undertakings of importance for the entire Party; distributes the Party forces and controls the central treasury. The National Committee, by majority vote of its members, may call special State or National Conventions. The National Committee shall submit a certified, audited financial report to each National Convention.

SECTION 7. The National Committee elects from among its members a Political Bureau, and such additional secretaries and such departments and committees as may be considered necessary for most efficient work. The Political Bureau is charged with the responsibility of carrying out the decisions and the work of the National Committee between its full sessions. It is responsible for all its decisions to the National Committee. The size of the Political Bureau shall be decided upon by majority vote of the National Committee.

Members of the Political Bureau and Editors of the Central Party organs must have been active members of the Party for not less than five years.

The National Committee shall meet at least once in four months.

The Polbureau of the National Committee shall meet weekly.

The National Committee may, when it deems it necessary, call Party Conferences. The National Committee shall have full power to decide on the basis

of attendance of such Conferences. Such Conferences shall be consultative bodies auxiliary to the National Committee.

#### ARTICLE IX

##### *National Control Commission*

SECTION 1. For the purpose of maintaining and strengthening Party unity and discipline, and of supervising the audits of the financial books and records of the National Committee of the Party and its enterprises, the National Committee elects a National Control Commission, consisting of the most exemplary Party members, each of whom shall have been an active Party member for at least five years.

The size of the National Control Commission shall be determined by the National Committee.

SECTION 2. On various disciplinary cases, such as violations of Party unity, discipline and ethics, or concerning lack of class vigilance and Communist firmness in facing the class enemy, or of spies, swindlers, double-dealers, and other agents of the class enemy—the National Control Commission shall be charged with making investigations and decisions, either on appeals against the decisions of lower Party bodies, or on cases which are referred to it by the National Committee, or which the National Control Committee itself deems necessary to take up directly.

SECTION 3. The decisions of the National Control Commission shall go into effect as soon as their acceptance by the National Committee or its Political Bureau is assured.

SECTION 4. Members of the National Control Commission shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the National Committee with voice but no vote.

SECTION 5. Meetings of the National Control Commission shall take place at least once every month.

#### ARTICLE X

##### *Disciplinary Procedure*

SECTION 1. Breaches of Party discipline by individual members, financial irregularities as well as any conduct or action detrimental to the Party's prestige and influence among the working masses and harmful to the best interests of the Party, may be punished by censure, public censure, removal from responsible posts, and by expulsion from the Party. Breaches of discipline by Party Committees may be punished by removal of the Committee by the next higher Party Committee, which shall then conduct new elections.

SECTION 2. Charges against individual members may be made by any person—Party or non-Party—in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee. The Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion. Such action is subject to final approval by the State Committee.

SECTION 3. The Section, State, National Committee, and National Control Commission have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction.

SECTION 4. All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses, and to testify before the Party organization. The member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the National Convention of the Party.

SECTION 5. Party members found to be strike-breakers, degenerates, habitual drunkards, betrayers of Party confidence, provocateurs, advocates of terrorism and violence as a method of Party procedure, or members whose actions are detrimental to the Party and the working class, shall be summarily dismissed from positions of responsibility, expelled and exposed before the general public.

#### ARTICLE XI

##### *Affiliation*

SECTION 1. The Communist Party of the U. S. A. is affiliated with its fraternal Communist Parties of other lands through the Communist International, participates in International Congresses, through its National Committee. Resolutions and decisions of International Congresses shall be acted upon by the supreme authority of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., the National Convention, or between Conventions, by the National Committee.

## ARTICLE XII

*Amending of Constitution*

SECTION 1. This Constitution can be amended by a majority vote of the delegates of the National Convention, if the Amendment has been published in the Party press or Discussion Bulletins of the National Committee at least 30 days prior to the Convention.

## ARTICLE XIII

*By-Laws*

SECTION 1. By-Laws shall be adopted, based on this Constitution, for the purpose of establishing uniform rules and procedure of the proper functions of the Party Organizations. By-Laws shall be adopted or changed by majority vote of the National Convention, or between Conventions by majority vote of the National Committee.

SECTION 2. State By-Laws not in conflict with the National Constitution and By-Laws, may be adopted or changed by majority vote of the State Conventions, or between conventions by majority vote of the State Committee.

## ARTICLE XIV

*Charters*

SECTION 1. The National Committee shall issue Charters to State, County, and City Organizations, defining the territory over which they have jurisdiction and authority.

## DRAFT OF RULES AND BY-LAWS, C. P., U. S. A.

The following are the Rules and By-Laws adopted by the Communist Party of the United States of America, in accordance with its Constitution, for the purpose of applying the Principles, Rights, and Duties as established in the Constitution in a uniform manner in all Party Organizations.

## BASIC ORGANIZATIONS

The basic organizations of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. are the shop, industrial, and territorial branches. A shop branch consists of those Party members who are employed in one place. Shop branches shall be organized in every factory, shop, mine, ship, dock, office, etc., where there is a sufficient number of Party members, but no less than seven.

Industrial branches shall consist of Party members employed in the same trade or industry; they shall be composed of those Party members who are employed in places where shop branches have not yet been formed. Industrial branches shall organize shop branches wherever possible.

A territorial branch consists of members of the Party living in the same neighborhood or territory. Territorial branches shall be organized on the basis of the political division of the city or town (assembly district, ward, precinct, election district, town, or township, etc.).

Every branch of the Party shall elect an Executive Committee, which shall consist of at least the following officers: chairman, treasurer, educational director, membership director. The size of the Executive Committee shall be determined by the size of the branch, but shall not be less than four.

The Executive Committee has the duty of preparing the agenda and proposals for the membership meeting, administering and executing the decisions of the membership and the higher Party committee, and between branch meetings, to make decisions concerning matters which require immediate action. The Executive Committee of the Branch shall report regularly of its work, which shall be subject to review and action of the membership.

Regular election of branch officers shall take place at least yearly, but not more than twice a year. All officers shall be elected by majority vote of the membership, at a specially notified meeting. Officers may be replaced by majority vote of the branch membership at any time, with the approval of the higher Party committee.

Financial statements shall be submitted to the branch by the Executive Committee at least quarterly.

The order of business at the branch meeting shall include the following: (a) reading of minutes of previous meeting; (b) dues payments and initiation of new members; (c) report of Executive Committee:

1. Check-up on decisions (old business):
  2. Assignments and tasks, reports on communications, literature and press (new business):
- (d) good and welfare; (e) regular educational discussion (educational discussion can be moved to any point on the order of business).

One-third of the branch membership shall constitute a quorum.

Branches shall meet at least once in every two weeks.

#### SECTION ORGANIZATIONS

Delegates to the Section Convention shall be elected by all branches in proportion to their membership. The basis of representation shall be decided upon by the Section Committee in consultation with the higher Party Committee.

Any delegate to the Section Council may be recalled by a majority vote of his branch. The Section Council meets regularly once a month.

The Section Council shall make a report at least once in three months to the general membership meeting of the Section.

The Section Council shall submit financial reports to the branches and to the higher Party Committee, at least once in three months.

#### CITY OR COUNTY ORGANIZATIONS

In cities where there is more than one Section Organization, a City Council may be formed by the election of delegates either from the Section Councils or directly from the branches. The role of this form of organization is to coordinate and guide the work on a city-wide scale, and shall actively participate in or supervise Party activity in all public elections and civic affairs within its territory.

The City Council elects from among its members a City Executive Committee with the same rights and duties as the Section Executive Committee.

The State Committee has the right to form County Councils with the same rights and duties on a county scale as the City Council has on a city scale.

The structure of the County Organization shall be the same as the City Council.

#### STATE OR DISTRICT ORGANIZATION

For two months prior to the Convention, discussion shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion, all Party organizations have the right and duties to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolutions of the State Committee, for consideration at the Convention.

Only members who are at least two years in the Party can be eligible for election to the State Committee. Exceptions can be made only by Conventions. The size of the State Committee shall be decided upon by the Convention, in consultation with the National Committee.

The State Committee shall meet at least once in every two months. It shall elect from its body an Executive Committee to function with full power, and shall be responsible to the State Committee.

The State Committee, by a majority vote of its members, may replace any regular member who is unable to serve because of sickness or other assignment, or who is removed from office. New regular members shall be chosen from among the alternate members of the State Committee.

An auditing committee, elected by the State Committee, shall examine the books of the State Financial Secretary every month. A Certified Public Accountant shall audit these books at least once a year, and his report shall be presented to the State Committee and Conventions.

Special State Conventions may be called by a majority vote of the State Committee, or by the National Committee.

Upon the written request of branches representing one-third of the membership of the State Organization, the State Committee shall call a special State Convention.

The call for a Special Convention shall be subject to the approval of the National Committee.

The State Committee shall have the power to establish an official organ with the approval of the National Committee.

The State Committee shall conduct or supervise Party activity in all public elections and state-wide public affairs within the State.

The State Committee shall, if it deems it necessary, appoint a Disciplinary Committee with the task of hearing disciplinary cases, and report their findings and recommendations to the State Committee.

#### QUALIFICATIONS FOR DELEGATES TO CONVENTIONS

Delegates to the State Convention must be in good standing and have been members of the Party for at least one year.

Delegates to the National Convention must be in good standing and have been members of the Party for at least two years.

In special cases, the latter qualifications (length of time in Party) may be waived, but only with the approval of the leading committee involved (National Committee for the National Convention, State Committee for the State Convention).

#### RATES OF DUES

The initiative fee for an employed person shall be 50¢; for an unemployed person 10¢.

Dues shall be paid every month according to the following rates:

- a. Housewives, unemployed and all members earning up to \$47.00 a month—pay 10¢ a month.
- b. All members earning from \$47.66 to \$112.00 inclusive, per month—pay 50¢ a month.
- c. All members earning from \$112.66 to \$160.00 inclusive, per month—pay \$1.00 a month.
- d. Members earning \$160.00 and over per month, pay, besides the regular dues, additional dues at the rate of 50¢ for each \$10.00 or fraction thereof.

Dues are received for by dues stamps issued by the National Committee.

#### TRANSFERS AND LEAVES OF ABSENCE

Members who move from one place to another, and have to go from one branch to another, shall obtain transfers from their branches. No member shall be accepted by the new branch without a properly filled out transfer card. Before receiving transfers, members shall be in good standing and pay up all other financial obligations to their branches. If a member transfers from one section or city organization to another, a duplicate transfer card shall be transmitted through the State or District Committee. If a member transfers from one state or district to another, this shall be recorded in the membership book, and a duplicate transfer card shall be sent through the National Committee.

Members of the Party who desire to leave the country, and to go to another country, must obtain the permission of the National Committee of the Party.

No member has a right to take a leave of absence without the permission of this branch. Leaves of absence not exceeding one month may be granted by the branch. An extended leave of absence, upon the recommendation of the branch, is acted upon by the next higher committee of the Party. Before a leave of absence is given the member shall pay dues, and settle his financial obligations up to and including the end of the leave of absence period.

#### DISCUSSION BULLETIN

P. O. Box 87, Station D, New York, N. Y.

## WORKERS SCHOOL

35 E. 12th St., N. Y. C. Tel.: Algonquin 4-1199

A. Markoff, Director

## SCHOLARSHIP

Date\_\_\_\_\_

The\_\_\_\_\_has assigned

(Name of organization)

Name\_\_\_\_\_to take

the following courses at the Workers School: \_\_\_\_\_

at the scholarship rates of \$2.50 for each political course and \$3 for English.

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ covering the total tuition fee for the above-mentioned courses.

Signed\_\_\_\_\_

Secretary

Address\_\_\_\_\_

The total tuition fee with this credential must be presented by the student when he comes to register. All blank spaces must be filled in by the secretary, as indicated, Scholarships are for political courses only. They do not apply to Russian and Spanish.

(Union label 224)

Mr. STARNES. You may proceed with the witness, Dr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you a collection of 19 pages of photostatic copies of handwritten notes. Can you identify those documents as among the material which you obtained——

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this case?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer these in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

**(The 19 pages referred to above were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 46.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, it is my personal opinion that these documents are as conclusive, if not more so, than any other material in the entire collection. It has been verified that these notes are in the handwriting of Nancy Reed. I will read you some of the matters from the first page.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute; just for the record, how has it been verified?

Mr. MATTHEWS. By checking her handwriting on her passport and other documents, which are undeniably her personal documents in her own handwriting.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first item on this page is "Letter from Brown, congratulations," the fourth item is "Workers' School," the fifth item is "New Members, 8 P. M." In parentheses "8 Party Members," I would assume that could mean.

"Dues; Manifesto; C. P. stand on Roosevelt; Next week Spain," and then some undecipherable material.

On the third page there appears "Party affairs." That is one of the items listed. "Daily Worker Quota" is another of the items—"recruiting on Lenin Day" is one of the items discussed. "Fraction meeting, books for next discussion—Stalinism—the Party, shop papers."



In other words, Mr. Chairman, there are hundreds of references here to matters which can only have reference to the Communist Party. These are apparently minutes of some kind taken in the handwriting of Nancy Reed. It would be my own interpretation of the material that this was a fraction meeting of the union to which Miss Reed belonged and which she is known to be a functionary—the State, Municipal, and County Workers Union. In other words, this is a meeting of the members of the Communist Party who were also in the local union.

Mr. VOORHIS. But there isn't anything in there that definitely says that that is what it is, is that right?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The deduction which I base that statement on is that there are these numerous references to Communist Party matters and then also union matters, such as civil-service status, which would be a subject which would belong directly in the field of the State, Municipal, and County Workers Union, and since we do know that Miss Reed is an official, in fact, the vice president of her local, that is Local 28, is it not, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the State, Municipal, and County Workers of America, it would appear to me that these are minutes, at least most of them are minutes, which she made of the Communist Party fraction of that particular union. But, at any rate, the connection with the Communist Party is unmistakable and certainly not accidental.

Among the names listed frequently in these minutes is the name of McLaughlin.

In the effects of Nancy Reed which the committee obtained, there are receipts for dues for Communist Party membership made out to Ann McLaughlin. There is that bit of evidence and other evidence which seems to show that Nancy Reed's party name is "Ann McLaughlin."

Mr. Birmingham, you have examined these documents. I have just made the statement that it would appear from various pieces of evidence in these documents that the Party name of Nancy Reed is "Ann McLaughlin." Would that be your judgment, based on your knowledge of these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I had information and was told that that was her party name and the number of her card.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in addition to that you have information which includes the number of her party membership book?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that information obtained by a person who handled the party membership book of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was in her possession.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was in this person's possession?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the number of the book was taken down and the book was made out to Ann McLaughlin; is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please read that into the record?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. The book was made out to Ann McLaughlin, Communist Party, 1940, No. 5281, branch 40-S, signed "Israel Amter."

Mr. MATTHEWS. A-m-t-e-r?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; secretary, assembly district 12.

Mr. STARNES. Before you get away from these minutes, are these the original minutes?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are minutes in the handwriting of Nancy Reed.

Mr. STARNES. The documents you handed me before—these are original documents of which you have no photostatic copies?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. They are, as far as I know.

Mr. STARNES. You should be careful of those documents, because they contain information that will get us somewhere. It is the first time we have gotten hold of documents showing membership by number. I notice these documents deal with the growth and composition of the Communist Party for the year 1936, 1937, and 1938, giving the registered number, shop units, industrial units, neighborhood branches; number of Negroes estimated or actually are given here.

Mr. MASON. Is that for a State or the Nation as a whole?

Mr. STARNES. "The tenth party convention." That must mean for the Nation as a whole. It does deal with it as a whole because it gives here the number in the A. F. of L. as 8,987 and for the C. I. O. 16,509; members in the Workers' Alliance, 5,929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, that is exactly the proportion that Earl Browder testified to. He said there were about twice as many Communist members in the C. I. O. as in the A. F. of L.

Mr. STARNES. "Native, 14,743 in 1936 and in 1938, 30,165." It shows foreign born, 23,847 in 1938. It shows for 1938 in the party for 1 year or less, 26,806, which would indicate a tremendous growth at that time. The second page indicates that the State having the most Negro members was New York State, with 22,060, and California second with 4,739, while the State of Alabama had 581.

Mr. VOORHIS. They haven't as many people in Alabama.

Mr. STARNES. I want to ask something for my own information. This keeps speaking here about the work in the "foreign field," and it speaks here in a review about the need for unity and says:

In the Midwest the Farm Holiday Association and in the South Sharecroppers Union united with the National Farmers Union last year.

Where I said "foreign" it should be "farmers." It continues:

Independent groups in New York, Louisiana, and California are being urged to unite with the Farmers Union.

I am wondering if that means the National Farmers Union, that has been in existence for many years, or is it another sort of farm organization bearing that name which the Communist Party claims to control or have a dominant voice in?

Mr. VOORHIS. If I could interpose—this is 1938, which is the first thing to be remembered, and you will recall Mr. Browder's testimony and a number of other people whom we had before our committee, was to the effect that they were attempting to form a great political union with all sorts of organizations and kinds, and these are outfits, I take it, that they are attempting to make use of in such a way as they can in connection with that sort of political line, and I also believe that it is true that there is an organization that calls itself the Farmers' Union which is not the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union.

Mr. STARNES. That is what I am trying to get straight.

Mr. VOORHIS. But has more or less prostituted that name.

Mr. STARNES. Prostituted the name and calls itself the National Farm Union.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. That was the point the Chair is trying to get straight in his mind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The committee's files are rather full on that subject, Mr. Chairman, and I think you will find this is the situation: About 10 years ago the Communist Party, through two of its leading members, Hal Ware, one of the sons of Mother Bloor, who had spent some years in the Soviet Union, and Lem Harris, set up an organization which they called just the Farmers' Union.

In the Daily Worker of that period, for example, the Farmers' Union in various places, and I would assume it in most cases didn't have a half dozen members, would nevertheless make a public endorsement of the Communist Party candidates for public office. In other words the evidence is quite clear that that particular Farmers' Union was set up by the Communist Party and was simply a front for the Communist Party in view of these endorsements which it made.

Mr. STARNES. But it has not part and parcel with the Farmers'—

Mr. VOORHIS. The right name for the thing that is commonly called the Farmers' Union of America is the Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; but this organization was known officially as the Farmers' Union and I would assume was the organization referred to in these minutes, because the Sharecroppers' Union of Alabama was a distinctly Communist Party affair as contrasted with the Southern Farmers' Tenant Union which was organized largely by Socialists and which was not—

Mr. VOORHIS. Which was not Communist?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct; which was not Communist.

Mr. STARNES. I notice it speaks of the Coughlinites were eliminated from leadership in the Alabama Farmers' Union and that they suffered defeats in Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There are references in some of these documents to Father Coughlin which show there was some anxiety on the part of some of the correspondents of Nancy Reed that the Coughlinites influence was growing in some of the party organizations, which would be exactly in line with what you find there.

Mr. VOORHIS. What is that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That the Coughlinites influence was growing in party organizations.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is too much for me.

Mr. STARNES. It is referred to in this document.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These correspondents were at least alleging that the Coughlinites were trying to bore from within the Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct. You will find reference to that in these minutes here of the central committee.

We will recess now until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the committee recessed until 2 p. m., the same day.)

## AFTERNOON SESSION

(The committee met at 2 p. m.)

Mr. STARNES. The committee will resume its session.

You may proceed, Dr. Matthews.

**TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN BIRMINGHAM—Resumed**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you a photostatic copy of a letter and ask you to identify that. Was that among the papers that you obtained by subpoena?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter addressed: "Nancy, me darlin', how are you?" It is signed "Anna," and, Mr. Chairman, Anna has not been identified. On the original the signature is in a red pencil and in parentheses after the signature in the same handwriting, the author of the letter said, "red pencil anyway." The letter reads as follows:

Nancy, me darlin', how are you? Write and tell me what you are doing, and what the New York news is. I was working for the capitalists at the Guaranty Trust, where Jerry worked, but this job is so much better, and more interesting.

How is Johnny? And your mother? And Mary?—but mostly yourself, Nancy? You lead such an exciting life that I know you don't have much time. But in between causes, drop a line to your old friend, who, though on the other side of the fence, still loves you.

Old Prexy Roosevelt seems to have shifted over to your side from mine, the heretic! And people say Father Coughlin has gone red, so it's all mixed up! I don't try to figure it out, honestly! I'll let you go in for the causes, and let me know what's what.

Do you come to dear old Beantown? Don't fail to call me up or I'll be disappointed. Parkway 4673-M, and the address is 91 Anawan Avenue, West Roxbury—you know, the next step up for the Irish after Dorchester.

Write soon, will you?

Fond regards,

Signed Anna (red pencil anyway).

Mr. Chairman, I think the significance of that letter is to be found in several places in this material, namely, that Nancy Reed's friends have known for years that she was connected with the Communist movement.

Mr. STARNES. In other words you think the purpose of the letter would disclose the fact that she is known to be a Communist even by those who are not Communists and this is a link in the chain?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. And I offer that letter in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 47.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, we have here a collection of documents; can you identify those?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this is a letter from Kit, addressed "Dear Nan," from 1136 Logan, Denver, Colo.

Mr. Birmingham, have you been able to identify "Kit," the author of this letter as Kit Bowler?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this letter Kit Bowler, writing to Nan from Denver, Colo., states that she is enclosing with the letter a report

to Nancy on the Congress Against War and Fascism, which was held in Chicago. And this is a nine-page typewritten report which was with the letter you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; attached to it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, a part of the significance of these two documents is this, Mr. Chairman: The letter is addressed "Dear Nan" and the letter itself states that a report of the congress is being sent to Nan, but the report itself is addressed to Ann McLaughlin, which would be further evidence that Ann McLaughlin is the party name of Nancy Reed.

This report is on the Congress Against War and Fascism, which was held in Chicago in September and October 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Any particular significance to the report?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The report is a very detailed, single-spaced, typewritten nine-page report on that congress and the Communist influence in the congress to Nancy Reed. That is, this is one of many reports found in the effects of Nancy Reed which seem to indicate that she for some reason or other was the recipient officially of reports on Communist activities in various parts of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, what is the significance of that? Would it tend to show that Nancy Reed was a high functionary of the Communist Party or she wouldn't be receiving such reports?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Birmingham testified this morning and it is also my conclusion, drawn from all this evidence, that these documents show conclusively by their nature and contents that Nancy Reed was and is a very high functionary of the Communist Party, and particularly when you couple that with the fact that she was burying these documents where she believed they would be in safe keeping. They were not being deposited in a vault of a bank but were being buried rather unusually, under the porch of the ancestral home in Cape Cod, Mass.

I shall read one or two sentences from the letter:

So, I enclose my report on the really marvelous congress. \* \* \* The important thing is the questionnaire against war which you have probably received from the section or from the League vs. War and Fascism direct.

Now, in the language of the Communist Party that must refer to the section of the party which was in charge of that kind of a front organization.

The Communist Party ran away with the convention as far as hard work, honor, and reward went. You can get mimeographed copies of many of the speeches from the league, I think.

And then the report follows.

The end of the letter states:

My very best, if rather late, regards to you and my comrade friends, fraternally,  
Kit.

I offer these in evidence, if the chairman please.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 48.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify these two documents as among the papers which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, here is a photostat copy of a receipt for dues paid to the Communist Party. The receipt is made out "May 9, 1939, to Ann McLaughlin." It is marked "S. F.," which in party parlance refers to the solidarity fund, one section of the dues paid by members of the Communist Party into the party treasury.

The number of the receipt is 95653-A and is for \$16.25. Three dollars of it is allocated to the solidarity fund and \$13.25 to Spain.

This receipt was attached to a letter, was it not, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Signed by C. Oumansky, the Soviet Ambassador for the United States, and addressed to Mrs. Ferdinanda W. Reed, Sandwich, Cape Cod, Mass.

This is on the letterhead of the Embassy of the Soviet Socialist Republics, dated June 27, 1939.

I think Mr. Birmingham and I are not able to offer any reasonable explanation as to why the Soviet Ambassador should be returning to Ferdinanda W. Reed, the mother of Nancy Reed, a Communist Party receipt made out to Ann McLaughlin, but nevertheless the fact is that that was done.

Have you any interpretation of that, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No; none other than what you said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The receipt and letter referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 49.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. We do know, Mr. Chairman, that from time to time the party members use their dues receipts as means of identification and it would be possible we would ask Miss Reed that if she were here, whether or not her party dues receipt was sent to the Soviet Ambassador in order to identify her as a member in good standing of the Communist Party in this country for purposes of going to the Soviet Union, inasmuch as the letter of the Ambassador refers to a trip to the Soviet Union. That is among the possibilities.

Can you identify that document, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As one of the papers you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter signed "T. H. Wintringham" and is addressed to "Dear Comrade North."

This was among the effects of Nancy Reed. The "Comrade North" referred to here, is Joseph North, as revealed in a large part of the correspondence which you obtained, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And just why Joseph North's correspondence, in part at least, was in the possession of Nancy Reed, we are again able to guess only that she must have been the custodian of important party records.

Joseph North has been an editor of the New Masses and a prominent Communist Party member, publicly avowed as such for a long period of years.

The T. H. Wintringham, the signer of the letter, was a high Communist Party functionary in Great Britain, prior to the outbreak of the war and is now reported to be in the United States, having taken up permanent residence here.

At the time of the writing of this letter, Wintringham was in Albacete, Spain. He is writing to Joseph North from Spain. He says in part:

You are the only member of the C. P. U. S. A. with whom I have corresponded; that is why I write to you to ask your help in getting for my friend, Kitty Bowler, the letter of recommendation from the Party Central Committee that she needs.

She applied to join the Spanish C. P. in January, and was told all foreigners applying must have a letter from their home party. This necessary formality is strictly observed here. Letters to the United States have been misunderstood and I hope you can hurry up the O. K. which must, however, of course, be sent by hand.

Comrade Bowler, whom I have known since September of last year, when we met in Barcelona, has been doing excellent work here as a journalist and in other ways. People develop quickly in a revolutionary situation such as this is and show their qualities clearly. I worked closely with Kitty when myself a journalist, touring the Aragon front with her for ten days. When I joined the International Brigade (I commanded the Anglo-Irish Battalion for a short time and am now being nursed by Kitty through typhoid) she worked for the Manchester Guardian in Valencia, and I have had good reports of her work.

You have already identified Kitty Bowler as the author of this report sent from Denver, Colo., to Nancy Reed, have you not, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So next we find Kitty Bowler in Albaceta, Spain, and a functionary of the British Communist Party writing to Joseph North to get her credentials to enter the Communist Party of Spain, and the correspondence is in the hands of Nancy Reed, which again, Mr. Chairman, is an indication that we have here a pattern showing her unquestioned affiliation with the Communist Party.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 50.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify that document?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a letter addressed to "Dear Nan." and signed with the single letter "B."

Mr. Birmingham, have you been able from other letters in this file to identify the author of this particular letter?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; that is Beth McHenry.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And who is Beth McHenry?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. The wife of Blackie Meyers of the Maritime Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is Frederick N. Meyers, who is known as Blackie Meyers?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Beth McHenry is also a feature writer for the Daily Worker?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And has been such for a period of years?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter from Beth McHenry, addressed to "Dear Nan," reads: "A full report on party activities in Birmingham and the South"—It appears that Beth McHenry is on a tour of the South and is reporting to Nancy Reed. The letter begins: "Sunday afternoon in Birmingham."

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 51.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify that as another of the documents which you obtained in this collection of material?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, here is the second letter which has been identified for the record from the same party, this time signed with the typewriter, "BE.," and addressed to "Dear Nan," which also deals with Birmingham.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 52.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a collection of documents. Can you identify these as a part of the material which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, these are letters from High Point, N. C. All of them are from High Point, N. C., and addressed to Nancy Reed, in New York, and most of them are signed "Red," but some of them are signed with a typewriter "K. Y. Hendrix."

We know from previous testimony before this committee, particularly by Fred Beale, that K. Y. Hendrix was one of the defendants in the Gastonia murder trial some years ago and that he was known as "Red Hendrix."

Presumably the letters signed "Red," from High Point, N. C., are from K. Y. Hendrix. In fact, one of that at the top is headed "K. Y. Hendrix, High Point, N. C., Box 304," and then is signed "Red."

These letters are in the form of reports on strike activities in North Carolina—strike activities of recent date.

Hendrix was convicted and went to the Soviet Union and then came back and served a part of his term in the penitentiary in North Carolina and was paroled and is now again, according to these letters, engaged in Communist Party activities at High Point, and is making reports to Nancy Reed, in New York.

This letter reads:

My dearest friend: Will drop you a line to let you know I am still kicking. Well, how is all the comrades in the city. Give them my best regards. What about our friend, Beale. Wasn't he a rotten skunk. Well, Nan, I have quit drinking. I hav not taken a drink in a long time. I am trying to do sompthin worthwhile.

We have a very good branch hear we have a office hear in High Point and we ar trying to rase some money to git started off with. I am sending you a collection list and will you bee so kind as to try to git us some help.

Will rite you again just as soon as I hear from you.

Love, forever, Red.



In the second letter from Red, marked "K. Y. Hendrix" at the top of the letter, is addressed:

"Dear Sweet Girl." The letter thanks Nancy for, or at least the recipient of the letter, for some money which has been sent down, and this statement appears:

You git in touch with Grace Hutchon and make her help you rase some money for this district, and you call up Sophey Melvin and ask her to donate some to this district. She is Si Gerson's wife and she noes how hard it is to gitt along down hear.

Mr. Chairman, Grace Hutchon has been identified as the treasurer of the Communist Party in New York, and Sophey Melvin is here identified in the letter as the wife of Simon Gerson.

Another letter also is a request for funds, and then a letter says:

DEAR NAN: Red has turned over to our committee the money which you sent in which is \$500.

This is signed "Comradely yours, W. S. Helems, secretary."

"Red" is described as "Comrade Red" in the letter and it would appear from this that in one remittance at least Nancy Reed had sent \$500 for this work in High Point, N. C.

Another letter from Red to Nan that asks her for money that was sent down to save the hall as the rent was due the day the money arrived. However, Mr. Hendrix writes in this letter:

If you can git me a job I will come to the city to stay. The rest of it I am gitting tired of working like hell all the time and never having a dime for nothing.

Another letter from Red to Nancy reports on a strike at one of the mills in High Point, and still another letter from Red to Nancy, dated January 9, 1939, thanks her for \$10 that she sent down for the opening up of a party office in High Point. I am not reading these letters into the record, Mr. Chairman.

Here is another letter from K. Y. Hendrix to "Dear Nancy," which reports on the strike at the Adams & Millas Hosiery Mill; another letter transmitting a clipping from a newspaper in High Point to "Dear Nan." I offer these in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

(The letters referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 53.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you some documents that relate to Cuba and Nancy Reed's activities in Cuba. Can you identify those as among the documents which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first document here is a photograph of a parade in Havana and in the center of the parade is shown Nancy Reed marching.

I offer that in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 54.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. The second document is an official delegate's credentials issued to Nancy Reed as the representative of the State,

County, and Municipal Workers of America, Local 28, affiliated with the C. I. O., showing Nancy Reed, to be an accredited delegate to the National Congress of Workers meeting in Havana on January 23, 1939.

These credentials are in Spanish and the translation is appended.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 55.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, will you identify this document?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In whose handwriting is that?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Nancy Reed's.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this is a note in the handwriting of Nancy Reed on the letterhead of the National Congress of Workers, to which Miss Reed was an accredited delegate in Havana, and her description of that congress is as follows:

Oh, how I wish you could be here, here in this hall of 1,000 delegates of workers from all over the Island of Cuba. As I sit here on the platform the hall is seething with honest faces—all colors from light-skinned Spanish to dark negro. The air is warm, the sky is blue. The serious atmosphere of attention to all the problems of so many industries, principally sugar, tobacco, and shipping. Just now a strong clear eyed man came up to the platform and the microphone announced him, and he gave the clenched fist salute. About  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the delegates are C. P. and are openly recognized as such.

I offer that in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 56.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another document also on the stationery of the National Congress of Workers in Havana is an address of greeting to the congress. That may have been a memorandum of Miss Reed's own remarks to the congress. At least it was in her file.

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 57.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, can you identify Eddie Gordon?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. He is a Communist leader of the Maritime Workers Union in Havana, Cuba.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this material disclose that Nancy Reed and Eddie Gordon have had contact with each other?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Quite a good deal of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I show you a memorandum on Eddie Gordon and ask if that is a factual statement which is the result of your investigation?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And again a document entitled: "Communist Party Courier and Transmission System" and ask you to identify that document?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That was written by Eddie Gordon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Written by Eddie Gordon?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these documents be marked for identification in this proceeding.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection it is so ordered.

**(The documents referred to are marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 58.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Eddie Gordon is identified as a prominent Communist in the Cuban Communist movement, particularly connected with the shipping industry.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Maritime industry and also a courier of the party, delivering messages back and forth between the United States and Cuba—

Mr. MATTHEWS. And in close touch with Nancy Reed.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Without passports or anything else.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, I would like to ask you at this time if you have confidential information of indisputable character to the effect that Nancy Reed, prior to the outbreak of war between Germany and Russia, was tipping off information concerning the sailing of convoys to Great Britain?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I think that is perhaps as significant a piece of information as you could have. This woman whose Communist connections are shown to have covered a period of some 20 years is known to have been engaged in very definite espionage activities within the past few weeks, involving the sailing of convoys from this country to Great Britain.

In that connection, Mr. Birmingham, do you know whether or not certain individuals have been apprehended by the British Government and taken off ships, individuals known to have had contact with Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is my understanding.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been so informed by authoritative sources?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; reliable sources.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have a letter addressed to "Dear Nancy" from Havana, Cuba, and signed "Eddie," which reads as follows:

Received your letter and here is something else for you. Because of the cool response of the C. I. O. Maritime groups, and because of a letter received here from Mathew Wolf of the A. F. of L., the phonies have succeeded in convincing the groups to make preparation to visit the states and see Green and also Ryan of the New York Longshoremen. I have been afraid of this all along and now it's come out, although I've been asked to come along with them I really don't know what I can do. Please see Al Lannon and give him this information. God damnit, after all our work, it now does seem like sabotage on our part, because where we did not even send an official letter wishing them success the A. F. of L. did, now that does look bad. See what you can do.

P. S.: If you get back before my report gets to Lannon tell him that one is on its way.

It is signed "Eddie."

I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 59.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Al Lannon has been identified as a Communist Party member openly, having been a candidate for the Communist

Party ticket in New York, and as being one of the Communist Party leaders in the National Maritime Union.

This letter in the handwriting of Eddie Gordon discloses that Nancy Reed is in touch with Al Lannon. It may be observed, Mr. Chairman, that Al Lannon's fears about the A. F. of L. taking over the shipping union were unfounded. The National Maritime Union did succeed in handling the situation to the satisfaction of Eddie Gordon as expressed in this letter.

Another letter to Nancy Reed from Eddie Gordon, signed in his own handwriting reads in part as follows:

I would appreciate it very much if you talk to Blackie Myers or somebody up there and really explain the importance of maintaining what we have done down here, and push for a convention of all labor on the American Continent, then and only then can we really have Continental Solidarity and pan-American unity capable of checking world reaction against the workers and the Democratic peoples of the New World.

He has in parentheses: "This sounds good. I'll have to use it in my next speech."

He continues:

Oh, yes, before I forget. I received a letter from Joe Lewis and he asked me to write to you and explain the why and wherefore of his not coming up to see you.

Can you identify this Joe Lewis?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I don't know who Joe Lewis is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is not "the" Joe Lewis?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is not the pugilist, is it?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Joe Lewis here has not been identified.

Gordon continues:

It is not because he does not want to. He tells me that after what you done for him he would rather cut off his right arm than to have you think that way, but because Teddy thinks that he has an ulterior motive is the reason why he is staying away.

I see, Mr. Chairman, that gets into a personal angle.

I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It is so ordered.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 60.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, there are two Lewises involved in the life of Miss Reed and they are both referred to in this particular section of the letter.

Mr. Birmingham, will you explain these two documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is a letter from the Communist leader of the Maritime Union, Juan Arevelo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These two documents, these two photostatic copies of penciled notes appear to be from Juan Arevelo, a Communist leader of the National Maritime Union in Cuba. Is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer these in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

**(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 61.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, do you have reason to believe Miss Reed has been apprehensive lest the facts which these documents disclose become known—do you have reason to believe Miss Reed has been fearful this information was going to get out?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. What do you mean—at this time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I don't think she had any idea it would ever get out the way it was planted.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, I show you a little document and ask you if that is a photostatic copy of a letter which had been torn up?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And which came from the effects of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Not of these documents. This refers to her troubles in the State Welfare Department and with William R. Hearst.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this letter is addressed "Mother," and is dated March 4, 1941. It is signed by "N."

Is this the handwriting of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes; and it was in her effects.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading:)

The time has come. Dirty W. Hearst's reporters are phoning me and my office to know if you are my mother! I haven't met with them yet, but am waiting for "good advice" right now.

It cannot be helped and what will be will be. I will keep you informed; but I wouldn't be your daughter if I were afraid of the future.

Got to "Anise" last night, but she had no news of Mary at all.

It is signed: "Love, N."

This is dated March 4, 1941.

Mr. Birmingham, you have testified that Nancy Reed is the daughter of Ferdinanda Reed, one of the owners of the Daily Worker?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not Ferdinanda Reed disclosed the identity of her children to the press at the time she became one of the owners of the Daily Worker?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She didn't disclose Nancy. She did her daughter Mary. She said nothing about her son or Nancy Reed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have gone into the press reports of the time and find when the reporters asked her about it, she stated to the press that she had a child, Mary, in Moscow, but said nothing about Nancy or her son Williard, Junior?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is right, except it was Leningrad at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer this in evidence.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

(The letter referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 62.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, here are four more documents that relate to Nancy Reed's visit to Cuba. Can you identify those as documents which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I can.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The first of the documents is a memorandum on the Principal American Monopolist Companies and Their Investments in Cuba; the second is a report addressed to the secretary of the Syndicate of Workers of the Cuban Mining Co.; the next is a letter

addressed to "Dear Nancy" and signed: "Domingo J Zuniga, 409 Menocal Avenue, Havana, Cuba."

The letter reads:

You will excuse me because I didn't answer you as soon as you wish. I were so busy not only working for myself but doing some working for the Party. I suppose Dorothy Rehm are seeing you already. I did all I could for her down here.

When Gordon left he told me he will go to see you. I recommended him tell you send with him a good fountain pen second hand or new, either; because you know here are to expensive. I ask you that like comrade. I don't use to do that. In case you want anything from Havana let me know it.

My best regards for your dear Ted and from you all the warm from my heart.

That is signed: "Sincerely yours, Domingo J. Zuniga, 409 Menocal Avenue, Habana, Cuba."

Do you know whether or not Dorothy Rehm has been identified, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. She is an employee of the Division of Placement, Unemployment Insurance, New York State Department of Health.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I offer these photostats in evidence, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

**(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 63.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say she is an employee of the State Department of Labor for the State of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And from this letter it would appear that Dorothy Rehm had visited Cuba and was given contact with the author of this letter by Nancy Reed before she went down there?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And the author of the letter informs Nancy he has been busy working for the party, and also makes a reference to Gordon, the Eddie Gordon of the National Maritime Union, "who is on his way to New York," and asks him to bring him back a fountain pen?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, did you ascertain that Nancy Reed is vice president of local 28 of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I understand that that is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter on the letterhead of the union and ask if that was among the documents which you obtained?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We have a number of documents here, Mr. Chairman, which relate to Nancy Reed's activities in this particular trade-union, and Mr. Chairman, this is one of the unions affiliated with the C. I. O. which has been identified before this committee on numerous occasions, as having a large element of Communist leadership entrenched in it.

Here are two publications. One is called "The Employment Worker" and the other is entitled, "Active File." The first is issued "by Communist Party members in the division of placement and unemployment insurance." That is the Department of Labor of the State of New York.

The second is issued by the Communist Party members in the division of placement and unemployment insurance in the Department of Labor, New York State.

Apparently the comrades changed the name of the publication in between issues.

These are shop papers of which the Communist Party publishes hundreds and they all follow the same general pattern.

Mr. STARNES. Do you offer those as exhibits?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Without objection they will be received.

**(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 64.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this document obtained by you from the effects of Nancy Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. It was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, here is a document which is a tabulation of names. It is divided into four columns. The first column is the name of the individual, the second column the office address, the third column is headed "Function U & P," and the fourth column is headed "Remarks."

I might say that the column headed "Function U & P" means their union affiliation and party affiliation.

Among these individuals we find the name of Nancy Reed and her office address is given here as 79 Madison Avenue.

Under "U" it is stated "vice president" and we know that she is vice president of this union. Under "P" or party, it states "ex-officio bureau."

Mr. Birmingham, do you know whether or not all or most of these individuals named in this tabulation are employees of the Department of Labor of the State of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I haven't checked to the present time but at that time they were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At which time?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. When this was made out and we figured that around 1938.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, you ascertained that at the time this document was drawn up the persons named therein were employees of the Department of Labor of the State of New York?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, we had a large collection of minutes in the handwriting of Nancy Reed this morning which appeared to be minutes of the fraction meeting within the trade-union of the Department of Labor of the State of New York. This would seem to be a tabulation of the members of the fraction in that union. Most of the individuals whose names appear here are indicated as having party activities, although some of them are said to have no party activity.

Their names are Morris Unger, William Bernstein, Dorothy Rehm, Dorothy Baskin, Dorothy Ryder, Ed Wilde, Nancy Reed, Clara Nezin, Raymond Bunin, Al Kramer, Janet Wolfe, Lillian Epstein, Gerald English, Peter Arthur, Rachel Gordon, Eve Ott, Ralo Chadwick, Rose Boriskin, Frieda Geller, David Kugler, Mary Dworkas, Rose Robbins, Archie Shaw, Sam Risk, Anne Slobotkin, Louise Gurry, Rosalyn Badner, Stella Eberlin, Sylvia Tauben, Dorothy Martin, Henry Levitan,

Joe Baum, Michael Divornitski, John Davis, Franklin Folsom, and Reva Galatz.

Mr. STARNES. Dr. Matthews, I understand Mr. Schmidt, deputy commissioner of labor for the State of New York, is present.

Let me suggest you hand him that list of names and let him study them and after a moment we can use him as a witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. First, Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer this as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. It will be received.

**(The document referred to was marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 65.")**

Mr. STARNES. Is that the last of the exhibits, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are the last, Mr. Chairman, and I can give you a brief explanation as to what they contain.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest we have Mr. Birmingham identify them, and then you can give us a brief résumé and have them attached as exhibits.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you personally make these photostats, Mr. Birmingham?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You made these photostats from the originals which are in the committee's possession?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Birmingham, of these remaining documents we have numerous references to front organizations of the Communist Party, such as the Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy, the Norman Tallentire Celebration, the American Peace Mobilization, and so forth. Are you familiar with these documents?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do they disclose the fact that Nancy Reed did have a certain measure of connection with these front organizations of the Communist Party?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. An absolute connection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The remaining documents from No. 117 to 161, inclusive, have to do with Ferdinanda Reed's ownership of the Daily Worker, together with a voluminous correspondence of an early post-war date between the Reed sisters on the one hand and high Communist Party functionaries on the other hand, showing that as far back as the first World War these two young ladies, who were then students at Radcliffe College, had become engaged in revolutionary activities.

Mr. Birmingham, in that connection can you state that the authors, the Reed sisters, are in close touch with Louis Fraina?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. One of those letters says so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, Louis C. Fraina was the first American ever appointed to the Communist International by Lenin personally immediately after the World War. Fraina was the one American member of the Communist International at that time. He was at that time, while traveling considerably abroad, residing in Boston, and this correspondence discloses the fact that the Reed sisters, who must have been rather young then, and who were students of Radcliffe College, were in close personal touch with Fraina.



This is the first Communist book ever published in the United States which was written by Louis C. Fraina. That book was published in 1918. Fraina was the first editor of the first Communist magazine in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Will it appear from the correspondence and the documents on file that the Reed sisters had intimate contact with leaders of the party in this country from 1917 or 1918, or from their college days on down to the present time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the earliest days, and this correspondence, which is rather voluminous here, Mr. Chairman, does not show a merely casual connection between the Reed sisters and these Communist Party functionaries, but a very close working relationship.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The young ladies had committed themselves to various strike activities led by the Communists in Massachusetts and pledged themselves in their letters to revolutionize Radcliffe College, and various other sentiments of that sort.

Since that time, as we know, their mother, Ferdinanda Reed has become one of the owners of the Daily Worker.

Mr. STARNES. And one of the daughters resides in the Soviet Union?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct, Mr. Chairman, and one of the letters from Mary Reed in the Soviet Union to Nancy Reed in the United States has to do with an intended visit of Ferdinanda Reed to the Soviet Union, and Mary advises her sister to be sure that their mother brings with her to the Soviet Union credentials showing that she is a charter member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Otherwise she wouldn't see anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, if she brings these credentials showing she is a charter member of the Communist Party—

Mr. STARNES. And this correspondence shows without a shadow of doubt, and the other documents you have on file, that Nancy Reed and Mary Reed are sisters?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And are the daughters of Ferdinanda Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. There is no question about that. There are letters from the mother to each of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. Birmingham, this morning I asked you about the signer of a letter, who signed himself "Len." Was his last name Wincott?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have reason to believe that Len Wincott, who is a Communist Party functionary in England—

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. Scotland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Became the husband of Mary Reed?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. On August 17, 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. On August 17, 1933, he became the husband of Mary Reed in the Soviet Union; is that correct?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this letter discloses that fact?

Mr. BIRMINGHAM. That shows that; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a part of the record already.

That is all with this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Your next witness is Mr. Schmidt?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

**TESTIMONY OF GODFREY SCHMIDT, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR**

Mr. STARNES. Will you please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give us your full name and address?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Godfrey Schmidt. I live at 3235 Grand Concourse in the Bronx. I am deputy industrial commissioner in the State department of labor, concentrating on legal problems there. I am a lawyer by profession.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been connected with the department?

Mr. SCHMIDT. I have been connected with the department some 3 years and 4 months. I have been deputy about 2 years and 4 months.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Nancy Reed?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is she employed by the State department of labor?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Technically she is still employed. Her dismissal becomes effective on August 15, she having had sent to her a notice of dismissal dated July 11.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long has she been employed by the State department?

Mr. SCHMIDT. As I recall it, since about 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what capacity?

Mr. SCHMIDT. As senior employment interviewer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And as such, of course, I presume as a matter of fact that her reports and recommendations with reference to those who were applying for positions would naturally carry weight?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes. I am not too familiar with the workers of the division of placement and unemployment insurance because that division is equipped with its own legal staff and it is quite by accident that I have contact with it, so I wouldn't be able to testify as to the exact work of her department.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But generally speaking, the nature of it is such as to help place people in different positions?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. STARNES. You heard the list of names read a moment ago which purposed to be members of a certain union or a Communist Party fraction, who were employees or were alleged to be employees of the State department of labor. Have you had an opportunity to check the records since they were read or check the names?

Mr. SCHMIDT. I have read over that list but I haven't had an opportunity to check that list with our personnel list because I don't have such a list with me. The only names I was able to recognize as

present employees of the division of placement are Dorothy Rehm, Dorothy Ryder, Nancy Reed, Janet Wolfe, and Ralo Chadwick.

Mr. STARNES. But you do without having in your possession at the present time the personnel records, recognize those names and parties as being employed by the State department?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Are there any proceedings against Nancy Reed now by the State department of labor in New York, and if so, what are they and under what authority?

Mr. SCHMIDT. There are proceedings to prove that she is ineligible under section 12-A of the New York State civil-service law, which is popularly known as the Devaney Act. That act, as you probably know, has for its purpose to denominate as ineligible for civil service, persons who spread and advocate revolutionary doctrines; the violence or forcible or illegal overthrow of our form of government, and also persons who foster membership in or who become members of a revolutionary party having such revolutionary aims.

Mr. STARNES. Is it under the provisions of that act that she is being suspended or discharged from the department, effective August 15?

Mr. SCHMIDT. Yes, sir. That is to say the notice to her dated July 11, 1941, charged her with ineligibility under section 12-A of the civil-service law of the State of New York.

Mr. STARNES. Thank you very much, Mr. Schmidt. We appreciate your responding to the subpoena and we want to say to you that if the committee can be of assistance to you and the State department of New York, the department of labor of New York, in furnishing you evidence from our files which will enable you to employ only those who are interested in preserving the type of government that we have at the present time, and to oust from positions of official responsibility and power those who do not believe in our form of government, we are only too happy to do so.

Mr. SCHMIDT. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. I only wish that other States would adopt such a law.

I have advocated such openly, that the Federal Government and the respective States take such action and enact legislation which would make it possible for only American citizens who believe in the American form of government to occupy and hold positions of responsibility in the administrative or executive branches of the Government.

Mr. MASON. However, Mr. Chairman, as long as a State recognizes the Communist Party as a political party and permits them to place their candidates on the ballot, it seems to me that that State cannot very well, to be consistent, bar them from the ballot as well as bar them from jobs.

Mr. STARNES. Is that all, Dr. Matthews?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would like to offer this collection of documents, identified by Mr. Birmingham as an exhibit.

Mr. STARNES. They will be received.

(The documents referred to were marked "Birmingham Exhibit No. 66.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will remain in executive session for a moment, but the hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:30 p. m., the hearing was concluded.)



[For release 4 p. m. eastern standard time, Tuesday, September 10, 1940]

REPORT OF THE FULL COMMITTEE OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, CONGRESSMAN JOE STARNES PRE-  
SIDING, ON THE CARL BYOIR MATTER

On June 6 last this committee initiated an investigation with respect to allegations of un-American activity which had been made against Carl Byoir, president of Carl Byoir and Associates, by Wright Patman, a Member of Congress, on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The chairman of the committee, Mr. Dies, appointed Mr. Dempsey, of New Mexico; Mr. Casey, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Mason, of Illinois, as a subcommittee to investigate the matter. Competent investigators of this committee were assigned to make a thorough investigation of all of the charges. At the same time the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice undertook a separate and independent investigation. On July 16, 1940, the Department of Justice issued the following statement:

The investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning allegations against Carl Byoir disclosed no evidence whatsoever that he has engaged in any un-American activity. No basis for departmental action has been found, and the case is regarded as closed.

The subcommittee also had for consideration all of the evidence presented before the McCormack committee with respect to a contract made by Mr. Byoir with the German Federal Railroads for the promotion of trade and travel in 1933, which was canceled by him in 1935. The committee does not believe that it is within its province to go behind the findings of fact nor the recommendations of the McCormack committee in this matter. The committee, therefore, has confined itself to events subsequent thereto. It might be mentioned in this connection that the evidence shows that the contract was entered into for the promotion of trade and travel at a time when our Government was doing everything possible to promote trade relations with Germany.

On July 15, 1940, the subcommittee, after a study of all of the evidence, unanimously submitted to the chairman the following report:

The subcommittee you appointed to investigate the charges of un-American activities made against Carl Byoir after carefully going over the report by Mr. Stedman and also after consulting the files of FBI in the case find nothing to justify the charges made, nor any evidence that could possibly form a basis for such charges. We therefore find satisfaction in clearing Mr. Carl Byoir of the charges made against him and recommend that a resolution covering a complete exoneration of Mr. Byoir be voted by the full committee as soon as possible, such resolution to be based upon the subcommittee's report. We also believe in fairness to Mr. Byoir immediate publicity should be given to the subcommittee's findings.

Subsequently, Mr. Patman registered a complaint on the floor of the House to the effect that he had not been heard by the subcommittee, although his charges had been set forth in three addresses on the floor of the House, all available to the subcommittee. Accordingly, Mr. Patman was given an opportunity to be heard before a meeting of the full committee held on Thursday, August 29. He made a complete statement of his position in this matter. Mr. Patman presented no new material evidence. Mr. Byoir appeared and was examined concerning the charges made against him.

The full committee adopts the report of its subcommittee fully exonerating Mr. Byoir of any charges reflecting on his Americanism or loyalty to the Government of the United States.

The following communications of denial and explanation have been received by the committee and are included in the record at this point.

MAY 30, 1941.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: Although I have repeatedly requested that my name be removed from the mailing lists of certain organizations now being investigated by your Committee, I am still receiving literature from some of them and my name, therefore, may be on some mailing list. I am completely in accord with the foreign policy and national defense program of this country and I am not a member of, nor do I wish to be in any way associated with, any organization or group which advocates a contrary position. Therefore, if my name appears on any list obtained by your Committee, of persons allegedly associated with such organizations, I request that it be stricken therefrom.

Moreover, believing that an isolationist policy is neither sound nor moral, I have given money for Chinese, Finnish, Spanish, Czechoslovakian, British, etc., relief and have signed petitions to the Congress urging an embargo against all aggressor nations and the rendering of all possible aid to the victims of aggression.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) LUCY L. KELLEY,  
Mrs. Ogden A. Kelley.

*316 East-West Highway, Chevy Chase, Maryland.*

Copies to:

Hon. Jerry Voorhis,  
Mr. Laurence A. Welch.

MAY 31, 1941.

The DIES COMMITTEE,  
*Washington, D. C.*

GENTLEMEN: The so-called testimony before The Dies Committee, as reported in the newspapers, stated that I, an employee of the Navy Yard, was an active member in the A. P. M. This is absolutely untrue and without any foundation whatsoever. Anyone making any such statement to this effect is a cowardly and malicious liar.

People reading this implicating lie have already threatened to cause me to lose my job.

This letter is intended for your records.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) CHAS. T. GIFT,  
*1227 Queens Street NE., Washington, D. C.*

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,  
*Washington, D. C., April 7, 1941.*

Honorable MARTIN DIES, M. C.,  
*Chairman of the Committee on un-American Activities,  
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: About a year and a half ago your Committee released information concerning Government employees who were allegedly members of organizations that practiced un-American activities, and my name was included therein.

I called at the office of your Secretary, as a result of advice he gave a friend of mine, but I was unable to find him there.

I have not done anything more about this matter; but recently I was advised to write you this letter.

I have not at any time during my whole life belonged to any organization whatever, social, political, fraternal, or religious, except my church, and I have not directly or indirectly made any financial or other contribution to any organization, other than my church; and, strange as it may seem, I do not belong to any auxiliary of my church.

Moreover, I have not directly or indirectly authorized the use of my name in connection with any organization whatever, including organizations that have for their purpose the promotion of American or un-American activities.

It is requested that this communication be made a part of your record containing my name.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) MATTHEW LYONS.

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