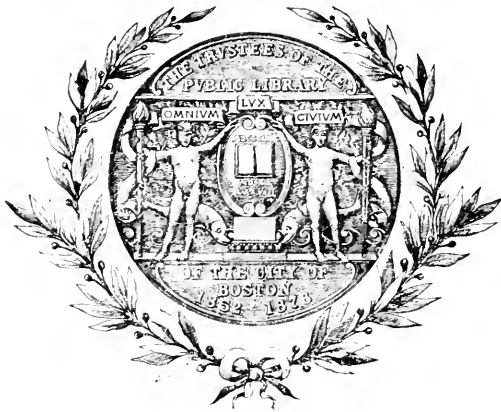


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March 1947

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

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122

**BILLS TO CURB OR OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF THE UNITED STATES**

WASHINGTON, D. C.

MARCH 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 1947

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



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NOTE.—Testimony of Hon. William C. Bullitt (Part 1) and J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation (Part 2), will be found in the BACK of this volume.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MARCH 24, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, Hon. John S. Wood, Hon. John E. Rankin, and Hon. Herbert C. Bonner.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, and Donald T. Appell, investigators, and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The Chair wishes to announce that in the executive session this morning the committee unanimously accepted the report of the Nixon subcommittee concerning Leon Josephson. The committee in executive session this morning unanimously cited Leon Josephson for contempt.

The committee is opening hearings today on two bills, H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, which seek to curb or outlaw the Communist Party of the United States. The committee has scheduled witnesses for the entire week. All of these hearings will be open and it is possible that the hearings will extend into next week. The Chair would like to emphasize, however, that in calling the hearings on these two proposed measures, that the committee does not endorse or reject the legislation currently under consideration. The committee intends to hear both sides of this question thoroughly. It is the opinion of the committee that the question of communism in the United States deserves the immediate attention of the Congress.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, please.

Just how this question should be dealt with is the question before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. In the first place, I ask unanimous consent that these two bills, H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122, be inserted in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection so ordered.

(H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122 are as follows:)

[H. R. 1884, 80th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To prohibit certain un-American activities

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

LEGISLATIVE FINDING AND DECLARATION

SECTION 1. The Congress hereby finds and declares that—

- (1) attempts by Communist sympathizers to secure election to public office in the United States;
 - (2) the teaching of Communist views in public or private schools, colleges, or universities in the United States; and
 - (3) the sending of Communist literature through the United States mails,
- are un-American activities which constitute a dangerous threat to our Government, to our democratic institutions, and to the freedom and security of the people of the United States; and the enactment of this Act is a necessary exercise of legislative power to protect and maintain our form of government and the American way of life.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. As used in this Act—

- (1) The term "Communist Party" means the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, whether or not any change is hereafter made in such name.
- (2) The term "publication" means any letter, writing, circular, post card, newspaper, periodical, pamphlet, book, or other publication.

PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ACTS

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be unlawful for an individual to file as a candidate for, or otherwise to attempt to secure election to, any Federal or State elective office (1) as the candidate of the Communist Party, or (2) if such individual is a member of the Communist Party.

(b) It shall be unlawful, in any course of instruction or teaching in any public or private school, college, or university, to advocate, or to express or convey the impression of sympathy with or approval of, communism or Communist ideology.

(c) It shall be unlawful to send or attempt to send through the United States mails any publication the whole or any part of which advocates, or the whole or any part of which expresses or conveys the impression of sympathy with or approval of, communism or Communist ideology.

PENALTY FOR VIOLATIONS

SEC. 4. Whoever violates any provision of section 3 (a), or willfully violates any provision of section 3 (b) or (c), of this Act, shall upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than ten years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

[H. R. 2122, 80th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL Prohibiting membership in subversive organizations

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That upon the basis of facts disclosed by the reports of the Committee To Investigate Un-American Activities and otherwise disclosed and ascertained, it is hereby declared that the Communist Party, or any party, person or persons who advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence or in their political activities in the United States are subject to the control of a foreign government or of a political party in a foreign country, and consequently that the continued existence of such organizations or other organizations having similar objectives or subject to similar control is detrimental to the peace, safety, and well-being of the United States.

SEC. 2. It shall be unlawful for any individual to be a member of the Communist Party, or of any organization known by him to be—

- (a) an organization the purpose or aim of which, or one of the purposes or aims of which, is the establishment, control, conduct, seizure, or overthrow of Government in the United States, or in any State or political subdivision thereof, by the use of force or violence; or
- (b) an organization engaging in political activity in the United States which is affiliated directly or indirectly with, or the policies of which in re-

lation to such political activity are determined by or are subject to the direction or control of, a foreign government or a political party in a foreign country, or which receives financial assistance or support of any kind from a foreign government or from a political party in a foreign country.

SEC. 3. Whoever violates any of the provisions of section 2 shall upon conviction thereof be subject to imprisonment for five years or to a fine of \$10,000, or to both such fine and imprisonment, and in addition thereto shall forfeit all rights of citizenship or to become a citizen and shall be ineligible to hold any office of trust or profit under the United States.

SEC. 4. As used in this Act the term "United States," whenever such term is used in a geographical sense, shall include the Territories and possessions and the Canal Zone.

Mr. RANKIN. I wish to say that the President's Executive order goes a long way toward meeting the situation, or the provisions, I will say, at least, of the bill which I introduced, H. R. 1884, but at the same time, realizing that we are now in a death grapple between oriental communism and western civilization, I think we should proceed with the hearings and get the reaction of the patriotic organizations of the country on this most dangerous movement. As far as I am concerned, I congratulate the President on the step he has taken. I hope we can take one or two additional steps which will make the picture complete.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to inform the gentleman from Mississippi—although I don't think the gentleman from Mississippi needs any information on the subject—that before the President made his recommendation—and I am not seeking to take any credit away from the President—this committee unanimously endorsed the drawing up of a bill which would bring about a loyalty commission in the Government and that the contents of this bill are almost identical with the President's recommendations.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me say that one of those I had reference to is the dangerous and pernicious organization in America known as the Anti-Defamation League.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you are taking up another question. We have witnesses here in regard to these bills.

Mr. RANKIN. I just want to say that if the President will go one step further and put a stop to their pernicious activities, he will render one of the greatest services ever rendered by a President of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. We call our first witness, Col. John Thomas Taylor, legislative counsel for the American Legion.

Colonel Taylor, do you have any objection to being sworn?

Colonel TAYLOR. I wish to be sworn, Mr. Chairman.

(The witness was duly sworn by the Chairman.)

TESTIMONY OF COL. JOHN THOMAS TAYLOR, DIRECTOR, NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE, AMERICAN LEGION

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel Taylor, will you state for the record your full name and your associations?

Colonel TAYLOR. John Thomas Taylor, director, national legislative committee, American Legion.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, first let me express to you our appreciation for this opportunity of appearing before you, and I think, John, you sounded the keynote, that we have finally reached the point where this is a grapple to the finish, so far as communism in this country is concerned. But, Mr. Chairman, it is like

carrying coals to Newcastle for even the American Legion to come before this committee. My goodness, there is no group in the whole country that has given the effort and the work to this problem as this very committee has done. It has been just ceaseless with you, and finally the country itself has come to a realization and, I think, an appreciation of this very matter.

Yet we have, I think, some information that will be at least of some advantage, so far as patriotic organizations are concerned, because we began with this question of communism back in 1919, right after we came home from World War I. A good many of the youngsters then, as there are youngsters now coming back from World War II, were pretty much impressed with the knowledge that when Russia quit under the aegis of the bolshevism which had started in Russia, through the very canny procedure of Germany at that time, by bringing over Lenin and Trotsky and slipping them into Russia and stirring up difficulty and trouble with the people themselves in Russia, and that relieved the Germans, relieved the Germans of the necessity of meeting a large force of Russians on the far eastern front, and so they were able, the Germans themselves, to come over on to the western front and delay and carry on the war, so far as the Allies were concerned.

And coming back from World War I—and some of the members of this committee were in that war and remember those circumstances—it was a matter which was very alive, so far as the creation of this new organization, its coming into being, the American Legion, at that time, was concerned. We had a caucus in St. Louis, called the St. Louis Caucus, before our national convention in Minneapolis, which took place on November 10, 11, and 12, of 1919, and even there, at that St. Louis caucus, we were very definite about our attitude toward the Trotsky-Lenin outfit, which was then getting a start in Russia.

Then at our Minneapolis convention on November 11, Armistice Day itself, while the convention was in progress, we were pretty well stunned when a message came to us about the murder of four members of the American Legion marching in a parade down the streets of Centralia, Wash., shot down by the IWW, which, as we all know in the beginning, so far as this country was concerned was laying the ground work for the Communist Party.

I will say this about those murders and that parade, that if it hadn't been for the American Legion itself there probably would have been lynching there in Centralia, but the American Legion took hold of the situation and controlled the uprising of the people, and even these IWW fellows were given a trial and, of course, convicted and punished.

So there it was, the very thing, the IWW, the beginning of the Communists, and the effect that the folding up of the Russians under the Communist-Bolshevist aegis in 1918 had caused. We realized then the effect that they were having even here in this country and in 1919, at the convention, resolutions were adopted that we have carried out right on through, and I will have Jim O'Neil talk about them. There has been a constant attempt to arouse the American people, right down to the very grass roots, right back to the very pulse throughout the country, as to the threat that this new ideology was having—the effect that it was having throughout the world.

It is a wonder why it has taken 30 years for the country, the people, finally to become aware of and aroused to this situation. Of course, the "why" is answered by your committee. In spite of all efforts to cut down your committee, both in its activities and its purpose—and first, of course, the committee being just a special one—and the efforts being made to prevent it carrying on its work by the doing away with the appropriations, and by the Communist press itself spreading around a feeling and an attitude of not only criticism, but I think I can safely say, ridicule, of the original committee—we all remember what they did to the Fish committee.

Then we ourselves at our 1937 convention adopted a resolution calling for the establishment, the definite establishment, of a Committee on Un-American Activities, and as the result of that House Resolution 282—if my memory serves me correctly—was passed in 1938, and the committee was created, and Martin Dies, of Texas, made the chairman. And I pay a high compliment to the courage of Martin Dies for the manner in which he fought and fought and fought to bring this whole thing to the attention of the public, in spite of the criticism—yes, criticism, coming from high places, and you and I know it—in an attempt to thwart what that Dies committee was trying to do for the American people and our country.

Mr. RANKIN. At that point, I think the country ought to know that the life not only of Mr. Dies was threatened, but the life of every member of his family was threatened, time and time again.

Colonel TAYLOR. They went the limit so far as attempting to interfere with this committee.

Then, with the opening of the last Congress this committee was made a permanent committee, which means that it will have sufficient appropriations to carry on the magnificent job that you have already started.

So we are on the highway, I think. We see the light ahead of us.

As I get to thinking here today, people think that this communism is something that sprang out of this war, or last week, or some other time right close to us. They don't know that they closed their eyes to the fact that this thing has been going on here steadily and constantly for the past 20 years.

Mr. RANKIN. The greatest bulwark against that progress during the twenties and the early thirties was the American Legion—I will say that—and I know whereof I speak.

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes, John, we fought everlastingly and with tooth and toenail. Now, another war, the Great World War II came along. We didn't know, did we, where Russia stood for a long time? Even during the war period, I think it is common knowledge that they had their agents—when they became Allies, they had their agents working in every Allied army that was trying to win the war.

I don't think there is any way to separate communism from Russia or Russia from communism. I don't think we need to deceive either ourselves or the public on that point. Communism is Russia: Russia is communism. Their ideologies as announced by Marx and Stalin are there, that the free democratic system can't exist side by side with the communistic system. That is something we have got to face. We are facing it now.

Mr. RANKIN. Would you say that Stalin is the Genghis Khan of the twentieth century?

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes, he is the Genghis Khan of the twentieth century; no doubt about it. They have spent, of course, a tremendous amount of money. They are spending a tremendous amount of money. They are putting forth now the greatest effort possible to spread communism throughout the world. They are doing that while they are sitting at the peace table deciding upon treaties that are to be entered into with our defeated enemies.

They are doing it in this country and in every other country. I think myself that perhaps today communism is making bigger strides in this country than it has ever made before. They have something to stir up, the animosity and the hatred—race hatred and religious hatred, and everything else that they lacked up until this war produced the kind of results which it has produced.

Mr. RANKIN. Isn't it a fact—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair wants to be very considerate and fair with the gentleman from Mississippi, but not one other member of the committee has asked a single question up to now, and I would suggest that we let the witness go ahead and make his statement, and when he finishes that statement then all the members will be given an opportunity to ask questions.

Mr. RANKIN. That will suit me.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Colonel Taylor.

Colonel TAYLOR. Thank you very much.

In 1921, there was the first really big effort, so far as alien organizations in this country were concerned, starting to stir up the people, and at that time in Madison Square Garden the Germans in this country organized a gigantic meeting. That was the beginning of what afterward became nazism. The American Legion was very much incensed at it.

At that time Gailbraith, of Ohio, was the commander. The Legionnaires in New York City organized to do something and Gailbraith himself had to go over there in order to see that no violence was committed.

After they had the big pro-German meeting in Madison Square Garden, the Legion organized a gigantic meeting, at which General Pershing was the principal speaker. There then came into the picture the Nazis and the Fascists, along with the Communists, in order to stir up difficulty and hatred in this country.

We have this ideological organization, the Communists, who are working every minute of every day here trying to spread the violence that they spew in the cellars abroad. I say to you in all sincerity, and I am speaking for 3,850,000 members of the American Legion, we not only welcome, but we congratulate this committee upon the splendid job that it is doing, and we offer to you, and we hope that you will take advantage of it, the work of every single solitary one of the 16,000 posts throughout the country. If there is a job that you want done that they can do, we say to you, "Give it to us"—we are so definitely concerned about the matter, and so confident of the job that you are going to do to bring this to the attention of everybody in these United States.

Now, I have here with me today Jim O'Neil—

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Taylor leaves the stand, we may want to ask some questions. I may say I am the only mem-

ber that was here when this was going on. That is the reason I was asking those questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Everyone will be given opportunity to ask questions. Have you finished with your statement, Colonel?

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes, I have finished. I am up to really putting the expert witnesses on for you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I have one question. You are quite familiar with veterans' organizations generally?

Colonel TAYLOR. Oh, yes; I am.

Mr. NIXON. How long have you been in the work?

Colonel TAYLOR. Since March 15, 1919, except for the 4½ years I was back in the service during World War II.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know of an organization called the Communist War Veterans?

Colonel TAYLOR. I don't know them.

Mr. NIXON. Never heard of that organization?

Colonel TAYLOR. I have read that title in the press, but didn't pay any particular attention to it.

Mr. NIXON. That organization has requested this committee for an opportunity to appear before it. I was interested in knowing whether it had a large membership in the United States. You probably would know about it if the membership were considerable?

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes, we would; very definitely, if it had any size membership.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Do you have, Mr. Taylor, an official in the American Legion organization called the Americanism officer?

Colonel TAYLOR. We have the Americanism commission and the chairman of the Americanism commission, who I have here with me this morning; yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. What is the function of that committee—or commission?

Colonel TAYLOR. I wonder if I could permit the chairman of that commission to read the resolution having to do with it, because I took care to have him bring it with him.

Mr. VAIL. Yes. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Colonel Taylor, the reason I asked you those questions was because I was here at the time. I remember the gallant fight the American Legion made to check the spread of communism in this country 20 years ago and longer. I want to ask you if the American Legion is willing to join other patriotic organizations of America, including this committee, in driving every Communist from the Federal pay roll and from the State pay rolls, off the radio, out of the moving pictures, and out of the educational institutions of America?

Colonel TAYLOR. We will follow you to the utmost—this committee—on that, and we will join with every other patriotic organization; and I think that the last thing that you mentioned, about the educa-

tional institutions, is one which hasn't been mentioned heretofore, and I think that that is one of the most significant and one of the most important things to be done, because that is where communism is taught.

Mr. RANKIN. You are aware of the fact that even the history books of this country are being distorted—and evidence is being distorted—in order to mislead the rising generation and to prejudice them against our form of government and the American way of life?

Colonel TAYLOR. To such an extent that the American Legion itself has printed a history book pointing out those very things.

Mr. RANKIN. You spoke awhile ago and said that you regarded Stalin as the Genghis Khan of the twentieth century and that we are now in a conflict between oriental communism and western civilization—between sadistic atheism and Christianity, you might say. How far should we go in challenging the spread of this nefarious doctrine throughout the world?

Colonel TAYLOR. Well, we are certainly supporting to the utmost President Truman's request. I think it is very much our concern. The President in his message to the Congress has, I suppose, in a sense stepped outside the purview of the Monroe Doctrine. We are in thorough accord with what the President has done in this instance and we are in thorough accord with our country being of assistance at this time to stop the spread of communism throughout the world; yes. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. RANKIN. Well, when they undertake to spread communism throughout the United States, aren't they violating the Monroe Doctrine?

Colonel TAYLOR. Of course they are.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Taylor, has the Legion made any first-hand or ground study of communism in Russia?

Colonel TAYLOR. In Russia? No, sir; just in America.

Mr. BONNER. In studying the subject, that is.

Colonel TAYLOR. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. I asked that to see if you had made, the Legion had made, a real study of the situation in Russia.

Colonel TAYLOR. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. And you wouldn't be in a position to give an opinion of the percentage of people who are ardent supporters of the Communist Government in Russia and those who may be opposed to it?

Colonel TAYLOR. I couldn't, except what I have read in the stories about communism in Russia; no.

Mr. BONNER. From reliable information, what would you think would be the break-down?

Colonel TAYLOR. Well, I read in one critique of the political situation in Russia that there were only 3,000,000, and then I read the story by Joe Davies' chauffeur, who said there were 10,000,000 members of the Communist Party in Russia. I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

Mr. RANKIN. You realize that communism and Christianity can never live in the same atmosphere?

Colonel TAYLOR. Positively. I might say the church. That includes all churches.

Mr. RANKIN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Colonel Taylor, I have one question. When you mentioned the fact that we had 16,000 American Legion posts, it recalled to my mind one of the things that this committee is striving to do and will continue to do in a larger way, and that is to educate the American people against the dangers of un-American activities. Now, I think that the American Legion and other organizations like the American Legion would give some thought as to just how we can aid one another in spreading the gospel throughout the United States, reaching down into the grass roots, to educate the people in order that they will not join these front organizations.

As you know, the great danger is the front organizations. A lot of well-meaning people join them because they have a high-sounding name. I wish that the Legion would give consideration to that, and maybe later on we will have a conference of prominent Legionnaires and prominent members of other veteran organizations and patriotic organizations, sit down informally and discuss how we can put this education over. Will you do that?

Colonel TAYLOR. Positively, Mr. Chairman.

I want to congratulate you upon the way this committee is being run and upon the new impetus, and we are in thorough accord with you and your idea to coordinate the efforts and activities of every veteran organization and patriotic organization, and I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that we, and the chairman of the Americanism commission, who is here, and who can answer better for the work that we are doing and how they are doing it, we will cooperate with you. We stand with you 100 percent on that; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Taylor, it has been generally noted that the Communist effort has endeavored to worm its way into all organizations. Have you found any instances where they have endeavored to be active within the American Legion, and if you have, what did you do?

Colonel TAYLOR. They have, in the beginning of this year, very definitely set out with a pronouncement that it was the purpose to infiltrate into the American Legion, and they instructed them to get into the posts of the American Legion. Now, you ask what have we done.

Mr. BONNER. That is a fact, that you did find that?

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes; very definitely.

Mr. BONNER. It became obvious?

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes.

Now, we have a suit on in New York City, where a Communist has been put out of the Legion and he has brought a suit in the Supreme Court in New York State demanding that the court pass upon his rights, and the rights of other Communists, to belong to the American Legion. I think the whole thing was planned, myself. That is one of the best ways they can get publicity, by a thing of this sort, if they can rig up a good case.

This man, by the way, is a very outstanding World War II fellow, and they will get a lot of publicity about it. Yes; they are determined to infiltrate into the Legion. Very definitely. They are determined to infiltrate into the Legion, and we don't know how strong they are in the Legion, but they are in there.

Mr. BONNER. Now, the other part of the question: What have you done?

Colonel TAYLOR. Mr. O'Neil will answer that.

Mr. BONNER. Then I will wait until he takes the stand.

Colonel TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. I have one other question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Taylor, you realize that they are working through various Communist-front organizations?

Colonel TAYLOR. We know that very well.

Mr. RANKIN. Is the Legion in every State in the Union ferreting out those front organizations?

Colonel TAYLOR. Positively. We have the biggest file on communism in existence. Positively. We will follow up, Mr. Chairman, every front organization, absolutely. Positively.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions? Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Taylor, you recognize, however, that it is important to define communism and fellow travelers clearly so that in this work that the Legion is conducting we will not condemn any innocent people along with the others; is that not the policy of the Legion in that respect?

Colonel TAYLOR. Well, you have asked two questions there, Mr. Congressman. One as to defining communism—which question, I think, has come up in the courts. I think it has. That Streicher case was one of the worst things that ever happened, so far as communism is concerned, because the Supreme Court held that any Communist could save himself from deportation by saying, "I am no longer a Communist." Then there have been several cases since. I think that we in America know what communism is. It is an effort to destroy our method of life and substitute for it the Communist ideology which places the state ahead of the human being. I think we all know that. I think there need be no argument on that. I think, personally, that our laws recognize that fact. Of course, nobody, when the Constitution was framed, ever dreamed about the Communist Party, I suppose.

I think we must all know definitely what communism is, and I think that, generally speaking, our country, the people know what communism is.

The second part of the question, as to innocent people: It is a very strange thing to me always, as to these innocent people, that they don't belong to one front organization which is exposed as a Communist organization, but they belong to 10 or 20 of them, and after one of them is exposed to the public the same name crops up again, of this individual, this innocent person, belonging to another front organization.

I don't think, Congressman, that there is as much innocence in existence, so far as the membership of these front organizations is concerned, as the front organizations would lead us to believe. I agree with you that none of us want to see innocent people fraudulently induced to engage in activities of that kind, what shall I say, punished. Yes, I will say punished; we don't want them to suffer because of it; but it is very strange to us, the way in which they seem to flit from one front organization to the other. Something should be done about it. And certainly, so far as the Communists themselves are concerned, every alien who is a Communist should be deported from this country and some method should be devised so that those who are already citizens of this country might be thrown in the hoosegow.

Mr. NIXON. You do believe that this committee must exercise judgment and care in determining, first, what a Communist is, and, second, what the front organizations are, so that we will know who the people are who are disloyal, as distinguished from those who may not be disloyal, but who may have a different political viewpoint from, say, the members of this committee.

Colonel TAYLOR. That is Americanism, and we have, and the country has, full confidence in you on this committee to conduct the affairs in just that manner.

Mr. RANKIN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think Colonel Taylor had finished.

Colonel TAYLOR. This is a great committee and the country has full confidence in this committee now.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. The gentleman talked about this committee using care and judgment. I think he should also add "courage." We have got to have the courage. We are up against the greatest enemy our civilization has ever known, and it will take courage on the part of the country, the Congress, the American Legion, and every other patriotic organization, to stand up to it.

Colonel TAYLOR. To save the time of the committee, Mr. Chairman, may I have permission to insert my further remarks into the record?

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(Colonel Taylor's prepared remarks are as follows:)

UN-AMERICANISM

The negative side of teaching Americanism was to oppose any un-American doctrine. While 90 percent of the Americanism effort of the American Legion was educational enterprises in teaching the history of the Republic, the elements of its Constitution and government, and adherence to its best traditions and highest purposes, the 10-percent effort devoted to combating un-American activity attracted about 90 percent of the debate, clamor and newspaper publicity. Any American is free to advocate any theory, scheme or program of government or social order so long as he does not advocate the overthrow of government by force and violence, and every conceivable notion in the realm of political economy or social order has found its advocates at one time or another in this land of the free.

Some of the strangest concoctions offered to the American public have been brewed in European cellars, but our native ingenuity has cooked up many a slimy broth. The chief imports after 1919 were communism, nazism and fascism, while we home-brewed the Ku Klux Klan, technocracy, townsendism and Coughlinism. The great American sucker paid tribute in turn to all of them, but communism alone remained, after a quarter-century, alive, virile, and probably growing. It had the nourishment of the Communist triumph in Russia, a certain amount of financial support from that country, and an endless propaganda support. The American people did not laugh it off with the same rugged and healthy reaction which in time had washed out almost all trace of numerous other freak and foolish "isms." Communism proved to be no joke. It was made of sterner stuff. The Second World War, with Russia on the winning side, helped to spread its doctrines over much of Europe and increase its following in the United States.

The first large example of alien propaganda to arouse the Legion was a mass meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York, on February 28, 1921, promoted, not by Communists, but by pro-Germans. Edmund Von Mach, a German-American agitator had the effrontery to ask National Commander Galbraith to speak at the meeting, which he represented as an effort to reunite all elements of Americans and wipe out the discordant memories of war. Following a technique later widely practiced by other groups, the German-Americans and some Irish-Americans whose dislike for Britain exceeded their love of America, formed a com-

mittee to exploit a cause. The name was "American committee to protest against horrors on the Rhine." The horrors were alleged lawlessness of African Negro troops from French colonies stationed with the Army of Occupation.

Galbraith exposed the fallacy of the whole scheme, learned that only 5,000 colored troops were on the Rhine instead of 40,000 alleged by Von Mach, and that their conduct and discipline had been excellent. New York Legionnaires were so aroused by the whole German scheme that Galbraith himself attended the meeting with a picked group of Legion members, and later addressed an outdoor group of Legion marchers, making certain that the Legion took no part in any illegal effort to break up the Von Mach meeting. On March 18 the Legion joined with 50 other patriotic and civic bodies to hold a much greater mass meeting where the precise truth should be told. Galbraith presided and General Pershing spoke. The whole campaign to revive German-Americanism frittered away and was not effectively renewed for years.

Grover C. Bergdoll, son of a wealthy Philadelphia brewer of German ancestry, became the symbol of draft dodging and was subject to many American Legion resolutions. Imprisoned at Governor's Island, N. Y., the young Bergdoll in 1920 secured permission to proceed, under military guard, to a spot in Maryland where he claimed to have buried a large sum in gold coin. He eluded the guards during a stop-over at his home, fled to Canada and then to Germany, and stayed there for 20 years. Various efforts were made to deal with United States authorities on some basis for lessening his penalties if he came back. Finally his wife and children, born in Germany, came to the United States to offer plans for leniency. The Legion opposed any reduction of his jail sentence, holding the case to be a needed public example which should not be softened by the passage of time. Bergdoll finally returned and went to prison.

The veterans disliked the whole idea of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia because in 1918 it took Russia out of the war as our ally and released a million or more German troops from the eastern front, to shoot at American soldiers on the west. They disliked socialism, the forerunner of communism in America, because its followers had opposed the national sacrifice. It disliked the IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), a communistic type of movement, for similar reasons, and bitterly detested it after the four unarmed American Legionnaires were shot to death at Centralia. The majority of Legion members regarded the doctrines of radicalism as destructive to the American way of life in theory and likely to be very dangerous in practice.

At its organizing caucus in St. Louis in May 1919 the new Legion denounced radicalism in general and the IWW in particular. It repeated its opinions at the first national convention at Minneapolis. Thereafter, it reiterated those views in various forms for 27 years.

In due season the Legion declared an equal opposition to the Fascist theory exploited by Mussolini in Italy and the Nazi theory adopted by Hitler in Germany, and fought the inroads of each into the United States. Next to those three doctrines the strongest Legion attack on un-Americanism was against the pacifists who sought to disarm the Nation. Communism and pacifism interlocked in both personnel and doctrine at various times. The Legion published a pamphlet called *Isms* which described various doctrines and told how it thought best to combat them.

These questions merged and blended into questions of immigration and the deportation of undesirable aliens, the barring of radicals from public offices, the treatment of slackers and conscientious objectors in both wars, and the infiltration of radicals into labor movements. These ramifications complicated the problem of combating subversive elements, because the Legion was neutral in labor disputes and nonpartisan in politics. The radicals were neither. It was not merely difficult, but actually impossible, to draw a precise line at which combating un-Americanism would stop when it got into the borderland of labor relations or politics.

Many steps in the contest were taken by Legion posts throughout the land. A few originated or found expression in national convention action or the work of national officers. At the outset the national convention demanded the deportation of alien radicals, and of alien slackers. The first individual of prominence incurring the Legion's displeasure was Louis F. Post, Assistant Secretary of Labor in charge of immigration, whose removal, as has been previously mentioned, was demanded by the second national convention because the Legion said he had failed to enforce the laws for deporting alien radicals. The next was Eugene V. Debs, Socialist leader convicted of sedition, whose pardon the Legion emphatically opposed. Post was not removed, and Debs was pardoned by President

Harding in 1922. In a number of cities the Legion posts persuaded public authorities to refuse Debs permission to make public appearances after his release.

The efforts of American Legion posts to prevent public speaking by radical orators were spontaneous. Many of them were ill-advised and served only to advertise the speakers and support their claims to martyrdom and their cry that freedom of speech was interfered with. When Dan Sowers of Kentucky became Americanism director of the Legion in 1927, he advised the whole organization to quit trying to prevent public speaking. He said that some radical organizations actually published the itineraries of their speakers so that Legion posts would be needled into advertising the events by trying to prevent them. Sowers proposed that the Legion posts confine themselves, if they suspected that treason, sedition or other criminal offense might be committed, to asking the public authorities to make a stenographic record of what the speakers said, and to act by legal process if the law was violated. This advice was quite generally accepted throughout the Legion.

During its first 3 or 4 years the Legion gave considerable attention to radicalism, and thereafter found only a minuscule of such activity to consider until the economic panic after 1930 left in its train a problem of poverty and unemployment which opened a new and fertile field for social agitation. The most eloquent of the earlier Legion orators was Alvin Mansfield Owsley, of Texas, who became Americanism director in 1921 succeeding Sailor Ryan. In the fall of 1922 he was elected national commander. Owsley probably made a thousand public addresses in those days and vigorously denounced communism and kindred doctrines, while preaching the principles of 100 percent Americanism. In 1924 he was supported by some southern delegates for the Democratic nomination for Vice President. In 1944, after his diplomatic service abroad, he became chairman of a Legion committee which planned an endowment fund for use in expanding the program of teaching Americanism. A graduate of Virginia Military Institute, the "West Point of the South," which had trained many a great soldier from Stonewall Jackson to George Marshall, Owsley had a fine war record culminating as adjutant of the Thirty-sixth Division. This brief summary of the career of one Legion leader is stated here because of a single illuminating incident.

In 1922 Mussolini had just taken control of Italy with his Fascist Black Shirts, after overcoming a Communist uprising which was close to being a revolution. In one public address Owsley used a figure of speech which suggested that if the Communists undertook an uprising in the United States, the American Legion would take a leading part in slapping them down, as the Fascisti had done in Italy. That remark, variously quoted and misquoted many years later, remained a keynote in the claim of American Communists that the American Legion was a Fascist body. In the uncertain realm of economic argument, a single phrase, inadvertent in concept or inept in phraseology, may outlive a thousand truths.

From about 1923 until the big depression Americans were more interested in beating the stock market than abolishing it, and private ownership of property seemed a good idea. When America went broke, the sins of property became a more appealing text. Private enterprise was less appealing when it paid fewer dividends. During the prosperous 1920's the Legion took occasional flings at communism. It warned the Nation that some appeals for feeding Russian babies actually were money-raising schemes for Communist agitators, and when Lenin died and a movement was started to plant memorial trees for him in American cities, the Legion scotched it in many places. In Washington, D. C., the Leninites attempted to plant such trees on the same avenue where memorial trees for the American dead of 1917-18 were growing. They did not succeed.

Recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States of America was proposed by Senator Smith Brookhart, who made a pilgrimage to Liscow in 1922, and later by Senator William E. Borah, and the Legion resolved firmly against both efforts. When the same proposal came forward in 1933, Commander Louis Johnson called a mass meeting in Washington to record a vigorous objection. Father Walsh, of Georgetown University, and William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, were speakers. The Legion protest was futile, and the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was recognized by the United States of America.

The resumption of diplomatic relations with Russia was not an approval of communism by the United States. In the same years it occurred, Hitlerism took control of Germany. The United States of America did not break diplomatic relations with that nation. It had early recognized the Mussolini government in Italy. At the time of the debate over Russia recognition, however,

neither Italy nor Germany was carrying on any extensive world propaganda for their social order, while Russia was the center of a world Communist movement. There was then, and long thereafter, a question of segregating the national sovereignty of Russia and the internationalism of the Communist doctrine. The dividing line was not always clear to Americans.

The recognition of the Soviet Government tended to stimulate a variety of radical and quasi-radical movements in America, committees, societies, welfare, and charitable groups whose leanings toward Communist ideals were also difficult to segregate from other purposes. All of this had no exact relationship to diplomatic recognition, as such. Much of it was confused under broad applications of the term "democracy," a word whose meaning in relationship to American constitutionalism became exceptionally elastic.

Hitler took control of Germany in 1933, and presently the German-American Bund and other pro-Nazi movements appeared in America. Hitlerism included persecution of Jews, and a series of small but inherently vicious anti-Semitic organizations cropped up in the United States. Italian fascism had produced rather minor repercussions here, but the Italian war on Ethiopia revealed a degree of world menace in what had been a domestic scheme of dictatorship in Italy. The League of Nations was collapsing in Europe. It had not been able or willing to stop Japanese aggression in Manchuria, nor Italian attack on Ethiopia. Germany, Italy, and Japan were forming the Axis, ostensibly to combat communism. Americans did not like the Axis any better than the Communists. The American Legion doctrine of Americanism opposed them all.

In dealing with subversive doctrines the Legion was under several handicaps. It had not means of assembling all the facts. It had neither the money nor the wish to hire investigators. Being itself a devotee of constitutional rights and law and order, it was at some disadvantage in the game of cops and robbers. Any radical who avoided overt acts of lawlessness and refrained from publicity advocating overthrow of the Government usually could thumb his nose at the Legionnaires who denounced his opinions. The left-wing position was stated in definite terms by Roger Baldwin, director of the Civil Liberties Union, when he testified before a congressional committee that he thought it entirely lawful for a man to advocate anything he pleased, so long as he did not incite to the commission of an unlawful act.

The administration of the deportation law became notably lax after President Roosevelt made Mrs. Frances Perkins the Secretary of Labor. Experience with the Harry Bridges case, recounted in another chapter, taught the Legion that fact, and the Supreme Court in the Strecker case increased the difficulty of holding that even an alien who had been an avowed Communist with a professed belief in forceful overthrow of government, could purge himself of deportation guilt by declaring that he had changed his mind. Eleventh-hour apostatizing would thus free almost any alien agitator from removal out of the United States.

The situation thus presented prompted the Legion to turn to Congress for action. A fact-finding committee, able to seize documents and compel the testimony of witnesses, could gather the evidence of conspiracy, connivance, and revolutionary purpose which the Legion could merely suspect existed. With the facts in hand, laws could be enacted within the safeguards of the constitutional rights of individuals to protect the Nation from movements that were aimed to destroy it. American Legion influence was effective in securing the creation by the House of Representatives, on May 26, 1938, of a special committee of seven 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."

Thus was born the Dies committee, named for Martin Dies of Texas, its chairman. There had been an earlier congressional inquiry into communism (1931) headed by Hamilton Fish who had been in Congress from New York for a decade. The Legion never had accepted the Fish committee finding in toto. Ham Fish had been a vigorous young progressive of the Theodore Roosevelt school in 1919, when he helped write the preamble to the constitution of the American Legion. Years of partisan political life and a bitter opposition to Franklin D. Roosevelt, whose Hyde Park home was in the congressional district represented by Fish, had altered the outlook of the New York Representative. He undoubtedly detested communism, but there were indications that he tended to consider any of his political opponents as "un-American." The Legion be-

lieved a new investigation of all un-Americanisms, including Nazi and Fascist as well as Communist propaganda, would give more accurate results. The Democratic Party now was in power and leaders of the Dies committee belonged to that party.

There was opposition to the creating of the Dies committee, in and out of Congress, but at the outset it could be answered by the simple statement that anybody afraid of an investigation of un-Americanism must be guilty of un-Americanism. Un-Americanism was not a crime unless it led into original fields of activity. The American Legion had published a good deal of material about subversive propaganda and the groups sponsoring it. It had a literature on communism and how to combat it by education. It knew a good deal more on the subject than the public had ever heard. All of this it could lay before Congress and gain public attention through the bright light of publicity that flames in Washington.

Homer Chaillaux, of California, had become director of Americanism for the national Legion organization in 1935. Able, aggressive, and fearless, he had watched foreign doctrines reached both openly and under cover, and was ready to fight against them. Stephen F. Chadwick, a Seattle attorney, had become chairman of the national Americanism commission, and in 1938 was elected national commander. Chadwick and Chaillaux, with stout Legion backing, led the fight to create the Dies committee and thereafter helped to make its work effective. They supplied its investigators with leads which had been accumulating from sources throughout the Legion. They were among its early witnesses.

The Legion had early warned the Nation about the "Communist front" organizations, established ostensibly for worthy purposes, but controlled by Communists and used to spread the propaganda of unrest and hate. The Dies committee unveiled a long list of such groups, and longer lists of "fellow travelers," a term used to describe individuals not actual Communist Party members but devoted to advancing Communist principles through movements bearing the name of liberalism. The intricacies of these activities were amazing. The Congress Against War had become the American League Against War and Fascism, and in turn the American League for Peace and Democracy. The Workers Alliance had been promoted among workers on Federal relief projects, and had carried out demonstrations which included a form of sit-down seizure of the legislative chambers of New Jersey and other States. It claimed 800,000 members. The American Student Union was claimed by the Young Communist League as one of its "fronts." There were "fronts" among Negroes, among youth organizations, and among intellectual groups of liberals.

The congressional hearings contained hundreds of pages about the infiltration of Communists in labor organizations. Years of failure to gain much advancement in the American Federation of Labor caused a change of attack to the newer unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Many defeats were met there also, but some successes.

The early accomplishments of the Dies committee met with set-backs through the inevitable injection of partisanship into its proceedings. Mr. Dies himself made the mistake of hastily publishing reports of his investigators before securing committee approval. The published lists of alleged "fellow travelers" often included the names of persons who had joined organizations whose purpose apparently was charity, or liberal progress, with no thought of Communist affiliation. While the committee revealed such quaint characters as a former devotee of nudism who was serving as economic specialist for the Foreign Economic Administration headed by Vice President Wallace, and a leftist youth leader who had been entertained by Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House, it also attacked the reputation of numerous educators, preachers, and politicians who could not well be convicted of anything but political liberalism. The enmity of Mr. Wallace and Mrs. Roosevelt and other liberals did the Dies committee no good.

When the committee mentioned that a number of Hollywood performers had congratulated, through their press agents, a French newspaper with Communist leanings (which nevertheless may have afforded free publicity to motion pictures) it included the child actress, Shirley Temple, among the testimonial writers. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins were among the liberal politicians who made a holiday of this statement, asking whether Mr. Dies saw a Communist plot hatching among the dolls in Shirley's nursery.

The operations of the Dies committee became more and more political in their implications. When it named persons holding appointive Federal offices as among the "fellow travelers" of the communistic fronts, the appointive powers, namely the President and his department chiefs, were almost obliged to defend their appointees and to seek to discredit Mr. Dies and his aides. A strong anti-Dies propaganda developed from the left of center.

At the same time anti-Semitism was dragged into the already confusing picture. A number of organizations using the names "Christian" and "American" sprang up, attacking Jews with declarations worthy only of a Hitler, and seeking to confust the terms "Jew," "Russian," and "Communist." By the time America was into the second war the reckless statements of these promoters got about 20 of them indicted for sedition. A long trial in Washington ended without a verdict when the presiding judge died. There was no court decision, but the anti-Jewish preachers of racial hate so often used the term "100 percent Americanism" as sometimes to cast discredit on the more reasonable efforts to combat un-American activities. The American Legion had no part in this nonsense, but the very term Americanism was discredited by the cheap traders on prejudice, shielded by the protection of free speech and a free press.

In 1944 the Dies committee ended. Martin Dies retired from Congress, and Joe Starnes, of Alabama, its vice chairman, was defeated in his home district. Opponents of the committee's work claimed that the public had discredited it. The Congress created a new committee the next year to pursue studies of subversive and un-American activities, hoping the personnel would be more skillful and the results more unbiased, fair, and usefully informative.

Meanwhile the Legion had developed a less controversial means of teaching patriotism. It sponsored the National Coordinating Committee, a joint effort with other large and representative groups designed to preach, constructively, the gospel of Americanism. Joining the Legion in this movement were the American Federation of Labor, the National Grange, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Knights of Columbus, the B'nai B'rith, and the Elks. Represented in this group were millions of Americans, veterans, farmers, labor, manufacturers, women, fraternal orders, Catholics, Jews. It was designed to be an all-American team. The purpose was to hold public meetings, give radio programs, celebrate national holidays, and demonstrate to the whole Nation the unity of devotion of all kinds of Americans to the Constitution and laws and traditions of a free people.

Frank Lowe, of Maine, a former Legion department commander was the first chairman. He was followed by Louis J. Canepa, of Los Angeles, with William J. Conniff, of Port Angeles, Wash., as secretary. The peak of accomplishment in the committee's career was reached on July 4, 1942, when a Nation-wide broadcast from Soldiers Field, Chicago, was accompanied by a radio story of the original formation of the various societies making up the committee, and their basic commitment in service in America. The committee was a ponderous affair in operation, without separate funds of its own, and chiefly supported in its cooperative efforts by Legion money and personnel. After its outstanding enterprises in 1942, developed by Edward McGrail, publicity director of the Legion, who then went into the Army, its subsequent efforts were somewhat frustrated by the exigencies of war. It remained in nominal existence, with possibilities of postwar revival.

The opposition of war veterans to the extreme doctrines of pacifism has been a very general reaction after all wars. The Legion regarded pacifism as a form of un-Americanism. It was careful to draw a line between the advocacy of peace and the doctrines of pacifism, including in the latter only such movements as involved a refusal to bear arms in defense of the Republic, or corollary attitudes.

Immediately after the first war an example of religious pacifism was supplied by the Mennonite sect, a group domiciled in Canada, which had refused military service. They sought to migrate to the United States, and the Legion passed resolutions opposing their admission. After much discussion in and out of Congress, a body of the sect moved to Mexico.

The Women's Peace Union, a domestic group, sought pledges from young men in schools and colleges never to bear arms in defense of the United States, or even render aid to a wounded soldier. The Legion in 1923 pronounced this movement "anarchy, pure and simple," and declared it chiefly was an effort to capitalize pacifist sentiment by promoters seeking to create paying jobs for themselves. Scores of small pacifist organizations sprang up, appealing especially to

women. The Women's Conference on National Defense, held annually in Washington under American Legion Auxiliary auspices, in which many public-spirited groups of women joined, was an answer to the women, some well meaning and some disguising alien and subversive motives, who sang "I Did Not Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier."

An Americanism Commission pamphlet, Preparedness versus Pacifism, published first in 1927, summed up the Legion case against the peace lovers who carried their doctrine to the point of supine submission rather than armed defense. The lessons of World War II so utterly refuted the whole doctrine of pacifism as to make it appear ridiculous.

The Legion was watchful of patriotic observance in the public schools. It advocated a requirement that teachers take an oath of office similar to that subscribed by the President of the United States, the Governors of States, and other public officials, an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. Several States enacted laws requiring such a pledge. The Legion said that teachers were public officers administering a sacred public trust and should be persons of unquestioned loyalty. Violent objection to the teachers' oath was registered in some scholastic circles.

The cry of academic freedom of conscience was raised. It was suggested that teachers would be prevented, by such an obligation, from teaching the facts about economic doctrines. A battle of words took place in many State legislatures and other forums.

The refusal of members of Jehovah's Witnesses to allow their children to salute the flag of the United States became an issue in court when the Board of Education of West Virginia required the flag salute by all public school children. The Legion, through Ralph Gregg, its national judge advocate, intervened in the action as amicus curias when it went to the Supreme Court of the United States. The religious cultists asserted that God told them to salute no worldly authority, and that a required flag salute infringed the right of freedom of religion guaranteed by Constitution. The Supreme Court reversed an earlier decision and upheld Jehovah's Witnesses. It later sustained them in a right to distribute literature when certain municipalities had barred such action.

Every step in the contest against un-Americanism was resisted. Many were first fought out within the Legion when posts, State and national conventions debated them. All met with counterattacks from the groups affected. A few of the thousands of incidents transpiring in a quarter century may help to picture what went forward throughout the land.

A Legion post in New York was formed by veterans with left-wing political leanings, and named for Willard Straight, who was the first officer in charge of the War Risk Insurance Section of the Army in France, and who had died in Paris.

He was a millionaire who had supported the New Republic, a leading leftist weekly. The Straight Post was a consistent dissenter from the orthodox Legion views on 100 percent Americanism and publicly expressed its disapproval of many Legion policies and pronouncements. Finally the New York department undertook to withdraw the post's charter for its refusal to submit to majority decisions. Willard Straight Post went to court and retained its charter, demonstrating that its membership had paid dues and complied with legal requirements. Its intransigence had been open, public and directed at various National or State resolutions of policy or belief. The Legion as a voluntary membership organization might ask, but could not compel, conformity to its convention decisions. A minority was legally free to dissent publicly from the majority mandates.

In 1922 the Civil Liberties Union was quoted in the Churchman, a religious magazine, as authority for statistics on acts of violence of the past year. The quotation recorded that 51 persons had been tarred and feathered, including "eight by the Ku Klux Klan and two by the American Legion." Regarding floggings the same statement concluded: "The American Legion is credited with only one flogging." Challenged by National Adjutant Lemmel Bolles to produce evidence of any such acts by the Legion, the Civil Liberties Union never replied.

Homer Chaillaux served longer as Americanism director than any predecessor (1934-45) and made more speeches to public and Legion gatherings. He was a principal in more controversies than any Legionnaire. A Communist spokesman once called him that party's "Enemy No. 1." He revelled in dialectics. As department commander of the Legion in California for 1933-34 he witnessed and participated in events of the general strike at San Francisco led

by Harry Bridges, whom he believed to be a Communist, and that experience made Chaillaux a crusading opponent of all that he regarded as subversive activity.

His attacks on various "isms" and the counterattacks on the Legion and on Chaillaux in person overshadowed in public light the many other phases of his work. He enjoyed a good debate, and probably overstated his case emphatically on numerous occasions, a fault generously shared by his opponents. Anonymous enemies threatened to shoot him. To Chaillaux the Legion's opposition to alien ideologies was no academic subject, but a living battle, and his oratory was pitched to that key.

From dozens of pamphlets, thousands of letters, many speeches and many pages of testimony emanating from Chaillaux's desk or voice various lively incidents arose. He once wrote a casual letter to Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, of Kansas, a promoter of what was called The Defenders, in which he referred to articles in the Communist Daily Worker of New York and said, "of course the Communist definition for fascism applies to anyone who strictly opposes communism."

Winrod laid this letter before a committee of the Massachusetts legislature, where Winrod was accused of receiving pay from Nazi or Fascist sources. Immediately a storm of protest arose, and National Commander Daniel J. Doherty, of the Legion, ordered an inquiry. After determining that Winrod's preachments included doctrines of racial or religious intolerance, Chaillaux wrote a public statement repudiating the idea that the Legion was in any way supporting the Winrod propaganda.

All of this was in 1937. In 1938 Winrod ran for the senatorial nomination in Kansas, and the Chaillaux letter and statement were spread all over the State. The Anti-Defamation League, affiliated with B'nai B'rith and devoted to refuting anti-Semitic utterances, had investigated the matter and gave emphasis to the Legion repudiation of the Winrod doctrines. The Reverend Winrod made little showing in Kansas politics when the votes were counted. A few years later he was a defendant in the long-drawn-out sedition trial in Washington. Nevertheless radical publicists would continue to quote Chaillaux's single sentence about communism and fascism.

Homer Chaillaux died in 1945. Elmer W. Sherwood, of Indiana, succeeded him as director of Americanism.

The lawsuit heard in Louisville, Ky., in May 1937, when Ellis Freeman, a professor at the University of Louisville, sued Henry J. Stites and other persons for violation of his right to privacy, culminated a somewhat enlightened episode in one of many localized Legion battles against un-Americanism.

In 1935 the Jefferson Post at Louisville had named Stites as chairman of a committee to examine into un-American activities and teachings at the local university. While this inquiry was in progress a youth conference met in Louisville, promoted by a conservative wing of some earlier youth conference which had split between radicals and conservatives. United States Attorney General Homer Cummings, Homer Chaillaux, of the Americanism Commission, and Dr. Thomas M. Healy, of Georgetown University, then chairman of the national defense committee of the American Legion, were speakers. It later developed that Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, had been invited, but declined. All of the invited speakers received letters from Professor Freeman urging them not to appear.

At the youth conference a group from the local university either walked out or were ejected, a result attributed to the activities of Freeman and some other faculty members who were said to have encouraged pacifist and radical talk among students.

The result was a jolly row. Legion committees met with University of Louisville authorities and two members of the faculty presented were dropped, but Freeman stayed on. During the same period the Legion committee learned that Freeman had cashed a check for \$172 at a Louisville bank, said check being from the Soviet government of Russia. This fact Stites and others made public. Partly on the basis of the radicalism inquiry, and partly on the basis of this check, Freeman sued for \$100,000 damages for infringement of his privacy, naming Stites, the bank and others as defendants.

At the trial in 1937 Freeman explained that his check was for interest on Soviet bonds which he had bought. He asserted damage to his reputation and a threat to his employment by reason of the Legion inquiry and accompanying publicity. The court never heard the defense testimony, but threw Freeman's plea out of court. The judge held that the university, supported by public funds, was sub-

ject to inquiry by taxpayers, and that the character of its faculty members and of their teachings could probably be investigated. Since it was such investigation by the Legion which Freeman said violated his privacy, the court found no basis for his plea for damages. Shortly thereafter Professor Freeman resigned from the Louisville faculty. This trial was one of the few instances where a prolonged discussion of the alleged un-Americanism of teachers or public officials reached a settlement in court.

The Legion took no national position about the pardon of Tom Mooney, who served more than 20 years in prison on conviction of placing a bomb in a Preparedness Parade in 1916 in San Francisco. In 1939 National Commander Chadwick stated in a newspaper interview that the Legion had not opposed the pardon. Asked of the Legion's opinion about Mooney's guilt or innocence, Chadwick remarked that the Governor of California had not held him innocent, but merely had let him out after 20 years in jail. This failure of Chadwick to subscribe to the view that Mooney was innocent stirred up a volume of protests and resolutions from left-wing groups.

The Legion was responsible for offering bills in many State legislatures to bar the Communist Party from a place on the ballot. Its position on this question was fortified by Attorney General Biddle's opinion that the party advocated forceful overthrow of the Government of the United States. Opinion within and without the Legion differed on the wisdom of the move, some opponents of communism believing it would be wiser to have the members of the party duly registered and permitted to operate in the open, under their own banner. A number of States passed laws closing their ballots to the Reds.

The pardon of Earl Browder, secretary of the American Communist Party convicted of falsifying his United States passport, was heartily disapproved by the Legion. President Roosevelt freed Browder while the Second Great War was still raging.

An examination of the correspondence files, the reports, clippings, articles, pamphlets, resolutions, and speeches which make up the whole record of American Legion opposition to un-American doctrines does not afford any method of adding up the scores. The total of effort is adequate evidence that the Legion was honestly trying to sustain its belief in the United States Constitution and the social order under which America thrives in liberty under the law. Before the weight of evidence from thousands of Legion posts, the counter-claim of radical organs that the Legion was subsidized by big business or motivated by Fascist principles tumbles in obscurity. The Legion was honest in fighting communism, nazism, fascism, pacifism, and intolerance. Was it wise, and was it effective?

Any answer to that question would be vigorously debated. There is no legal definition of "Americanism" or of "un-Americanism," nor any generally accepted definition. Great numbers of Americans, after a lapse of just a few years, believed the Dies committee did more harm than good. It would require a Solomon to designate the dividing line between radicalism and liberalism, and the founders of the American union could have been described as well by one term as the other. Conceding a full patriotic intent it is hard to read the record without concluding that on average, the Legion was as likely to be wrong as right in attacking un-American doctrines. If wrong and right are too strong terms, it was likely to be in a minority as in a majority when public opinion finished with the subject.

The very word "radical" has many shades of meaning. Any advocacy of progress or change may be radical as opposed to reactionary, and the world does not stand still. The Legion might ask any critic of 100 percent Americanism whether he favored some lesser percentage and wanted patriotism to be designated after a decimal point. Did Americans offer their lives in battle for a fractional loyalty? Critics of the Red-baiting campaigns of the Legion might inquire if the veterans would have favored hanging Patrick Henry for his speech at Richmond, or impeaching Abraham Lincoln for his unconstitutional denial of *habeas corpus* at Baltimore. Argument on these topics might, and probably will, go on forever.

The most certain conclusion is that in the large portion of its Americanism program which was made up of educational activity it achieved vastly more than by the smaller portion of argument, accusation and debate against things and persons that it called un-American. In a land of free speech the controversial fields of politics, economics, internationalism, labor organization, and even religion impinge upon the strict limits of what is and what is not American, or un-American. Free speech itself, even by the friends of foreign ideologies or by domestic rabble rousers, is an Americanism of sorts.

Possibly the most effective result of the un-Americanism right was the imponderable value of the American Legion as a watchdog. How much dangerous, damaging, or merely silly following of unhealthy schemes and isms was prevented because there was a watchful group of veterans ready and anxious to expose and publicize both harmful and nonsensical demagoguery cannot be estimated.

In its frontal attack on un-Americanism the Legion scored many hits and many misses. For 27 years it was always in there swinging.

Colonel TAYLOR. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, it is a great pleasure for me to at this time present to the committee James F. O'Neil, who has been a member of the Americanism Commission for 13 years and for 3 years its chairman, who, during World War I was in the Army and during this last war was affiliated as special assistant in the office of the Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Air. Incidentally, he is chief of police of the city of Manchester, N. H.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Colonel Taylor.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES F. O'NEIL

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Neil, will you state for the record your full name and your associations?

Be seated, Mr. O'Neil.

Mr. O'NEIL. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, honorable gentlemen of the committee: My name is James F. O'Neil. I am vice chairman of the National Americanism Commission. I am a resident citizen of Manchester, N. H.

First of all, I believe Congressman Vail raised the question about the Americanism Commission and its purposes and its aims. At the risk of boredom, I will read the resolution which was adopted at the first national convention of the American Legion at Minneapolis in 1919. The resolution was a resolution creating a commission of the American Legion to foster and perpetuate 100 percent Americanism. The resolution follows:

We recommend the establishment of a National Americanism Commission of the American Legion whose duty shall be the endeavor to realize in the United States the basic ideal of this Legion of 100 percent Americanism through the planning, establishment, and conduct of a continuous, constructive educational system designed to (1) combat all anti-American tendencies, activities, and propaganda; (2) work for the education of immigrants, prospective American citizens and alien residents in the principles of Americanism; (3) inculcate the ideals of Americanism in the citizen population, particularly the basic American principle that the interests of all the people are above those of any special interest or any so-called class or section of the people; (4) spread throughout the people of the Nation information as to the real nature and principles of American Government; (5) foster the teaching of Americanism in all schools.

In the interest of saving time, Mr. Chairman, I will omit some of these clarifying phrases, but will ask your permission to insert the resolution for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. O'NEIL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I would like for the witness to expatiate on the spread of communism in the schools.

Mr. O'NEIL. I will do that, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. RANKIN. Thank you.

Mr. O'NEIL. I will cover that as we proceed, if I may.

Mr. RANKIN. That is all right.

Mr. O'NEIL (continuing).

That, as the preliminary organization and planning of the commission will take time—

Please realize that this was in 1919, in our formative days.

That meanwhile the local posts of the American Legion be urged to organize immediately for the purpose of meeting the insidious propaganda of bolshevism, IWW-ism, radicalism, and all other anti-Americanisms by taking up the problems of:

(1) Detecting anti-American activities everywhere and seizing every opportunity everywhere to speak plainly and openly for 100 percent Americanism and for nothing less.

(2) Making direct appeals to legal authority to take such lawful steps as may be necessary to correct local conditions everywhere.

(The full text of the resolution above referred to is as follows:)

1919 (FIRST) NATIONAL CONVENTION, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

A resolution forming a commission of the American Legion to foster and perpetuate a 100-percent Americanism.

We recommend the establishment of a National Americanism Commission of the American Legion whose duty shall be the endeavor to realize in the United States the basic ideal of this Legion of 100 percent Americanism through the planning, establishment and conduct of a continuous, constructive educational system designed to (1) combat all Anti-American tendencies, activities and propaganda; (2) work for the education of immigrants, prospective American citizens and alien residents in the principles of Americanism; (3) inculcate the ideals of Americanism in the citizen population, particularly the basic American principle that the interests of all the people are above those of any special interest or any so-called class or section of the people; (4) spread throughout the people of the Nation information as to the real nature and principles of American Government; (5) foster the teaching of Americanism in all schools.

For the purpose stated the commission shall submit to the national executive committee a plan, and from time to time supplementary plans, which may include a national advertising campaign, the publication of literature, the organization of lecture courses, cooperation with schools and other agencies, and such other means of carrying out the purpose outlined as may be appropriate.

Upon approval by the national executive committee the commission shall proceed upon the approved activities.

But no funds shall be used for this purpose except those specifically appropriated by the Legion or its properly constituted authorities for the appropriation of funds, or which shall be raised with the approval of the national executive committee from members of the Legion only.

The commission may recommend a system of cooperating committees or officers in State branches or posts.

The commission shall be elected by the national executive committee immediately after this convention and shall consist of not over 15 members who shall hold office for 1 year, or until the next national convention. It may be authorized by the national executive committee to employ such officers or staff as shall be approved by that committee.

That, as the preliminary organization and planning of the commission will take time, that meanwhile the local posts of the American Legion be urged to organize immediately for the purpose of meeting the insidious propaganda of bolshevism, IWW-ism, radicalism, and all other anti-Americanisms by taking up the problems of:

(1) Detecting anti-American activities everywhere and seizing every opportunity everywhere to speak plainly and openly for 100 percent Americanism and for nothing less.

(2) Making direct appeals to legal authority to take such lawful steps as may be necessary to correct local conditions everywhere.

(3) Making every member of each local post a constructive force for the up-building of a vital knowledge of the principles of the Constitution of the United States and of the processes of law and order obtaining under that Constitution.

(4) Showing to every person contaminated by un-American prejudice that the welfare of all the people is really the best interest of any class and that Government must be conceived in terms of all the people and not for the benefit of relatively small classes.

Whereas one of the primary purposes of the American Legion is to disseminate the principles of true Americanism and to that end to advise and encourage everything that will tend to secure a positive nationalism and a love and respect of flag and country: Be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of this organization now assembled in convention and legislation to that effect is recommended, that every public and private school in the United States be required to devote at least 10 minutes of each school day to patriotic exercises and that the American flag be kept raised over every such school during every school day, weather permitting, and that the American flag be displayed at all political meetings and public gatherings.

Resolved, That we, the American Legion, in convention assembled, demand that the Government of the United States proceed forthwith and immediately to deport all aliens who have already been tried, convicted, or interned as enemies of our Government, and that all other aliens who are advocating the overthrow of our Government by force and violence, be tried and, if possible, convicted and deported; that in the event the present laws of the United States are not sufficient to cover this situation, that Congress pass such laws as will enable our law-enforcing officials to rid our country of this scum who hate our God, our country, our flag, and who prate of their privileges and refuse to perform their duties; be it further

Resolved, That Congress pass such laws which will effectually punish Americans who have become so lost to common decency and patriotism that they are actually assisting aliens to bring about disorder and revolution in our country, and if such Americans be naturalized citizens that their citizenship be revoked and they be deported; be it further

Resolved, That we recommend a course in citizenship constitute a part of the curriculum of every school in this country, and that all of our schools be thrown open to aliens for night courses, and all other persons who are to take advantage of same.

The spirit of this resolution is the Americanization of America, and we feel if the above demands and recommendations are followed, the next generation will see this country rid of the undesirable element now present in its citizenship, foreign colonies a thing of the past, the spirit of true Americanism prevailing throughout the length and breadth of our country, and our ideals of government secure.

Mr. O'NEIL. On behalf of the entire organization of the American Legion, composing, as Mr. Taylor has already told you, 3,850,000 Legionnaires, I wish to take this opportunity to commend the President of the United States for his Executive order. We in the American Legion recognize that it is consistent with our principles and our aims and all of our mandates, dating back to the 1919 convention. We of the Legion believe that our constitutional government is inherently empowered with not only the authority, but the obligation to secure itself against destruction from within.

The President's action is a substantial first step toward achieving that security.

Obviously, this is not just a "witch hunt." The President acted following receipt by him of a report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Loyalty which has investigated the issues thoroughly. We assume this committee looked long and well into the smoke of deceit and hypocrisy which was hiding Communists in this country all these years. The American Legion has been cognizant of the fire beneath that smoke for a quarter of a century. We also take pride in the fact that we have the foresight to urge the creation of a House Committee on Un-American Activities and to fight the opposition of guided and misguided persons and organizations toward its continuation and present prominent status.

We compliment you for your conduct to date and say, keep up the good work. We ask you to implement the Executive order by pushing legislation to:

- (1) Outlaw the Communist Party;
- (2) Ban the use of the mails to Communist publications;
- (3) Provide universal fingerprinting and identification;
- (4) Continue the registration of all aliens and check their movements and activities;
- (5) Discontinue Federal aid to institutions of learning which refuse to purge their faculties of Communists and fellow-travelers;
- (6) To deport all aliens advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence; and
- (7) Deny admission to the United States of all nationals from any country refusing to accept those ordered deported.

The issue is one of Americanism versus communism. It is reduced to those simple terms. If being anti-Communist is anti-Russian, I must be classed as just that.

This is not a question of war, a shooting war, but, admittedly, it is a war of ideologies. When the American people became aroused, they successfully prosecuted the war of bullets and armament. I am satisfied that they are being awakened to this new threat to home and happiness and will emerge victorious in this new type of conflict.

We can expect, and you may expect, to see individuals and groups besiege you with claims that the issues are phony, but that doesn't disturb us because you are well aware of the acuteness of the situation.

This is the time to prepare the knock-out blow and expel the Communists from the American scene, as a danger to the Nation's security.

We, in the American Legion, have found it necessary to alert ourselves against their tactics of infiltration. At the present time, as has already been explained, we are confronted with the case of a member of a New York post who is seeking the aid of the courts to prevent his expulsion from the rolls. He admits he is a Communist, but challenges the Legion's right to oust him on that ground.

We assume that no man can be a Communist and take the oath of the American Legion, which is to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.

Other organizations, including war veteran groups, have felt the impact of the "Commie" movement, and apparently in a more serious way.

We know they were ordered to invade the American Legion, but we can report that the invasion is being repelled. But, we must be constantly on our guard.

The American Legion was the first organization to sound warning as to the operations of the Nazi and Fascist agents in this country. I think it is important to cite at this particular time, we aided the Federal Bureau of Investigation in successfully meeting that threat in the period prior to and during the war.

Right now the immediate problem is communism, which has had a running start. Let us expose the party's aims and its agents and comforters, driving them into the open, by naming names, with the substantiation of our claims. Many of the facts are available. We propose to engage in the field of research, and we make available to you the services of our organization, in this great American movement.

In the opinion of the American Legion, the Communist Party is not a political party and does not subscribe to the principles of democracy as we have known and defined them in this country and is not willing to abide by the decision of the majority, but is an agency under foreign influence set up for the purpose of destroying our democratic form of government.

To sustain this allegation, we wish to call your attention to a statement by Louis Francis Budenz, a former Communist, by acknowledgment, and one-time managing editor of the official Communist Party of the United States publication, the *Daily Worker*.

While appearing on a radio program entitled "In Our Opinion," on October 13, 1946, Budenz made the following statement relative to the communistic movement within the United States:

As to the communistic movement, I left it one year ago—

quoting Budenz—

because of what I discovered and uncovered as a leading Communist in this country.

As a member of the national committee for 6 years and as managing editor of the Communist official organ, the *Daily Worker*, I learned, at first very reluctantly, but I did learn, that Soviet Russia aims to destroy the United States.

To further sustain the Legion's allegation that the Communist Party is inimical to our American way of life and should not be entitled to the protections inherent in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution, I wish to call your attention to a decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court, entitled, "*Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U. S. 390, 399," where the Court declared that the liberty mentioned in the fourteenth amendment denotes—

not merely freedom from bodily restraint, but also the right of the individual to contract to engage in any of the common occupations of life, to acquire useful knowledge, to marry, establish a home and bring up children, to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and generally to enjoy those privileges long recognized at common law as essential to the orderly pursuit of happiness by free men.

The Communist Party of the United States, in our opinion, would abolish these above rights.

Now, consider the findings of the McCormick committee with reference to the objectives of the Communist Party in the United States, as set forth on page 13 of Report 13, Seventh-fourth Congress, first session, committed by the special committee to investigate Nazi and other alien propaganda to the committee of the Whole House, February 15, 1935, and made part of this report.

The objectives of the Communist Party, U. S. A., above referred to, are quoted here from Report 153:

1. The overthrow by force and violence of the republican form of government guaranteed by article IV, section 4, of the Federal Constitution;
2. The substitution of a Soviet form of government based on class domination to be achieved by abolition of elected representatives, both to the legislative and executive branches, as provided by article I, by the several sections of article II of the same Constitution, and by the fourteenth amendment;
3. The confiscation of private property by governmental decree without the due process of law and compensation guaranteed by the fifth amendment;
4. Restriction of the rights of religious freedom of speech and of the press as guaranteed by the first amendment.

Evidence of the control of the Communist Party by Soviet Russia is found in the permanent files of your honorable committee. You

have reported to the Congress and to the Nation that testimony established the fact that the Communist Party of the United States can make no more than a superficial and intentionally misleading claim that it is a political party in the sense in which the American people understand those words.

It is, on the contrary, a constituent member of the Communist International, and is its agent in the United States.

The Communist International in turn is completely dominated by the Communist Party of Soviet Russia.

There are many facts which justify the assertion that the Communist Party of the United States is a subversive international conspiracy, masking as a domestic political party.

It has not changed its party line or platform over the years. To substantiate this conclusion, I ask that you consider another statement of former Communist official Louis Francis Budenz, as made in the above-mentioned radio script:

I charge today, as a result of my experience, that the Communist Party is a fifth-column agent of the Soviet Government, reflecting only what the dictatorship in the Kremlin wants done and doing only what Moscow directly desires. The record is clear in that respect. Practically all the leading Communist officials have been prepared to act as fifth columnists, for they are almost all, to a man, graduates or attendants at least of the special Marx-Lenin Institute in Moscow. This was a training school for work in foreign countries, such as Hitler conducted also in certain parts of Germany for Nazi foreign agents.

Now, to return to the suggestion of our implementations to the Executive order by the President:

1. To outlaw the Communist Party—I might say that the American Legion, by convention action as early as 1922, at New Orleans, called attention to the activities of the Communist Party. I ask permission to insert the resolution in the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It is so ordered.

(The resolution is as follows:)

Whereas the Communist Party of America and allied and similar organizations have repeatedly shown and openly avowed that they aim at and are striving to accomplish the destruction of the constitutional government of the United States of America by propaganda, agitation, force, and violent revolution: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Legion calls for the immediate vigorous prosecution of these avowed enemies of our Government; that we stand ready to assist, either morally or otherwise, the duly constituted representatives of the law in any move toward elimination of these enemies of our institutions and our Government.

Mr. O'NEIL. As a follow-up to that, through our various State departments, action was taken in the various State legislatures in this country to attempt to achieve this result.

As a result of a telegraphic poll of the department commanders and adjutants in the various sections of the country, I can report that some positive action has been taken.

In Arkansas, Communists are barred from the ticket by Act No. 33 of 1935, and this action was upheld by the State supreme court.

In Arizona, there is no measure eliminating Communists from the ballot; however, the American Legion was successful in requiring county recorders to examine, by legislation, and verify all petitions for new parties. This will prevent the Communists from forging signatures on party-inclusion petitions. And I might say, from per-

sonal experience, that I know that is one of their methods of operation.

In New Hampshire, some 8 years ago, the American Legion set out to have the Communists removed from the ballot. By petition, they had obtained a place on the ballot. The petitions required the signatures of 1,000 persons. When the names were published, many people contacted the American Legion and stated that their signatures were obtained through fraud and deceit. Resultant contact with the individuals substantiated this, and a sufficient number of them appeared before the ballot-law commission to state, under oath, that their names had been obtained in that manner. The number was reduced beneath the 1,000 figure, and the Communists were then removed, that is, the candidates were then removed from the ballot.

In California, the party has not been qualified since the passage of a law in 1943 making it necessary to have more than one-tenth of 1 percent of registered voters. This law, I might say, was supported by the American Legion. In Delaware, Communists were removed from the ballot several years ago.

In Maryland, legislation has been introduced, and passed March 18, which prohibits persons who are members of organizations advocating the overthrow of the United States, or Maryland governments from holding any elective or appointive office in the State.

In Michigan, a bill now in the legislature, which has passed the House, eliminates Communists from the ballot.

In Minnesota, a bill has just been introduced into the legislature to outlaw Communists from appearing on the ballot.

In North Carolina, the Communist Party has never been on the ballot, but a bill has been introduced in the State senate requiring that all groups seeking to influence public opinion in any manner must report activities to the secretary of state. It is felt that this will have an effect upon eliminating the Communists from the ballot in that State.

In Ohio, legislation introduced in the general assembly barring un-American groups from the ballot was passed in 1941.

In Oklahoma, no Communist can file for office, because the law requires statements to the effect that the candidate is not a Communist. This law has been in effect for several years.

In West Virginia, a legislative act, enacted in 1941, and sponsored by the Legion, after an injunction suit in 1940, removed the Communists from the ballot. It does not name political parties by name, but the publicity and restrictions required effectively will bar a party such as Communist.

In Wyoming, Communists are banished from the ballot in the State of Wyoming by section 31-1404, Wyoming Compiled Statutes of 1945.

I merely bring that to the attention of the committee, Mr. Chairman, and honorable members of the committee, to show you that the Legion is working and has been working in this particular field.

In regard to point No. 2, banning the use of the mails to Communist publications, I might suggest to your honorable committee that some exploration be made of our postal regulations to ascertain if some immediate action cannot be taken in regard to this. I point out that there is a precedent for it. During the war the mails were denied, at periods, to the Trotskyites, for libel or seditious utterances. I respect-

fully submit that this might be an avenue to bring about a desired result immediately.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean during this last war?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct; World War II.

The CHAIRMAN. There was effort made to ban the mails to the Trotskyites?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Also, German-language papers were banned, were they not?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct, Mr. Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you happen to know why they were just trying to ban the mails to the Trotskyites, and not to the Communists?

Mr. O'NEIL. I cannot answer that, Mr. Chairman, because I haven't made the exploration, and we haven't. It has recently come to our attention. Certainly, we intend to follow it up.

Mr. NIXON. It became effective probably after June 22——

Mr. RANKIN. The Trotskyites——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. The provisions as to the Trotskyites probably became effective after June 22, 1941.

The CHAIRMAN. I guess there was another reason for it, in addition.

All right, Mr. Rankin, I believe you had something?

Mr. RANKIN. I was going to say, Mr. Chairman, that the Trotskyites were Communists. The only difference between a Trotskyite and a Stalinite was that one of them was high poppalorum and the other one was low poppahium. They were all driving at the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Witness, you better go ahead.

Mr. O'NEIL. As to point No. 3, providing universal fingerprinting and identification, we recognize that millions of people were submitted to fingerprinting during the war—those working in war plants, those in the armed forces, and the like. We feel that this should extend to everybody and could be well utilized by our Government in this and other respects.

As to point No. 4, the registration of all aliens and checking their activities and movements, of course this was a requirement through the war period. It should be continued.

There are, I might say, thousands of aliens in this country whose movements we know nothing about. This is the practice, and has been the practice, in most countries in the world. I think we should do it now.

As to point No. 5, the discontinuance of Federal aid to institutions which refuse to purge their faculties of Communists and fellow travelers, as has already been stated, there isn't any field in which the Communists have done more harm than in the field of education. We have been aware of it for a long time. The Americanism commission of the American Legion, and through its various departments and posts, have successfully eliminated questionable textbooks from the schools.

It is interesting to note that in some places we were supported by studies made by independent groups, in regard to this particular issue.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Would you give some examples of the removal of these textbooks? Can you cite some instances?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, Mr. Congressman, I speak specifically of the Rugg textbooks. The Rugg textbooks have been removed from the educational systems in many States.

Probably the outstanding instance was in San Francisco, where the Legion urged the removal of these textbooks from the schools because of their un-American teachings and doctrine, and as a result a board was created by the San Francisco Board of Education—an independent group. I don't recall the exact membership, but I believe there was a representative of either the President or somebody in the field of social sciences, from the University of Southern California, the University of California, and a third representative from some other institution. They concurred with the American Legion in the removal and the elimination of these textbooks from the schools.

Mr. BONNER. Don't most all States have a board or commission to select textbooks for the public institutions?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct, sir, but in some instances it is not followed up in that manner. The local school board handles the situation, and sometimes just the superintendent.

Mr. BONNER. Just tell me a little something about these Rugg textbooks. What did they comprise—just shortly, if you will.

Mr. O'NEIL. It is quite involved, sir. We have a complete report. I am sorry I haven't it here. But, briefly, it was for a science of government that was totally different from the American system of government—an undemocratic system of government—in the social sciences.

Mr. BONNER. You say you made a study of it and you have a concise report?

Mr. O'NEIL. We have a complete report on it, Mr. Congressman. I would be glad to have it submitted.

Mr. BONNER. The Legion's report on this.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Will you supply our chief investigator with the report?

Mr. O'NEIL. I will, sir. It is in four volumes, but we can obtain them for you very quickly.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we better take a look at it, before we insert it.

Mr. RANKIN. I would like to ask a question or two of this witness.

In the first place, you speak of these aliens who are here unlawfully. Our duty should be to run them down, locate them, and deport them. Is that your view?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is our view, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. That is mine.

Now, then, you spoke of withdrawing aid from these educational institutions that have on their faculties men who teach subversive doctrines.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. RANKIN. That one proposition will do more to clean them out than anything else, because we have untold thousands of servicemen in every college in America, and in large numbers of them these subversive professors have slipped in to poison their minds.

Now, let me ask you this: Suppose a college professor gets up and makes a speech and says we must get rid of the United States. Would you consider that a subversive doctrine?

Mr. O'NEIL. I certainly would, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. All right. There are two professors that I know of, in the Chicago University, running around over the country making that very statement, and there are others in other educational institutions saying that we must get rid of the United States—in other words, we must abolish our Government.

Now, you would withhold funds from any college or any educational institution that has such a professor on its pay roll?

Mr. O'NEIL. We would advocate that, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I mean, if you had your way, you would stop it?

Mr. O'NEIL. Absolutely.

Mr. RANKIN. I want to congratulate the Legion on that stand, because it is one of the greatest dangers that we have, so far as checking this spread of subversive doctrine in this country.

If you want to know the names of those professors, I will give them to you. One of them is named Adler.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Witness.

Mr. O'NEIL. Insofar as point No. 6 is concerned: To deport all aliens advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence, that has been pretty well covered. That doesn't need any elaboration.

Point No. 7 is to deny admission to the United States of all nationals from any country refusing to accept those ordered deported. Now, there are countries where they refuse to accept the individuals ordered deported, and they remain here, either on parole or in an institution, at Government expense. We are, therefore, forced to carry them. Certainly, if they refuse to accept them, we should refuse to accept any of their nationals into this country.

Mr. RANKIN. Don't you think that where a man—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. All right, go ahead.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witness finish, and then we will ask questions.

Mr. RANKIN. I thought he finished his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. No; he has a long way to go.

Go ahead, Mr. Witness.

Mr. O'NEIL. We have had some experience in this respect over the years and during and since the war we have found ourselves blocked. There are hundreds of these men still in the United States who cannot be deported. Some have no countries to be deported to, but there are some who could be deported if their respective countries would accept them.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I ask him a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin, just a minute. I would suggest that we let these witnesses finish.

Mr. RANKIN. I thought he said he finished his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You have asked a great many questions. We will be here all day if we don't let these witnesses—

Mr. RANKIN. If he hasn't finished, I beg your pardon. I thought he said he had finished.

Mr. O'NEIL. In that particular field, I had.

The CHAIRMAN. But you hadn't finished your whole statement?

Mr. O'NEIL. No, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I just wanted to ask him some questions on that particular phase.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can jot them down and then when he is finished—

Mr. RANKIN. I have a long-distance telephone call to answer, and then the House meets in 20 minutes—so I will ask the chairman what time we are going to meet this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to meet at 3:30 this afternoon, to hear Mr. William C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to Russia.

Mr. RANKIN. Are the representatives of the Legion going to be here this afternoon?

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to try to finish with them this morning.

Mr. O'NEIL. In view of that statement, Mr. Chairman, I think it would be better for me to submit to any questions that your honorable committee would like to ask me, and then we would like to have Mr. Green, who will explain the transition from World War I to World War II, as he is a World War Legionnaire, carry on.

The CHAIRMAN. You have finished your general statement, then?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood, any questions?

Mr. WOOD. One question. Insofar as it relates to and conflicts with the philosophy of democracy as exemplified by the framework of the American Government, what are the essential differences between communism and fascism?

Mr. O'NEIL. I don't think there are too many essential differences. I would say there aren't any.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions?

Mr. WOOD. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Let me ask you this: When a Communist, who has sworn to overthrow this Government, makes application and is admitted to citizenship, he secures that citizenship through fraud, doesn't he?

Mr. O'NEIL. Absolutely. He has a mental reservation and his citizenship should later be denied.

Mr. RANKIN. When that is found out, don't you think that citizenship should be canceled and that individual deported?

Mr. O'NEIL. Absolutely rescinded and he be deported.

Mr. RANKIN. I think that is all. Thank you.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. O'Neil, in the light of Mr. Taylor's statement, the Legion has for 25 years or more studied and conducted investigations on communistic activities in the United States and has the largest files and records on this subject. What is the number of active whole-time Communist workers in the United States and the number of communistic front organizations in the United States, from these records that you have compiled?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, I would say, from our records, as to the number of active Communist workers—

Mr. BONNER. You understand what I mean by active whole-time Communist workers?

The CHAIRMAN. Dues-paying members.

MR. BONNER. I am not talking about the traveler or the associate, but the active employee giving all his time to the Communist movement.

MR. O'NEIL. I wouldn't be able to answer that—

MR. BONNER. Approximately.

MR. O'NEIL. Other than by an estimate, and I would say 10,000.

MR. BONNER. Ten thousand whole-time active Communist workers?

MR. O'NEIL. That would be my best estimate, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, there. Will you yield to me?

MR. BONNER. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Communists themselves admit 74,000.

MR. O'NEIL. Yes, but he is talking about full time.

MR. BONNER. I am talking about the ones that you are convinced, from your records, are full-time active workers.

MR. O'NEIL. He means, Mr. Chairman, I believe, those that are devoting all of their time.

MR. BONNER. All their time.

MR. O'NEIL. Exclusively.

MR. BONNER. That is it.

MR. O'NEIL. They do nothing else but.

MR. BONNER. That is it.

MR. O'NEIL. And I preface that or explain it by saying that is an estimate, sir, based upon our records.

MR. BONNER. And you have records which convince you that certain organizations are front organizations for the communistic movement; you have a record of those, too; haven't you?

MR. O'NEIL. We have, sir.

MR. BONNER. And approximately how many there are. You have the names of them, also; don't you?

MR. O'NEIL. We have the names of a lot of them. There isn't any question about that.

MR. BONNER. I wonder if we could get for the record the names that you have, and insert it here.

MR. O'NEIL. Certainly; I will be very happy to do that, sir.

MR. BONNER. Well, approximately how many are there?

MR. O'NEIL. Offhand, I couldn't answer that, but I will obtain all the information that is in our files and make it available to your honorable committee.

THE CHAIRMAN. On that particular point, then, will you submit that information, in response to Mr. Bonner's question, to Mr. Stripling, the chief investigator of the committee?

MR. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

MR. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, let me understand what that is. This is a list of the Communist-front organizations in America?

MR. O'NEIL. That is correct, sir.

MR. RANKIN. All right.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

MR. BONNER. That is all.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

MR. McDOWELL. I am anxious to find out if it is your opinion that a law to bar Communists or communism and from belonging to the party in America, would be effective, that is, would do any good?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say "Yes."

Of course, as somebody has stated, it is probably comparable to an iceberg. That is, seven-eighths of them are probably underground anyway. It is one-eighth of it above the water. I feel that we ought to take every step to drive them out.

Mr. McDOWELL. You feel that is one step, then?

Mr. O'NEIL. I do.

Mr. McDOWELL. In my county, Allegheny County in western Pennsylvania, there are about 1,650,000 people. We have no law, in Pennsylvania, barring Communists. I believe, if my memory serves me right, there are six registered Communists in the city of Pittsburgh and the surrounding environs. Would it be your opinion that there are more than six Communists in Pittsburgh, the workshop of the world?

Mr. O'NEIL. There isn't any question that there is. I would say, maybe my example of seven-eighths underground and one-eighth above is not a correct proportion. I would say that there are certainly more Communists than that. But those that we do know, I say let us expose them and in that manner we may expose their friends, their associations, and we might extend it to some of their organizations and find that they are engaged in this particular subversive activity, which is certainly—

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. O'Neil, I had one more question, regarding your statements that some countries won't accept their natives that we have deported, for some reason or another.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right.

Mr. McDOWELL. What countries are they?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, there are many countries.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would Russia be one of them?

Mr. O'NEIL. Russia would be one; yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no more questions.

Mr. O'NEIL. Russia is one.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Speaking of getting at this problem by laws, does the Legion constitution have a specific provision that no Communist may be a member of the Legion?

Mr. O'NEIL. We do not have such a provision.

Mr. NIXON. What provision do you have, in the constitution of the Legion, which gives you the right to deny membership to a Communist, in the first instance?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, in the first instance, a post is the judge of its own members. A man must take an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America. If he is a Communist, he certainly has a mental reservation when he takes such an oath.

Mr. NIXON. And in your opinion, a general provision of that type, in which a prospective member of the Legion asserts his loyalty to the form of government of the United States, is sufficient, without having an actual provision saying that no Communists may be a member of the Legion?

Mr. O'NEIL. We may find that it is necessary for us to do that, too, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Now, in the case of this Communist in the city of New York, who at the present time is bringing a suit against the Legion because of having been apparently denied membership, how did you find out he was a Communist?

MR. O'NEIL. He admitted that he was. He made the statement openly that he was a Communist.

MR. NIXON. After he became a member of the Legion?

MR. O'NEIL. That is correct, sir.

MR. NIXON. And, apparently, he wanted to make an issue of this matter?

MR. O'NEIL. We are satisfied, as Director Taylor has already stated, that he was a "plant."

MR. NIXON. He wasn't apparently trying to infiltrate so much as he was attempting to show a struggle between a Communist veteran on the one side and the Legion on the other side?

MR. O'NEIL. Well, I am satisfied that in the initial instance he was trying to infiltrate, but when the membership became aware as to his activities, he decided to take this other course in order to bring about what he thought was a better result.

MR. NIXON. That is the point that I think the committee is particularly interested in. What activities did he indulge in which indicated to the membership some question as to his loyalty?

MR. O'NEIL. Now, Mr. Congressman, I would have to get the complete file on that case from the post in New York, that is, the General Duffy Post. As yet they have not asked the national organization to intercede in that case, so that I haven't the complete file and anything that I might say in regard to that would be hearsay. I would rather not do that. But I will get that for you, Mr. Nixon, so that you may have it.

MR. NIXON. You feel that there is a problem, however, as to the infiltration or the attempted infiltration of Communists into veterans' organizations?

MR. O'NEIL. Oh, absolutely. There isn't any question about it. They have been ordered to do it. And their first target was the American Legion. When they didn't meet with complete success there, they changed to other organizations.

MR. NIXON. In view of that fact, wouldn't it probably be wise for the Legion to do what you are advising this committee to do, and that is to have a specific provision against the Communists?

MR. O'NEIL. I think that is being considered, sir.

MR. NIXON. Now, you have talked considerably about aliens. Has your experience through the years indicated to you that alien Communists are more active, more dangerous, than the homegrown variety?

MR. O'NEIL. Initially, they were. There isn't any question about that. Initially they were the agitators. They were the developers of the scheme and the program. I am satisfied they came here with instructions to do that very thing.

MR. NIXON. We are more likely to find a higher percentage of Communists among aliens than among citizens of the United States, then? That is your experience?

MR. O'NEIL. I would say that is true.

MR. NIXON. Have you, in your activities, had any reports on Communist activities in the motion picture industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, we have, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Do you feel that that is a problem which this committee should consider?

Mr. O'NEIL. Definitely, definitely—not only that, but also insofar as writings are concerned. There is a sort of a—well, we call it hidden censorship.

Mr. NIXON. Then, you have noted in motion pictures and in literature, definite Communist influence, which this committee should take cognizance of in any action it is contemplating legislative-wise?

Mr. O'NEIL. Absolutely, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Now, speaking of doing something by law, could you comment as to whether or not the legislation in these various States that you have presented to this committee today has been effective in curbing communism?

Let me add one other question to that: Do you find that in these various States where you have laws doing something about the situation, that you have less Communist activity than you do in States where you don't have laws?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say that that is true in the States that have been enumerated as having the legislation in force. In some States it is only in the initial stages of having been introduced into the legislature, so that we have no guide there, but in those States where they are outlawed we know that there is a minimum number of communists.

Mr. NIXON. The reason I asked that—I happen to be from the State of California and, as you pointed out, we haven't had a Communist on the ballot, because of a provision there, I think for 10 years, and yet statements have been made that communism is probably as strong, particularly in Southern California and around the waterfronts of San Francisco, as in any State in the Union. That is why I was interested in your comments on that point.

Mr. O'NEIL. That only deals with a method of getting on to the ballot. They still are in a position to get on it, but it is only one step in the whole project, sir.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you are pointing out that California does not have a provision barring Communists from the ballot as such.

Mr. O'NEIL. Or from holding office.

Mr. NIXON. That is right.

One last question. What do you consider to be the most dangerous activities of the Communists at the present time in the United States? In the field of education or with regard to infiltration into Government positions, labor unions, and any other activity that you have considered during the investigations?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say that the most immediate danger at the present time is the infiltration into organizations, but the long-range danger, over-all, is in the field of education. The most immediate acute—

The CHAIRMAN. You mean labor organizations?

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, labor and other organizations, such as the veterans organizations. There can be any number of organizations they have attempted infiltration into.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. O'Neil, I have been a member of the American Legion for over a quarter of a century and I would like to establish for the

record the organizational structure of the Legion, to evidence its effectiveness as machinery for the purpose of combating communism and subversive activity as an unofficial arm of this committee, as well as a purely patriotic American organization.

It is my understanding the base unit is the post.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct.

Mr. VAIL. Then the district.

Mr. O'NEIL. The district.

Mr. VAIL. The county.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. The State.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. And the national.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct.

Mr. VAIL. Now, in the post, you have an individual who is called the Americanism Officer, is that right?

Mr. O'NEIL. The Americanism Officer, in the post.

Mr. VAIL. He acts as an individual.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct.

Mr. VAIL. And he reports to the district?

Mr. O'NEIL. He reports to his post, carrying on the Americanism activities within his post.

Mr. VAIL. Then it is reported to the district, by the representatives to the district?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right.

Mr. VAIL. And then to the county and the State?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right.

Mr. VAIL. It goes through all the routine, before it reaches the national, is that correct?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct. I would say this, that the policy of the American Legion comes up from the post. The administration stems down from national headquarters.

Mr. VAIL. Now, in my district I have received communications recently from a number of organizations, one that has specifically described itself as the "Communist Party of the Tenth Ward." Would I assume that my Americanism officer in my post, or another local post, maintains some degree of surveillance over that type of organization?

Mr. O'NEIL. He should, sir.

Mr. VAIL. Because of the increasing activity of Communists over recent months and years, has there been any effort made to increase the vigilance of your Americanism officer?

Mr. O'NEIL. In response to that direct question, Mr. Congressman, I would make this confession, that we were lax during the war period because we were concentrated upon the war effort, but we are now taking the steps to make up for lost time and to renew our activity, which was started many years ago, in this particular field because of its news and imminent danger to the country.

Mr. VAIL. Then I can assume there is an effort on foot now to alert your Americanism officer. And along that line, it occurs to me to venture the thought that it might be an excellent idea, in order that members of each post might be completely aware of the nature of organizations within their districts, that the posts carry a listing in

their organization headquarters of such organizations so that they can get the benefit of whatever contact may be made by other members of the post with those organizations.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is a fine suggestion, and I know that it will be carried out, sir.

Mr. VAIL. Thank you, sir. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner?

Mr. BONNER. Mr. O'Neil, I recall a New Orleans resolution, but I don't remember the follow-up. What did the Legion do in any way to secure Federal action or law, as a result of that resolution?

Mr. O'NEIL. As a result of the resolution——

Mr. BONNER. What year was that?

Mr. O'NEIL. 1922.

Mr. BONNER. 1922, yes.

Mr. O'NEIL. Well, we have constantly brought this matter——

Mr. BONNER. I mean, at that particular time.

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say——

Mr. BONNER. I am talking about that particular time.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. After the passage of that resolution, what effort was made for Federal action or law in respect to communistic movement, action, and party?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say this, that that resolution, in the mechanics of the American Legion, would go to the legislative committee, a resolution dealing with an attempt to have such a law introduced into the Congress of the United States. Mr. Taylor would be more acquainted, as the legislative director, with the processes that evolved out of that particular resolution.

Mr. BONNER. Let him answer that question, then.

Mr. TAYLOR. I would like to look up the bills that we had introduced to carry that into effect.

Mr. BONNER. I wish you would, at this point.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. The point I make is whether it was just a resolution passed.

Mr. TAYLOR. No, no.

Mr. BONNER. I remember the time very well.

Mr. TAYLOR. I prepared bills on every single one of these resolutions and had them introduced. Also, I attempted to have committee hearings, just as we are having today, and follow right straight through on it. We have been before the Congress.

Mr. BONNER. Of course, at that time you didn't have this committee, or a similar committee.

Mr. TAYLOR. That is perfectly correct.

Mr. BONNER. So I want to know where you went with it.

Mr. TAYLOR. I can't answer it, but I imagine it was the House and Senate Judiciary Committees.

But we have every single resolution dealing with this subject. I prepared bills on it, and had them introduced and urged action.

I will say this: Finally, Mr. Chairman, you have taken the thing by the jaw and started to shake it loose.

The CHAIRMAN. And, Mr. O'Neil, I would like to mention to you that this committee has under preparation now some 15 or 20 different bills.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have already had two of those bills introduced.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. One to set up a loyalty commission in the Government and the other one to increase the penalty for contempt violations. We have maybe 15 or 20 left, many of those bills covering the very points that you mention, and I would suggest—you will probably do it anyway—that as the bills are introduced you get copies of those bills and look them over. You may want to take some action on them yourself.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. NIXON. I have one.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have one more question, the \$64 question, Mr. O'Neil.

If it is agreed, as it appears to be, that communism and Communists are attempting to destroy our country and what we have here and that all genuine Communists are actually agents of communism and its officers—

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. You said a while ago that a law to ban these people and ban their belonging to it would be a step?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Wouldn't it be a long step, in the opinion of the American Legion, that the Congress should pass a law that all people who are aliens and are Communists, and are in our country be sent back to whatever country they came from, and that all people who were born in another country and have been granted the high privilege of citizenship here in America—and it is proven that they are Communists by some responsible agency—that that citizenship be removed from them and that they further be deported back to the country that they came from.

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would the Legion, in your opinion, approve of such a measure as that?

Mr. O'NEIL. We would support that 100 percent. That is certainly in keeping with all of the mandates of the conventions of the American Legion and the Americanism Division of the Legion, which acts under those mandates.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions?

Mr. NIXON. One more.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. There was a time, Mr. O'Neil, when the Americanism program of the Legion was not too popular. As Mr. Taylor has suggested, there may have been times when it was ridiculed. Have you noted a change in the attitude of the public in that regard, during the past few months, in the acceptance of your program of Americanism?

Mr. O'NEIL. Very definitely, sir.

In addition to these programs, of course we have a very definite positive program which we find is meeting with the greatest success

in the history of the American Legion. I am talking about the youth activity programs. So, I would definitely say that that is true.

This committee also underwent the same ridicule, probably, that we did.

Mr. NIXON. And you would say that the people now recognize the danger and they want action?

Mr. O'NEIL. Absolutely want action.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions of Mr. O'Neil?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. O'Neil, very much. It was very helpful and if you will just supply that material that we asked for, to Mr. Stripling, our chief investigator.

Mr. O'NEIL. I will be very glad to do that. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Taylor.

Mr. TAYLOR. I know the bell has rung and the members are anxious to get over to the floor, but I do want to present to you James F. Green, who is now the chairman of the Americanism Commission. He was a combat officer in the Army, serving in the Pacific. He is an attorney, a resident of Omaha, Nebr., and he will give you the ideas of the younger members.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Green.

Mr. TAYLOR. I want to say this, Mr. Chairman, too, that Paul Griffith, the national commander, who wanted to be here, had to make a speech today to the legislature of the State of Texas. He is talking on this very same subject. So, I am pinch hitting for the national commander.

The CHAIRMAN. That reminds me to suggest this, that you have Mr. Griffith at a later date.

Mr. TAYLOR. He wants to appear before the committee, but he just happens to be in Texas now.

The CHAIRMAN. We will get in touch with him and make a date for his appearance.

Mr. TAYLOR. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you be sworn?

Mr. GREEN. I certainly shall.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES F. GREEN

(Having been duly sworn by the chairman.)

Mr. GREEN. In consideration of your kindness in hearing me, even though your hours have gone, I am going to try to show my appreciation by being as brief as I can, and I thank you for the courtesy you have extended.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to state for the record your full name?

Mr. GREEN. I am James F. Green, of Omaha, Nebr. I am an attorney, though that issue is still in doubt.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am sure there is not too much for me to say, following Mr. O'Neil's vivid statement defining the position of the American Legion in constant loyal opposition to communism in America.

The stand taken at the 1919 convention in Minneapolis, Minn., is the stand today. The Legion has not changed its position. The Legion will not. The Communist Party is a conspirative organization, subservient to a foreign power. Its abuse of American freedom can no longer be endured.

Today the urgent necessity for a positive offensive program against persons and organizations Communist is starkly projected on the screen of grim present reality. Throughout the world the philosophies of democracy and communism stand face to face opposing one another. And the United States of America is today the final bulwark of democracy against the spreading malignant poison of communism. Whether we like it or not, history has placed us at the very heart and hub of democracy and democratic hopes in the world. We are compelled to recognize the fact. We are obliged to make a fateful decision. Realization of the inescapable truth has prompted the President of the United States to propose that we abandon the traditional policy of the Monroe Doctrine, lay aside the advice of our first President, and embark upon a program of anti-Communist aid to Greece and Turkey. God alone knows where our course will lead, but we can retreat no longer. We cannot abandon helpless nations to be gobbled into the cavernous bowels of the Soviet Empire. With faith in God, we must take our stand.

I believe that the people and the Congress will support the President. I know that the Legion will. Its delegates assembled at San Francisco resolved, in 1946—and I am quoting:

* * * the United States, as one of the great democracies, recognizes the right of the people of every nation to determine fairly their own form of government within their own boundaries. Nonetheless, we must resist at home and abroad, outside such boundaries, the spreading of tyrannical and totalitarian ideologies—and we deplore and condemn such intervention in the affairs of nations as has already made some nations, once proud and independent, the puppets of a communistic power.

And the Legion's commander, pursuant to this resolution and the continuing faith of the American Legion in it, announced his support of the President's proposal.

While we recognize the threat of communism abroad, can we, in conscience, disregard the danger at home? Can we tolerate it when, by the smallest estimate, Communists in the United States—exclusive of sympathizers and phoney liberal allies—number at least 100,000? Here are cadre for 10 foreign divisions already on American soil, ready to do anything to bring about the downfall of our Government and with it our Nation. To them, this country is but a field of operations—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics their motherland. This would sound incredible, appear to be alarmist talk, were it not for the proof contained in the reports of the Canadian espionage trials, which have been studied, I understand, by this committee.

As a prelude to the proposed legislation being studied by your committee, it is necessary at the outset to determine whether Communists in our land are loyal Americans or willing subversive agents of an alien power.

The answer to the question is known. It can be found in the statements of acknowledged Communist leaders before this very committee.

Your records will disclose that in answer to a question as to whether Communists in this country look upon the Soviet flag as their own, William Z. Foster, chairman and chief Communist spokesman in America, said:

The workers of this country and the workers of every country have only one flag, and that is the Red flag.

Call to mind the fact that the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921, resolved:

The unconditional support of Soviet Russia is still the main duty of the Communists of all countries.

To this day and this moment that stand has never been repudiated by the Communist Party in America.

We are not compelled to rely on Communists' words alone. Communists' deeds furnish even more convincing proof. Remember their fantastic effort, through peace fronts, to keep the United States out of the imperialistic war; their persistent interference with production for preparedness.

Contrast this attitude to the overnight change, when the Russo-German treaty was violated and Russia invaded, on June 21, 1941. Then we couldn't do enough soon enough. Produce supplies. Send men. Open a second front, whether ready or not. Demand followed demand. All to help Russia. Never a question then of what was best for America. Just what is good for Russia. Victory didn't change these parasites. Then it was: Get out of China; get out of Europe; bring the boys home. They didn't miss a single turn in the devious party line. These are the people who will protest their patriotism before your committee in opposition to your considered legislation, if permitted to do so. Patriotic Americans? Just as much so as Joseph Stalin himself.

Communists or their equally treacherous supporters will appear before you to condemn the proposed legislation in the name of the fundamental American principle of freedom of speech. What a sin against the holy name of free speech. No American, and certainly no American Legionnaire, would tolerate any act which would abridge the right of freedom of speech. But would any American contend that freedom of speech can be prostituted to become the tool of advocates of the overthrow of our constitutional form of government, which is, after all, the only guarantee of free speech, by force and violence? Certainly not. Such use of a privilege is criminal license, not freedom.

The Red Fascist will deny it, but the fact is that communism is based upon a principle of revolution. Class revolution is a Marxian principle. More than that, it was a mandate of the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International. And though the Communists now protest their innocence, they have not, up to and including this moment, repudiated or disavowed the mandate.

It seems an inescapable conclusion that the Communist Party in America is the willing instrument of a foreign power bent upon the destruction of American Democratic Government by any possible treacherous means, including violent uprising. As such, it cannot be tolerated or endured.

We cannot, we must not, permit sneaking Communist treachery to tear down and bring into derision those things which we as a people

venerate. Prudence, at this juncture in our history, demands that Communists be deprived of the right to seek or to hold public office, the Communist Party outlawed and its right to use the mails itself, or through a front, proscribed.

We younger Legionnaires are joined firmly with the older in a solid partnership to fight communism and everything for which it stands. We are determined that these traitors shall not be permitted to use the protection of our flag as cover from which to attack us. You may be assured of our loyal support. I promise you now, in behalf of all Legionnaires and of the younger Legionnaires, our earnest and continued support.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Green, have you read these two bills that we have before us?

Mr. GREEN. I have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the opinion of the Legion, or what is your opinion, if you want to put it that way, on this particular legislation?

Mr. GREEN. May I look at the bills a moment, sir, so that I know to which I am referring?

The CHAIRMAN. These are the two bills to outlaw the Communist Party: H. R. 2122, introduced by Mr. Sheppard of California; and the other is H. R. 1884, introduced by Mr. Rankin of Mississippi. [Handing documents to the witness.]

Mr. GREEN. Sir, we have studied both of these bills.

With reference to House bill 2122, we can certainly support that bill.

Now, concerning House Resolution 1884, it conforms to our policy and we certainly support this bill.

There was one other bill which we studied—and I imagine it has not yet been presented—and that was the bill creating the commission, I noted—

The CHAIRMAN. The loyalty commission.

Mr. BONNER. I wanted to ask you some questions about that.

Mr. GREEN. I noted one thing, on that bill. I am not setting myself up as any authority on it, but it seemed to me the bill provided for investigation of everybody, except the commission to be appointed by the President and approved by the Congress, which was responsible for the very investigation that the bill set up. I would consider that a major weakness of that particular legislation, but I am assuming that this committee, after due and full and complete hearing, will discover anything of that nature much better than I can recommend. However, I do think it folly to set up a bill which provides in its text that the people exempted from it are officers appointed by the President and approved by the Congress, and then set up a commission which calls for appointment by the President and approval of the Congress, so you have a committee or commission enforcing your law which is not even bound by the law in the first instance.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say, Mr. Green, that that bill is now back in this committee.

Mr. GREEN. Fine, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And we will undoubtedly consider it at a later date. We, right now, are just considering these two bills here and are having hearings confined to those two bills.

Mr. GREEN. We advocate, sir, House bill 1884 and House bill 2122.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Chairman, you are going to have Mr. Green and these gentlemen from the Legion back here when you bring out this commission bill?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we can do that.

Any other questions, Mr. Bonner?

Mr. BONNER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. During your service in the armed forces, did you note, Mr. Green, any attempts by Communists to infiltrate into the armed forces, in any respect?

Mr. GREEN. Well, they were present, Mr. Nixon. As a matter of fact, at one time I was working in that particular field, in the early stages of the war, in what later became the WAC camp at Des Moines. At that time we had voluminous records in the United States and as soon as their names were known an appropriate operative was assigned to them. We had those people followed and placed under cognizance. We accumulated full records, but perhaps due to our unfortunate alliance at the time there was no positive action following those investigations.

Mr. NIXON. You believe that every step should be taken, I assume, to avoid infiltration into the armed forces in the future?

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely, sir.

I would like to volunteer a statement, in answer to a question of yours earlier. You asked a very fine question, in the early part of this proceeding, concerning whether or not we didn't feel it necessary to secure protection for those persons who were innocent of Communist affiliation, those who might be called actual liberals, and I would like to offer my answer to that question now.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. First of all, we certainly subscribe to the fundamental principle of American law that it would be better for 99 guilty men to go free than for 1 innocent man to be condemned, and since this thing is in the nature of criminal accusation it would have to be proved beyond a reasonable doubt, as under other law, by a jury of the man's peers. If this legislation is to be at all effective, we must avoid including innocent people, or in starting a program of wild Red baiting and hunting, which would actually give them the best cover for their operations they could ever have. I mean, we would thus cover them better than they could cover themselves.

Mr. NIXON. As a lawyer, you recognize, in the hierarchy of crimes, the worst crime of all is treason?

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. And what is involved in loyalty investigations, in discharging employees for disloyalty, is in effect a type of treason.

Mr. GREEN. Absolutely.

Mr. NIXON. For that reason, care and judgment must be exercised.

Mr. GREEN. The greatest care and judgment, sir.

Mr. NIXON. Now, one final question, just to clear up something that you said in your statement. You indicated here that it was your opinion that the Legion would support the President's proposal to go into Greece.

Mr. GREEN. Sir, the commander has so declared himself.

Mr. NIXON. As far as the membership of the Legion is concerned, it is your opinion that the great majority of the membership is for that proposal?

Mr. GREEN. Well, sir, I think you understand, sir—Mr. Vail certainly does—first of all, the national convention is the legislative body of the Legion.

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. It is what the Congress of the United States is to the Government of the United States. The delegates are selected by the posts to the department conventions and, by election freely made, delegates are selected to the national convention. At that national convention, by anticipation, if you please, an exact resolution was adopted by a viva voce of the whole crowd out there, in advance, approving just that thing; that is, recognizing the fact that we have got to resist communism where we find it.

We must draw a line. We have got to say they can't pass. Every time we retreat from a country, every time we withdraw, they step in. They follow in, as though they were tied to our tails.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are you advocating that we do this all over the world?

Mr. GREEN. Sir, I am. As I understand, you representatives to the Government are recognizing the fact that if we start in Greece, it is going to be a tough proposition to draw the line. This program means we throw out Washington's second inaugural address, to stay out of foreign entanglements. It means we have thrown out the Monroe Doctrine. We are definitely in, whether we like it or not.

Mr. BONNER. Let me ask you one question—

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know whether Mr. Nixon has finished. Are you through?

Mr. NIXON. That is the Legion's position, then?

Mr. GREEN. Wait a minute. The Legion's position is that we shall resist it where we find it; that is, we will resist their efforts—call them by name, Russian efforts—to go into independent countries and by force establish their dominion over those countries. That is the resolution.

Mr. NIXON. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you finished, Mr. Nixon?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, have you finished on this point?

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, I am in no sense trying to put the witness on the spot, to answer for the whole Legion. I want to point out that this act of going into Greece has not yet occurred.

Mr. GREEN. Right, sir. You need not point that out, for I will recognize the fact.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner, you had a question?

Mr. BONNER. I was interested in what you said about General Washington's statement. I would just like to have your interpretation of that. Did he mean, while the Government was young and growing and trying to get its strength, to stay out of foreign entanglements, or did he mean that that should be the policy of the country forever? Which one did he mean?

Mr. GREEN. Actually, Mr. Bonner, I could say he meant either and I would have as good a chance of being right as the next fellow. That thing has been subjected to the test of time.

I would say it was in its infancy, because it was a known fact at that time that the Government of the United States first of all was doddling, it was in its diapers, it was just getting itself established, and it didn't have the funds or the forces to participate.

By the same token, that is just one man's opinion. I could say the other, and I think have an equal opportunity of being right.

Mr. BONNER. Well, after studying his whole life, the make-up of the man, his great patriotism, you wouldn't think he would make that statement today, would you?

Mr. GREEN. I definitely do not.

First of all, Congressman, if I can digress into a little philosophy—and the Legion has nothing to do with this—we have got to recognize the fact that man is fundamentally selfish and if something were going to happen clear across the world that was in no manner going to affect me, I would do just what we did in the past. I would say, "My, isn't that too bad." Therefore, it is based upon the principle that this thing affects us, or otherwise we wouldn't be poking our nose in. So, if George Washington was the brilliant man and the gallant leader we have always credited him with being, I would say he would be in the lead today.

Mr. BONNER. To substantiate what you say about your group, I may say that for the first time since I have been a Member of Congress I have written 25 letters to young men, who I thought were thinking young men, of this war, asking their opinion on the President's speech, what the person thought himself. Everyone is in thorough accord with the President's program. All of these men served overseas, either with the Navy or the Army. They are young men, from 20 to 30, all now either in the Veterans of Foreign Wars or the Legion.

Mr. GREEN. I am sure that that truly reflects the thinking of the country, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. BONNER. I was really surprised at the strong letters, supporting the program, that I received, in return to a very short letter that I wrote.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions of this witness?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would like to put in one statement, and this is not a question, in addition to what the gentleman from North Carolina has said. A great American, who probably knows as much about world conditions as any other figure, told me last week that if America wants to do something about communism, there are two places that America can do something about communism. This striking at the fingers of communism in the various places that they occur may never accomplish what we are trying to do. One is in America, and the other one is in Moscow. That is all.

Mr. GREEN. I would say, if I might, Mr. Congressman, I think there are three places: One is within the man, which is perhaps our greatest difficulty today. It is the reestablishing of the moral fiber of the man, and it takes numbers of those men in these causes before the causes become threats. We definitely have that thing today.

The **CHAIRMAN**. The Chair wants to announce that the committee is very appreciative of the representatives from the American Legion coming here today. You gave us a good start and I want to thank you. We don't know just where this hearing is going to go, but we got a good start.

The Chair also wants to announce that we will meet again this afternoon at 3:30, at which time Hon. William C. Bullitt, former Ambassador to Russia, will be the witness.

Tomorrow, we will meet at 10:30, at which time Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, will be with us.

The meeting stands adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:40 p. m., a recess was taken to 3:30 p. m. of the same day.)

(Testimony of Hon. William C. Bullitt will be found in the back of this volume as Part I.)

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MARCH 25, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, Hon. John S. Wood, Hon. John E. Rankin, Hon. J. Hardin Peterson, and Hon. Herbert C. Bonner.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Our first invited guest today is Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. GREEN, if you will be sworn, please.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Green, this committee has under consideration two bills, H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122. Copies of these bills, I believe, have been sent to you.

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The digest of them is to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States. The committee itself has taken no action on these bills. We have, however, decided to hold public hearings. These hearings were started yesterday and are continued today. We are very pleased that you have accepted our invitation to come here and give a statement and we would be pleased to have you make whatever statement you wish in relation to these bills, or of any other matter that may hinge on this whole subject. Do you have a statement, Mr. Green?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir; I have a prepared statement which I would like to read, and after I have submitted the statement I would be pleased to answer any questions members of the committee may wish to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. That is perfectly agreeable.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

Mr. GREEN. Communism is totalitarian in its methods and purpose. Like nazism and other forms of fascism, communism is predicated upon autocratic dictatorship and the rule of force. In its nature, its objectives, and its methods, communism is inimical to democracy and the republican form of government based on the consent of the governed. Communists and Communist sympathizers have consistently pursued, in their open and covert activities, the aims and purposes directly opposed to the beliefs and institutions fundamental to the American way of life and the American system of government.

An outstanding characteristic of Communist activity is that much of it is never direct or open, but always covert, disguised, and secret. Communists are the past masters of the fifth column. Treachery has been their favorite weapon. It is quite common for them to use aliases and party names, which they change from time to time.

The Communist Party of the United States has generally constituted but a small proportion of Communist activity in this country. The standard Communist technique is the technique of indirection and infiltration. Many organizations, sponsored by well-meaning but ill-informed men and women prominent in the community, the academic world, and even in church life, have been created for the sole purpose of providing a respectable front for furthering Communist aims and purposes. Other organizations, completely non-Communist in origin, have been captured by Communists who, by infiltration, rigid discipline, and tireless persistence, would succeed in placing their candidates in key positions and eventually gain control.

These devious techniques and covert tactics make it plain that the task of combating communism is by no means simple. Communists are aware of the fact that the tenets of communism are repugnant to the vast majority of Americans. Hence their reliance on indirection and concealment and their constant endeavor to confuse and mislead. By changing their policy or "party line" at will, they have not hesitated to shift and even completely reverse their objectives overnight if that would gain them a temporary strategic advantage. If we are to reach to the roots of Communist penetration into the American community we must be ready to recognize the complex and intricate nature of the problem with which we are confronted.

The uncompromising stand of the American Federation of Labor against Communists and against communism has been firm and unequivocal. Few, if any, groups have been as alert as the American Federation of Labor in recognizing communism's repulsive aims and objectives, and the manner in which they constitute a grave potential menace to American institutions.

The American Federation of Labor has unswervingly and vigorously devoted much of its energies and resources to the task of resisting the infiltration of Communists and their ideology into the ranks of organized labor, and has, we believe, achieved unusually high success in that endeavor. In the light of our record, it goes without saying that we are keenly aware of the need for the Government of the United States to recognize its full duty to guard vigilantly against Communist activities which have been subversive, seditious, and some-

times even treasonable in character. We are sympathetic with the motives which have prompted the authors of H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122. Nevertheless, upon careful consideration of the problems involved, the American Federation of Labor is compelled to enter its opposition to these proposals as inconsistent with the American Constitution and as likely to defeat the very purpose they seek to accomplish.

Let me point out one thing. First of all, the American Federation of Labor years ago became conscious of the fact that communism and the Communist philosophy were contradictory to the American way of life. The American Federation of Labor, built upon freedom, liberty, and democracy, united in opposition to the infiltration of Communists and the Communist philosophy into the ranks of labor.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I have to go to the House. I want to suggest to Mr. Green that these bills are subject to amendment.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. They are merely frameworks for such legislation as may be necessary.

Mr. GREEN. Yes; I understand that, Congressman.

May I make this reference to some historic developments: Way back in the course of the 1920's, most A. F. of L. affiliates took official action to bar Communists and Communist sympathizers from membership. So you see we were way out in advance. In 1935 the constitution of the A. F. of L. was amended to bar from its affiliated central labor unions and State federations of labor organizations officered and controlled by Communists. Also in 1935, as president of the American Federation of Labor, I prepared and submitted to the President of the United States, through the State Department, a detailed and documented report on Communist propaganda in America.

In 1939 the American Federation of Labor, by official convention action, instructed its affiliated national and international unions to deny membership to Communists. In 1946 the A. F. of L. convention adopted a strong report, entitled "The American Federation of Labor Versus Communism." This militant statement of ideology of freedom-loving American trade unions in opposition to communism has been given wide distribution among workers of the A. F. of L.

And I should like to submit a copy of this for the record, a statement unanimously adopted by the delegates in attendance at the sixty-fifth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. We will place that statement in the record at this point.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR VERSUS COMMUNISM

ACTION OF THE SIXTY-FIFTH AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR CONVENTION AT CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 16, 1946

SPECIAL REPORT ON COMMUNISM, BY THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS, ADOPTED BY UNANIMOUS ACTION OF 650 DELEGATES REPRESENTING MORE THAN 7,000,000 WORKERS AT THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, OCTOBER 16, 1946, CHICAGO, ILL.

Your committee believes that this convention should adopt a statement relative to its attitude toward communism which will inform American trade-unionists, the public, and all public officials of the position of the American Federation of Labor.

In presenting the subject your committee will submit no examination of the various forms of collectivism or communism which have been applied for a number of centuries by groups with strong religious convictions. Neither will it dwell upon the basic theories of modern communism, or the adherence to the substance of communism by Lenin and Stalin, and the interpretations and the modifications which they have made and applied.

It is our purpose to present a definition of communism in the sense in which we use that term in this report, so that when trade-unionists use it there will be no mistake, no misunderstanding of what is being referred to, for no term is being more loosely applied in conversations, in the press, and in public life.

Assuredly communism is an extreme of radicalism, or reactionism, but the great majority of those in our country who have advanced liberal or radical views are not Communists; generally they are vigorous anti-Communists in the proper use of that term. In the definition of communism submitted, your committee believe it is fully justified in definitely applying it to the Communist dictatorship which has been established in Russia and the activities of that dictatorship as it is applied in international relations.

It is not the Communist theory, or deviation from it, by those now controlling the Russian people which concerns us. Whatever may be the effect of the Communist dictatorship upon the people of Russia and their opportunities to expand free institutions, and advance their own standards of living, is their problem and not ours.

What does concern us, and concern us vitally, is the efforts of Moscow to actively and systematically interfere in the internal affairs of Americans; their form of government, and their institutions of human freedom, and internationally to use the Communist dictator's influence to prevent the development and expansion of free institutions in other countries whose people desire to be free and self-governing under a constitution approved by them, and under a government of laws enacted by those freely elected by the people to represent them.

Our fully justified opposition to Russian communism is its active and persistent determination to make use of American institutions, freedom of speech, and of the press, to spread within our borders the poisonous and subversive doctrine that our institutions and our freedom are a delusion and a snare. That under them we are helpless to solve our internal social and economic problems. That the only way by which Americans can save themselves is to accept the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat, which in Russia is supine submission to the edicts of a Communist dictator, implemented by nation-wide blood and other purges, and the suppression of all free institutions.

It is not the theories of collectivism or totalitarianism upon which we are reporting, but Russian communism in action.

Realizing that the progress of Russian communism in other nations would depend upon winning labor's support, the Kremlin policy, from the beginning, was to have its agents and their followers infiltrate into the trade-union movement of every country, and secure a controlling position in the formulation of trade-union policy, and trade-union education.

From the day the Communist Party in the United States was established much of its energies were devoted to organizing so-called "cells" in local trade-unions, other groups, and in manufacturing plants. Their methods were to spread dissatisfaction and suspicion in the workers' minds toward the structure of their organization, and the loyalty and integrity of their officers, and to create the belief that every employer, for that very reason, was an enemy of the workers. Furthermore, their purpose was to foster the treasonable belief that government by law under free institutions enslaved instead of freed the workers.

Their efforts to infiltrate into the ranks of the American Federation of Labor were largely futile. They gained no sound foothold. Their opportunity came when the CIO was organized in 1935. The Communist Party in the United States immediately gave its public and official endorsement to the CIO. It gave that organization so much assistance from the first, that it secured a patronage which, by 1938, had led to the employment of over 289 active Communists as salaried CIO organizers, and a number of others as part-time workers. Many of these members of the Communist Party became officers in national unions affiliated with the CIO. At present this condition is causing bitter division in the ranks of that dual organization, and already has greatly weakened its effectiveness. Unquestionably the majority of the membership of the CIO is composed of loyal and patriotic Americans who are now dismayed as they understand the use which Moscow is making of their organization.

The Communist Party in this country, early in its activities, established so-called schools, in which the zealous and pliant members were taught the tactics of rioting, destruction of property, and seizure of plants in connection with strikes, and in addition taught how to stir up workers so that they would strike. Some of the results of this were indicated during that period when to assist the treaty of friendship existing between the Nazi dictatorship and Russia, widespread strikes were engineered in American plants manufacturing munitions for national defense. It was not until Hitler attacked Russia that the Communists changed their party line on this subversive activity.

For reasons which it is difficult to understand, the Communist Party in the United States was able to place dependable members of the party in many of the Federal Departments, including the Department of State. The entire story of the infiltration has not yet been told, but it is known that members of the Communist Party, employed in Government departments, purloined secret state and other papers, many of which were vital to national defense, which were photostated before being returned to their files, and the photostats forwarded to Moscow. Some of the documents were reproduced in Communist publications in this country. The daily press has kept the American public informed of some of the steps being taken by the authorities to eliminate known Communists from positions in the Government, and to provide that in the future no one could be on the Federal pay roll who was engaged in subversive activities.

As American trade-unionists we are carrying aloft the torch of human liberty which the Communists now seem determine to extinguish, so that conceptions of human liberty, conceived by our European ancestors in rebellion against tyrannical government, and upon which we have built our Nation, with its free institutions, can be eliminated from the world and a godless arbitrary dictatorship established in its place.

The issue presented by Russian communism, which the Kremlin is endeavoring to force upon the world, is the most vital one which our people have faced since they won the revolution, and shook off the control over them which had been imposed by Great Britain's King and Parliament, in which our colonial ancestors had neither voice nor vote.

Russian communism, by every means at its command, is endeavoring to establish in our country the same conditions which now exist in Russia under the domination of a dictator, where any opposition to him or the form of government which he controls becomes treason to the state to be punished as such.

The American Federation of Labor, without exception, has vigorously opposed any economic or political theory which subordinated the rights of the individual to the domination of the State. From our colonial period Americans have defended the proposition that the State exists solely for the people who live in it, in contradiction to the former European conception that monarchs and rulers were vested with a divine right to exploit the people and keep them under arbitrary control. In the United States, Americans have been the rulers and the State made responsive to the will of the majority.

Throughout the history of the American Federation of Labor it has opposed every effort by the State to encroach upon labor's constitutional rights: its right to voluntary association: its right to formulate those policies for its welfare which were of its own choosing. If we are to have free enterprise there must be free labor, and there cannot be either unless as Americans we maintain our free institutions. Whenever the State has interfered with labor's basic rights labor has aroused its membership, won public support, and through this secured not only necessary remedial legislation, but legislation which more clearly defined labor's right, including the declaration that labor could not be looked upon by the State or by employers as a commodity or an article of commerce.

There can be no loyalty by any citizen to our Nation's form of government and its institutions of freedom, if they give their first allegiance to the Communist dictatorship and the policies emanating from the Kremlin.

Americans, through the application of free institutions under a written Constitution and government by law through the people's chosen representatives, have advanced socially, educationally, and materially to a greater extent than any modern nation. Wage earners through their trade-unions have won the right to discuss every problem with their employers, and work out mutually acceptable understandings.

While there remains much to be done in the interest of American wage earners, while they have not achieved the full standard of living to which they are entitled, the fact remains that in no country in the world at the present time is labor better situated than in the United States, and nowhere else does labor enjoy the same degree of industrial democracy.

Communism at present is the most dynamic, reactionary force in our country. If communism should control, then every social, economic, and political right which Americans have won since the Revolutionary War would be destroyed.

American workers will not surrender the advantages they have gained, or the opportunities in the future, for a government under which the workers must listen first for their master's voice before they dare to speak.

Your committee recommends that this convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its vigorous and unyielding opposition to the establishment in our country of any form of dictatorship either of the right or the left and that it further carry on a constant and wide-spread education, so that the machinations, the methods, and the purposes of Communists in carrying on subversive activities will be exposed and defeated.

Mr. GREEN. I should like to state in positive terms that the American Federation of Labor is uncompromisingly opposed to communism and the Communist philosophy. We have constantly fought against the infiltration of Communists and the Communist philosophies into the ranks of labor. It is fundamental with the American Federation of Labor, and I can tell you truthfully that it represents the opinion of the 7½ million members of the American Federation of Labor, and no force, church, fraternal, political, or other organization in America has fought communism so effectively as this great army of organized labor.

The American Federation of Labor believes that the objectives sought in these bills cannot be achieved by this type of legislation. It is altogether alien to the spirit and letter of our Constitution to outlaw ideas. The Constitution of the United States holds inviolate the inalienable right of every American to believe what he will, to speak freely what he believes. Beliefs, be they political or religious or, as in the case of communism, a combination of both, may not be outlawed. Freedom of speech or of the press likewise may not be abridged by Congress. The very strength of democracy lies in its unswerving adherence to the rights of free speech, free inquiry, and free interchange of ideas. Democracy in America is ready to meet and to best any alien doctrine without fear and without cowering. The very weakness of communism or any other dictatorship is that it cannot survive the practice of these basic freedoms, that it must rely on the rule of force and the rule of fear to cow the people it dominates into submission. To surrender an iota of our basic constitutional freedom is to detract from the very strength that makes democracy unassailable and to confess of a weakness in the democratic order which does not in reality exist. Totalitarian methods have no place in a democracy. Americans must reject their use, no matter how laudable the ends to which such methods may be put.

Without minimizing the danger or odium of communism, we think it accurate to say that it has not reached the point in this country—and never will—in terms of the number of its adherents or of the extent of its influence, where we are forced to adopt laws which constitute so sharp and drastic a departure from our traditional constitutional concepts. Even assuming for the moment that such a law is subject to effective enforcement from a practical point of view, its mere enactment would contain a suggestion of defeatism. Such a law would imply what is not true: namely, that communism has become so extensive in this country as to require us to adopt a tactic which savors more of Communist Russia and Nazi Germany than of democratic America. Indeed, should we adopt such a tactic, we should unwittingly be stimulating the spread of communism, for we should in ef-

fect be admitting to the world that we deem its methods and tactics both effective and acceptable.

Communism thrives on suffering, privation, and poverty. In helplessness and desperation and under threat of force, millions of people of eastern Europe and Asia are being brought under the yoke of Communist domination. How can we consistently challenge the Russians' denial of the right to free elections to the Poles, once we ourselves begin to deny free elections to our own people here in America? How can America's spokesmen in the Council of Ministers and in the councils of the United Nations insist that without the freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion, there can be no genuine democracy, once we ourselves abridge those very freedoms here at home?

It is an historical truth that laws have never succeeded in curbing zealots. On the contrary, zealots always thrive on repression. They exploit repressive laws to popularize themselves and gain sympathy as self-sacrificing martyrs. While those caught in the net of repressive prosecution or self-appointed to the role of public martyrdom gain wide public attention, others quickly develop techniques to obscure their identities and activities, thus making it more difficult to ferret them out and meet their challenge in an open, effective manner. Outlawing Communists would only drive them underground. The spread of communism would be helped, not hindered by the enactment of laws making communism illegal.

Historically, repressive laws have served to foster communism instead of destroying it. In the Russia of the czars during World War I, any Communist activity was illegal and a far-flung net of secret police operated to prevent its spread. Yet evidence is conclusive that the organization of the capture of the Russian Government by the Communists had been perfected under such repressive wartime measures, long before the end of the czarist regime.

Nor would it be accurate to say that communism or similar totalitarian movements have progressed anywhere in the world because of the absence of repressive laws. Their progress does not depend on laws but on the economic distress of a given population at a given time. Communism has failed to make substantial progress in this country not because it has been outlawed but because the great mass of Americans clearly and accurately realize that their material and spiritual welfare can in no way be improved, but will be destroyed by communism. So long as we continue to maintain a wholesome economy and a free society, communism will never gain any substantial foothold here. If, on the other hand, we yield to the easy temptation of repressive laws, we are in danger of shifting our reliance from our true bulwarks of resistance, namely, a prosperous economy and a free society, to the delusive and dubious protection of unenforceable law.

Bills before this committee would outlaw the Communist Party or make unlawful membership in the Communist Party. In 1940, Canada outlawed Communists, Fascists, and 14 other political parties. The Communists promptly changed their name and formed a Labor Progressive Party. This party has been able to elect only one member of the Dominion Parliament. However, there is overwhelming evidence that the strength and organization of this new party is far greater than had ever been mustered by the Communist Party before it was outlawed.

We cannot overlook and minimize the danger of establishing a precedent that is capable of immeasurable mischief and abuse, if the proposed bills are enacted into law. There are many who would readily seize upon laws of this kind as a happy means whereby to crush any opposition to their political, social, or economic views. We are not without those who today conveniently label as communism anything they find disagreeable to them. It is safe to say that, should we pass laws outlawing communism, these people would strive with all their power to persecute and prosecute liberal groups in our country.

The provisions of the Rankin bill, H. R. 1884, illustrates how readily such persecution can be effectuated. Under section 2 the term "Communist Party" is defined as—

the political party now known as the Communist Party of the United States of America, whether or not any change is hereafter made in such name.

Let us recall that the Communist Party of the United States of America was formed in 1919. In January 1920 it was declared illegal by the Federal Government. Until December 1921 it functioned illegally and, at that time, changed its name to Workers' Party. The name was again changed to Workers' (Communist) Party and in April 1928 back to Communist Party. As recently as 1943 the Communist Party provided a voluntary demonstration of going through the motions of dissolving itself, then reconstituting its membership in the form of an "educational" Communist Political Association, and finally reemerging as the Communist Party in the following year. In view of this, it is difficult to see how this definition or, in fact, any definition can effectively follow through the various chameleonic change of Communist organization.

In any event, section 2 attempts to enact against a specific organization, no matter how ineffective that attempt may be. In contrast, sections 3 (b) and 3 (c) deal not with the Communist Party but with "communism or Communist ideology." No definition of "communism" or "Communist ideology" is presented. Although neither of these terms is defined, it is a crime punishable by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 10 years, or by both, for anyone to "express or convey the impression of sympathy with, or approval of, communism or Communist ideology" in any course of instruction or teaching in any school or in the whole or any part of any publication distributed through the mails. This constitutes a most dangerous thrust as academic freedom and freedom of the press in clear violation of the Constitution.

Even worse, perhaps, is the possible witch hunt by which many innocents can be victimized. A remark by a teacher need merely "convey the impression of sympathy" with something as vague and undefined as "Communist ideology," and that teacher is subject to drastic criminal punishment. Similarly, anyone who mails a letter, circular, postcard, newspaper, pamphlet, book or other publication—

any part of which * * * conveys the impression of sympathy with, or approval of, communism or Communist ideology—

is subject to the same severe punishment.

Are we in America afraid of the Communist doctrine? Have we come to consider it so irresistible as to expect the minds of our adults and of our young to succumb irremediably to its blandishments? Do we hold the achievements of American history and of American

leadership in such contempt, and value our American heritage of freedom and opportunity so cheaply, as to have no faith in their ability to compete successfully and overwhelm the teachings of communistic dictatorship? Enactment of H. R. 1884 would be tantamount to a declaration of voluntary bankruptcy of the ideas and ideals of American democracy. This legislative proposal rests upon a proposition lacking in national self-respect and wanting in patriotic faith, a proposition which every thoughtful American must flatly reject.

May I make this observation here? First of all, if we enact a law it is my opinion that it will merely drive the Communists to assume changed positions. They will resort to other methods and perhaps, as I have said here, change the name of the party, so that they cannot be charged with having a Communist Party.

Now, secondly, it is better for us to know who they are, how many of them there are, where they are located, and we can find that all out by letting them vote if they wish in support of the Communist ticket. Information is valuable and we can use that information in combating communism. Whereas, if they are driven underground, or driven to the point where they must change, merely change the name of the party, so that it cannot be longer classified as the Communist Party, we will be unable to determine how many Communists vote the Communist ticket.

Now, thirdly, we can unite, as we have been doing all the years, in opposition to communism. We can handle them and control them in that way. They can be exposed. We can find out other methods by which we can deal with them, and in that way very, very successfully prevent the growth of communism in America.

Now, lastly, if we pass a law outlawing the Communist Party, as provided for in one of these bills, will that not require the creation of an unusually large secret force of police in order to enforce the law? I don't think we want to resort to that. These are some of the objections that we see in the enactment of legislation such as here proposed.

While on the face of it not quite so extreme as H. R. 1884, the Sheppard bill, H. R. 2122, is equally unsound and subject to all of the objections advanced against the Rankin bill. This proposal would make it unlawful, subject to the same punishment, for any person to be a member of the Communist Party or of any organization known by him to be one which has a purpose or aim to establish, control, conduct, seize, or overthrow government in the United States or in any State or political subdivision thereof by use of force or violence. It is also made unlawful to be a member of an organization engaging in political activity—

which is affiliated directly or indirectly with, or the policies of which in relation to such political activity are determined by or subject to the direction or control of, a foreign government or a political party in a foreign country, or which receives financial assistance or support of any kind from a foreign government or from a political party in a foreign country.

It should be noted that the prohibition in this proposed enactment is directly solely against the membership in the Communist Party or an organization which engages in political activity and maintains such affiliations. Yet if outlawed and driven underground, an organization of this kind would most certainly refrain from maintaining any identifiable membership of record among its operatives, followers, and supporters. Once the operations of such an organiza-

tion because secret underground operations, a law of this sort becomes unenforceable. This kind of legislative prohibition, whose objective is not specifically and clearly defined, can also lead to injustice and abuse. When is an activity "affiliated indirectly" with any political movement abroad? What constitutes the evidence of such "indirect" affiliation? Would the advocacy of old-age pensions in a foreign country be used as prima facie evidence that an organization supporting old-age pensions in America is subject to foreign direction?

The American Federation of Labor believes that Communist activities in America can and must be effectively dealt with, but by means far different from the proposed legislation.

First of all, we must recognize that neither communism nor fascism is indigenous to America; the infectious sources of their poison lie outside our borders. The channels feeding totalitarian penetration into our land have been poorly guarded, even during the war. There has been shocking laxity on the part of Government agencies dealing with international trade and international relations in affording fifth-column penetration into the American community from abroad. Proper safeguards must be firmly established to put a stop to both the legalized and illicit traffic in funds, men, and propaganda across our borders, destined for use in subversive activity in the United States.

The recent Executive order of the President will help guard against infiltration of those disloyal to our Government into the executive branch. Similar action should be taken to establish standards of loyalty and to weed out the undesirables employed in the legislative and the judiciary branches. Most important of all, we must devise especially effective means of making sure that undesirables do not gain access to the positions of influence in the American staff of the various agencies of the United States, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.

Secondly, we must take considered and effective steps to prevent direct collaboration between private organizations in the United States and the various open and covert agencies of the Communist International abroad. With the official aid of our Department of State, the World Federation of Trade Unions has been accorded status and recognition in the structure of the United Nations.

That is a Communist organization we believe. The Communist-dominated W. F. T. U. is a tool of the Communist International. There is no warrant for the Government of the United States to provide this ready means for furthering world revolution with its official aid and approval.

Before we believe it is a Communist agency dominated by communism, dominated by Soviet Russia, the American Federation of Labor will have nothing whatever to do with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Thirdly, we must clearly recognize that communism is an international force. There are dozens of private agencies operating in our midst as secret battalions of this powerful international organization. In this the Communist Party itself is of minor importance. There are a number of political action, educational, and other groups in which the membership has no effective voice in policy forming, that mirror faithfully the Communist interests and policies, showing evidence of deep penetration and control. It is in the workings of these organizations, through which thousands of well-meaning citizens are

duped into furthering the aims they would never knowingly support, that lies the real menace of Communist and Fascist penetration.

It has become increasingly clear that democracy must develop new techniques of combating the menace of totalitarian infection, whether Communist or Fascist. These must be developed as the result of careful study of all the ramifications of forces which threaten democratic society from within and from without. I recommend that a national commission be created, with bipartisan representation from Congress, and with proper representation from the Executive and the Judiciary, which would include direct representation from management, labor, and agriculture, and to recommend a comprehensive program consistent with the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

In addition to this recommendation, I would like to indicate some major areas in which Americans should exercise immediate responsibility toward the preservation of democracy against the threat of alien political influences.

By far the most effective weapon against Communist penetration and infiltration is exposure. Merciless public exposition of the men and methods utilized by Communists to gain influence and control over political, civic, social, and other organized activities in a community will accomplish more than a thousand criminal penalties directed solely against their formal political activities. The force of the Communist-inspired persuasion withers when brought out into the open. Our unswerving adherence to the freedom speech and of the press, our ability to expose the true nature of communism in open discussion and debate will greatly strengthen the ability of Americans to purge themselves of the false prophets of a phony utopia in their midst.

Next in importance as a remedy is the requirement of public disclosure of the sources of funds received or spent in any political activity whether by an organization or an individual. Bring the sources of funds supplied for a political purpose into the open and the sources of subversive and seditious political activity will promptly dry up. Instead of penalizing the membership in any political activity which wittingly or unwittingly may relate itself to foreign political influence, Congress should prohibit the use of any foreign funds for any political activity in the United States.

In addition, communism can be combated with equal force through a campaign of education. The American press, churches, schools, organized labor, citizen groups, all share in the responsibility to bring home forcefully to the average American the advantages and the benefits of our private enterprise system of our free institutions.

While there remains much to be done to advance the real income and the standard of living of Americans, while they have not achieved the full standard of living to which they are entitled, the fact remains that in no country in the world has the American standard been matched and in no country of the world do workers enjoy the same degree of industrial democracy as in America. The attainment by the people of the United States of the highest standard of living in the world and their enjoyment of greater freedoms than are afforded in any other nation are not an historical accident. They are the product of voluntarism and of the democratic way of life. Fuller knowledge

and better understanding of our ways and our institutions are a powerful safeguard against the inroads of a foreign ideology.

Finally, our defense against the insidious aggression of communism among us rests largely upon the broad purposes of the public policy and of its economic, social, and political objectives laid down by the Congress of the United States. The fires of communism and every other totalitarian ideology are fed by poverty, privation, injustice, and strife. Human misery is the combustible fuel of subversive activity. The enactment of progressive legislation, designed to serve broad public welfare and responsive to the needs of the great mass of the people, is a vital safeguard against Communist inroads. Since the American people won the victory over the Fascist rule, their Congress has remained unresponsive to the pressing needs of America's own postwar reconstruction. The urgent, often desperate, need of the people for housing, for greater social security and improved health services, for minimum wage protection and other standards essential to maintain a high level of employment, production, and prosperity in the years to come have not been enacted.

These are the antidotes against communism.

Congress cannot shirk the duty or escape the challenge thrust upon it as the guardian of the American standard of living in a world in which democracy is meeting its historic test. By accepting this challenge and fulfilling this duty, the Congress of the United States can point the way not only for America, but for the world toward the lasting victory over poverty, insecurity, and fear by a free people, devoted to a truly democratic process.

Now, I am prepared to answer any questions that you may wish to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Green, I am sorry that I have to leave the committee room. A very important matter has come up. Mr. McDowell will act as chairman.

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you, Mr. Green, for a very clear and very fine statement on this situation.

Mr. GREEN. I have a summary of certain actions taken by our convention against communism and the infiltration of Communists into labor's ranks over a number of years, by conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor, and if you will permit me I should like to present it for inclusion in the record.

Mr. McDOWELL. Without objection it will be included.

(The statement above referred to is as follows:)

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT BY WILLIAM GREEN, PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ON THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNISM, SUBMITTED TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, MARCH 25, 1946.

The following summary of the official actions and policies of the American Federation of Labor with respect to communism and Communist activities shows the A. F. of L.'s unyielding and active opposition to communism since 1919.

In the course of 1920's, most A. F. of L. affiliates took official action to bar Communists and Communist sympathizers from membership.

In 1935 the constitution of the A. F. of L. was amended to bar from its affiliated central labor unions and State federations of labor organizations officered and controlled by Communists.

Also in 1935, as president of the American Federation of Labor I prepared and submitted to the President of the United States, through the State Department, a detailed and documented report on Communist propaganda in America.

In 1939, the American Federation of Labor, by official convention action, instructed its affiliated national and international unions to deny membership to Communists.

In 1946, the A. F. of L. convention adopted a strong report, entitled "The American Federation of Labor versus Communism." This militant statement of ideology of freedom-loving American trade-unions in opposition to communism has been given wide distribution among workers of the A. F. of L.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND COMMUNISM

A summary of the record

1920: Against assistance to, or approval of, Soviet Government.—A. F. of L. convention held in Montreal in June adopted resolution to the effect that assistance to or approval of the Soviet Government of Russia is not justified, "as long as that Government is based upon authority which has not been vested in it by a popular representative national assemblage of the Russian people; or as long as it endeavors to create revolutions in the well-established, civilized nations of the world or so long as it advocates and applies the militarization of labor and prevents the organizing and functioning of trade-unions and the maintenance of a free press and free public assemblage" (Proceedings, p. 268).

1921: Report on America and the Soviets.—Executive council of the A. F. of L. prepared a detailed report entitled "America and the Soviets" examining the nature and activities of the Communist Party organization in Russia and in relation to trade-unions outside Russia. The report points out that the Communist Party of the United States of America defines the duties of the Communist members of trade-unions as follows: "A Communist who belongs to the A. F. of L. should seize every opportunity to voice his hostility to this organization, not to reform it but to destroy it. The IWW must be upheld as against A. F. of L." After considering the report which presented an array of authentic facts and figures on the situation as it exists in Russia, and its relation to her own as well as other countries, the Denver convention of A. F. of L. expressed sincere friendship toward the Russian people and expressed "earnest hope that the situation in Russia may so change that freedom, justice, democracy, and humanitarianism may be the guiding principles of everyday life" (Proceedings, pp. 90-102, 443).

1922: Russian Communists deem the A. F. of L. to be their enemy.—A. F. of L. convention, held in Cincinnati, adopted resolution including the finding that: "The Russian Soviet authority, called a government, is a most vigorous, tyrannical autocracy in the absolute control of Communists of whom there are among all of the millions of Russians less than 400,000, with no freedom of speech, no freedom of press, no freedom of assemblage, no secret ballot." President Gompers stated that "it is the official purpose, decided by the Soviet Government, to destroy the American Federation of Labor" (Proceedings, pp. 420 and ff., especially 424-425, 432).

1923: A. F. of L. refused to support recognition of Russia.—A. F. of L. convention, held in Portland, Oreg., resolved "if the people of Russia are given the opportunity to vote, to elect, to endorse, or to repudiate this system, this tyranny, this overlordship, and so decide their fate and destiny, the American Federation of Labor shall offer no objection to whatever may be their choice."

1923: A. F. of L. convention unseated a Communist delegate.—Delegate William F. Dunne of the Silver Bow Trades and Labor Council was shown to be a member of the Workers' Party, affiliated with the Third International at Moscow. Delegate William Green, United Mine Workers, stated: "An outspoken advocate of communism properly has no place in the federation convention." Delegate Dunne was unseated from the A. F. of L. convention by a vote of 27,837 to 108 (Proceedings, pp. 256-259).

1925: A. F. of L. issues "warning against Communist activities."—The Atlantic City convention of the A. F. of L. approved the issuance of a statement listing the activities of specific organizations allied with the Communist cause, such as International Labor Defense Council, the American Negro Congress, the International Workers' Aid, etc., and listing publications promoting communism. The report stated in part: "Trade-unionists should also be on their guard against not only the propaganda of Communist and pseudo labor organizations, but also against their efforts to collect money avowedly for purposes beneficial

to labor but actually for the benefit of individuals and purposes subversive to the trade union movement itself" (Proceedings, pp. 90, 300).

1925: *Communists expelled by A. F. of L. affiliates.*—International Brotherhood of Painters, A. F. of L., reports that by action of its Montreal convention, the brotherhood acted to expel from its membership every member of the Communist Party. Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union in New York reports expulsion of 40 Communist members and reorganization of the union (Proceedings, p. 301).

1925: *A. F. of L. rejects cooperation with Trade Union International.*—In his response to the address of the British Fraternal Delegate Purcell, President Green said, in part: "The Trade Union Educational League here in America, which is the creature of the Communist Party * * * frankly announces that its policy is to bore within the labor movement, to destroy it and substitute for our philosophy the philosophy of Communism. * * * The American labor movement will not affiliate with an organization that preaches that doctrine or stands for that philosophy" (Proceedings, p. 152).

1926: *A. F. of L. exposes Communist interference in organizing.*—In its report on organizing progress to the Detroit convention, the A. F. of L. executive council exposes Communist intervention in the Passaic strike "where Communists took advantage of real grievances to lead workers on strike and to exploit their necessities for the purpose of raising money which is expended under Communist control." Convention warned against contributions to unauthorized agencies (Proceedings, pp. 40, 305).

1927: *A. F. of L. purges unions of Communist penetration.*—Executive Council of A. F. of L. reports to Los Angeles convention: "We have been successful during the past year in defeating plans of Communists to get control of trade-unions. We believe there can be no compromise with Communists because their purpose is the destruction of trade-unions and the inculcation of class war. * * * The outstanding efforts of Communists to get foothold in the American labor movement were among the textile workers of Passaic, the women's garment industry, and the fur workers' industry. In the first instance, the United Textile Workers got control of the situation; in the second instance, the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was able to deal with its own problem; and in the third, at the request of the fur workers' organization, the American Federation of Labor made an investigation and upon its findings reorganized the local unions of New York, arranged for a convention of the workers, and thus brought about the purging of the union from Communist control" (Proceedings, pp. 38-39, 310).

1928: *Communists must be expelled.*—From the executive council's report to the New Orleans convention of A. F. of L.: "The Communists have been especially active in the needle trades, textile industries, building trades, and the mining industry. They have sought to form rival organizations in these trades. They have fomented friction and trouble and then placed obstacles in the way of industrial agreements. The organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself have taken a determined stand to expel every Communist from the ranks of the organized labor movement. * * * We again desire to warn the organizations of labor, their officers and members against giving countenance, aid, support, or encouragement to communistic activities whatever guise they may assume" (Proceedings, pp. 118, 255).

1929: *Fur and dress unions eliminate Communists.*—A. F. of L. convention receives report on successful elimination of Communist control in the Fur Workers' and Ladies' Garment Workers' Unions (Proceedings, pp. 162, 214).

1932: *A. F. of L. refuses to give comfort to any Communist agency.*—The Cincinnati convention adopted resolution providing "that we counsel our membership to be zealous in refusal of all aid or comfort to any Communist organization, or to any campaign conducted by any Communist organization or by those organizations which are allied with and sympathetic to communism through interlocking directorates or other devices or subterfuges" (Proceedings, p. 407).

1933: *Opposition to communism in any form whatever.*—President Green stated at the opening of the San Francisco convention: "We are opposed to communism in any form whatever. We are equally opposed to fascism in any form. We are for the rule of the people, for democracy. The great heart of the people is sound, and as long as it remains sound, communism will never gain a foothold in America" (Proceedings, p. 10).

1935: *A. F. of L. constitution amended to bar Communists in central labor unions and State federations.*—The Atlantic City convention of A. F. of L. re-

ceived a detailed report of the executive council on communism and adopted an amendment to article IV, section 5 of its constitution, reading as follows: "No organization officered or controlled by Communists, or any person espousing communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any central body or State federation of labor" (Proceedings, pp. 164-168; 776-785, especially 778; 831).

1939: *A. F. of L. instructs its affiliates to deny membership to Communists.*—The A. F. of L. convention, held in Cincinnati, unanimously adopted resolution calling for dismissal of Communists from administrative posts in National and State governments and to instruct affiliated national and international unions to deny membership to Communists. The last resolve of this resolution reads: "Resolved, That we instruct the various national and international unions to refrain from taking into membership any known member of the Communist Party, or active sympathizer" (Proceedings, p. 505).

1939: *A. F. of L. endorses House Committee on Un-American Activities.*—The A. F. of L. convention endorsed the work of the Senate Committee on Civil Liberties, headed by Senator La Follette and the House Committee on Un-American Activities, headed by Congressman Dies. It noted the revelation made by the Dies committee that CIO has hundreds of Communists on the pay roll. It stated: "The A. F. of L. from the origin of Communist activity in this country registered its stern disapproval and applied itself to prevent Communists from securing any foothold in the great American trade-union movement" (Proceedings, pp. 132, 400-411).

1940: *Opposition to communism.*—The convention stated: "The opposition of our federation to communism and all forms of totalitarianism meets with public approval and support. Every effort we may make to keep our organization clean and self-disciplined will meet with the same public support" (Proceedings, p. 465).

1941: *Elimination of Communists from Federation of Teachers.*—The executive council reports to the Seattle convention "that the American Federation of Teachers has dealt vigorously and definitely with Communists who had established themselves in local American Federation of Teachers unions in New York City and in Philadelphia, Pa. The charters of the American Federation of Teachers local unions in the two cities named were revoked by a referendum vote of the membership upon recommendations made by the executive council of the American Federation of Teachers." A special A. F. of L. committee had conducted an effective investigation of Communist activities in these local unions, leading to the purge of these organizations of Communists (Proceedings, pp. 71, 400-401).

1941: *Elimination of fifth columnists in public schools.*—Action of convention: "That full support be given to agencies of government in eliminating actual fifth columnism in the public schools, but that every effort be made to protect the financial support of the schools and to defend the civil rights of loyal teachers and the freedoms which are essential to education in a democracy" (Proceedings, p. 474).

1942: *A. F. of L. rejects the proposed Anglo-Russian-American Trade-Union Committee.*—A. F. of L. convention, on recommendation of the executive council, rejected the invitation extended by Sir Walter Citrine on behalf of the British Trade-Union Congress to join with Soviet trade-unions in a joint commission to promote good will between the three countries and to facilitate military effort (Proceedings, pp. 239, 628).

1943: *Report on the rejection of the Anglo-Russian-American Trade-Union Conference.*—Detailed report was rendered to the convention on the meeting of the Anglo-American Trade-Union Committee and the rejection by the A. F. of L. of participation in the proposed conference with Soviet trade-unions (Proceedings, pp. 148, 568-569).

1944: *A. F. of L. refusal to participate in World Trade-Union Conference.*—The executive council reported and the convention approved the A. F. of L.'s refusal to participate in the World Trade-Union Conference called in London by Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades-Union Congress. The conference was subsequently cancelled (Proceedings, pp. 278-79, 632).

1946: *Vigorous anti-Communist policy adopted.*—The convention approved holding educational meetings to disseminate understanding among workers of Communist methods and purposes and of other methods for the elimination of communism in unions (Proceedings, p. 504). Adopted resolution calling for elimination of Communists from government service (*ibid.*, p. 595). Adopted strong

statement reaffirming A. F. of L.'s vigorous and unyielding opposition to communism and its subversive activities (*ibid.*, p. 553).

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Green, I take it your position in this matter is that you oppose the Communist doctrine, you believe that it is dangerous, but you do not agree with the methods that these two bills are using to combat that doctrine?

Mr. GREEN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, you think there is a good chance that if we proceed in this way, by outlawing the Communist Party, we might help the cause of communism rather than crush it, by doing that?

Mr. GREEN. Yes; I fear very much that would be the result.

Mr. NIXON. By making martyrs of the Communists and by driving them underground?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. And consequently you feel that opposition to these measures is justified on the ground that you oppose communism in fact?

Mr. GREEN. Human nature must be taken into account in considering important legislation. Human nature responds sympathetically to one who claims to be persecuted and who is made a martyr. Now, that may be the outcome of legislation outlawing the Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. I see.

Now, referring to the infiltration of Communists into the labor movement, do I understand you to say that as early as the 1920's the American Federation of Labor recognized the danger in that field?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir; and made a declaration in opposition to it.

Mr. NIXON. Could you comment generally as to whether or not Communists have succeeded, shall we say, to any substantial extent in their attempt to infiltrate labor unions in the country at the present time?

Mr. GREEN. I can speak for the American Federation of Labor. They have not succeeded in their attempt to infiltrate into the ranks of the Federation of Labor. That is due to the fact that we have been on guard, watching them carefully. There are sections in the constitutions of our directly affiliated Federal labor unions which prohibit Communists from being officers of the Federal unions; and our constitution provides that they cannot be delegates to the central bodies and State federations of labor; they cannot be delegates to the American Federation of Labor or convention, if we know that they are Communists.

Mr. NIXON. In that respect you, I gather, would not favor provisions within your own organization which would deny the right of membership in a union to a Communist?

Mr. GREEN. No; if they want to be members they can be members, but they can't serve as delegates in our American Federation of Labor unions, nor can they attend conventions as delegates.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, you do not want to deny the Communist the right to a job?

Mr. GREEN. No.

Mr. NIXON. But on the other hand you feel that the danger is in allowing them to get positions of power in your unions?

Mr. GREEN. That is it.

Mr. NIXON. Do you have any example that you might give this committee as to how the Communists have proceeded in attempting to gain power or gain office in a key union and how you have dealt with them?

Mr. GREEN. Well, a long time ago, I can't recall the year, but perhaps one of my assistants could give me the year, a noted Communist attempted to serve as a delegate at a historic convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held at Portland, Oreg. It was back in 1923. The delegate was a notorious Communist known generally throughout the country. His name was William Dunne, active in the affairs of the Communist Party. His right to sit as a delegate in the convention was challenged and after the case had been thoroughly discussed and he had been accorded the widest privilege to make his defense, the delegates to that historic convention unanimously denied him a seat in the convention. That is one instance.

Mr. NIXON. Then you do not agree with that method which is, apparently, used by some representatives of union labor, of allowing Communists to come into the organization for the purpose of expanding the organization because Communists, as we know, work hard, they are good organizers and will do anything for the "cause," you believe that the immediate gains that might result for an increased membership and increased influence by using Communist organizers and Communist workers are over-balanced by the harm that would be suffered by allowing them to get their foot in the door at all?

Mr. GREEN. Yes. We place principle above all other considerations, and we cannot tolerate the Communist ideology or Communist philosophy. It is destructive to those basic rights—freedom, liberty, and democracy. Now, we place them above all other considerations because, naturally, free trade-unions and the right to function as free trade-unions, are brought about because of the freedoms and rights that we enjoy. There is nothing that would influence us to tolerate Communists or communism in the ranks of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. NIXON. That is the reason that you have adopted provisions, legislative provisions, within your own organization to keep them out?

Mr. GREEN. That is right—

Mr. NIXON. To keep them out of positions of power.

Mr. GREEN. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And you haven't felt that by adopting those provisions that you are denying communists the very rights that you have discussed here that we might deny them by passing legislation on a national scale?

Mr. GREEN. That is right. We don't deny them the right to work and earn a living because that would be contrary to our basic position: Defense of freedom, liberty, and equal opportunity.

Mr. NIXON. I noticed your comment here, "with the official aid of our Department of State, the World Federation of Trade-Unions has been accorded status and recognition in the structure of the United Nations." Do you believe that the people in the Department of State who accorded that aid to the WFTU didn't know that it was a Communist-dominated organization?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am rather inclined to believe that they weren't acquainted with the real facts of the situation.

Mr. NIXON. Did you inform those officials of your position, as to what you felt about that organization?

Mr. GREEN. Well, those things happen before we know anything about it many times. For instance, recently a committee from the World Federation of Trade-Unions made application to our Government for the right to visit Japan, to meet with the representatives of labor in Japan. Now, on that committee was a known Communist from France, and an active Communist from Russia. Our information was that General MacArthur objected to the committee coming to Japan and denied them the right to come, because of their Communist make-up. The situation is bad enough in Japan without sending Communists from Russia and France to talk to labor in Japan. To our surprise, within a few days, or a few weeks, it was publicly announced that the War Department had accorded this committee the right to visit Japan. We protested it after it was done, but it then seemed to be too late. Now, there is a case that is outstanding, and why they should do that is beyond my understanding. God knows the situation in Japan is bad enough as it is.

Mr. NIXON. You stated that the recent Executive order of the President will help guard against infiltration of those disloyal to our Government into the executive branch and also the legislative and judiciary branches. Don't you think that probably it would be well for some investigation to be made of the officials responsible for encouraging the activity of this organization which you have indicated is a tool of the Communist International?

Mr. GREEN. I think a public service would be rendered by Congress making an inquiry into it.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, it does not seem probable that that organization could have received the blessing of the State Department unless some officials in the State Department had sympathies in that direction?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am making no charges because I haven't the facts; I don't know. I can't understand how it happened.

Mr. NIXON. But you do make the charge, at least, that the State Department has aided the organization and that the organization is, in your opinion, a tool of the Communist International?

Mr. GREEN. Well, to the extent I have made it in this statement.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Green, considering the case of an alien qualifying for citizenship through declaring allegiance to this Government and subsequently embraces communism, would it be your opinion that such an individual has sacrificed his right to citizenship?

Mr. GREEN. By publishing statements in the press?

Mr. VAIL. No. He is espousing the cause of communism and it is so proven.

Mr. GREEN. An individual employed in some Government department?

Mr. VAIL. No, not necessarily. Any individual, any alien who becomes a citizen, and then embraces communism, after having declared his allegiance to this Government, to this form of government, do you think that that individual has sacrificed his right of citizenship?

Mr. GREEN. Well, there is involved in that, Congressman, then the question of free speech and free press, and it is pretty difficult to im-

pose penalties even on an alien who becomes a citizen because he exercises his right of free speech or free press. You see, that is a very, very fundamental right, free speech and free press.

Mr. VAIL. You believe, it becomes inalienable immediately after he takes the oath of citizenship, notwithstanding the fact that it might be proven that he entertain the same ideas prior to his taking the oath of allegiance?

Mr. GREEN. It all depends, in my judgment, on what he says and what he advocates. If he advocates directly the overthrow of our Government by force, then I should think he would subject himself to revocation of his citizenship rights.

Mr. VAIL. As a Communist, doesn't he do that?

Mr. GREEN. The probabilities are that he would deny that and it would be hard to prove that he was advocating the overthrow of our Government by force.

Mr. VAIL. In the event of his admission, would you feel that that would be cause for cancellation of his citizenship and deportation?

Mr. GREEN. If it could be proven that he was advocating the overthrow of our Government by force, I think that would be a basis for revocation of citizenship.

Mr. VAIL. That is implied in the membership in the Communist Party, is it not?

Mr. GREEN. Well, they deny it.

Mr. VAIL. You have stated "communism can be combatted with equal force through a campaign of education. The American press, churches, schools, organized labor, citizen groups, all share in the responsibility to bring home forcefully to the average American the advantages and the benefits of our private enterprise system of our free institutions."

Don't you recognize the fact that those today are vehicles that are being used for the spread of communism?

Mr. GREEN. Unfortunately, that is true in some cases, but it is because many of them are deceived. Communist-front organizations work their way into the good graces of churches and church organizations and fraternal organizations, and other organizations.

Mr. VAIL. Take our schools, for example, Mr. Green. I don't believe that our college professors are easily fooled. Yet we find them, in many instances, advocating communism and teaching it in their classes.

Mr. GREEN. Well, you don't mean to say they advocate communism openly, but they do support and favor Communist philosophy and ideology?

Mr. VAIL. That is right. I don't believe that they teach communism openly.

Mr. GREEN. No, I don't think so.

Mr. VAIL. But they use a technique that establishes in the mind of the pupil a fertile field.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. For further progress along the road to communism.

Mr. GREEN. Well, that is what I mean by education, that we ought to develop a systematic plan of education designed to offset that. Now, that can be done through activities in the community, and in the cities and in the States and by the Federal Government. Just what the details of that plan are I am unable to go into just now, but we

endeavor to do it through our local organizations in order to offset attempts made by those who seek to deceive and impose the Communist philosophy upon our members unwittingly and unthinkingly.

Mr. VAIL. What action do you think should be taken with respect to preventing such insidious propaganda?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am speaking of the educational matter.

Mr. VAIL. Particularly education.

Mr. GREEN. I think, for instance, the work of education in the different cities, I think the boards of education ought to be alive to that, and it ought to be a part of their work to offset it, by presentation of facts, by education. The cities ought to engage in that, the States, and then the Federal Government as well, through our educational agencies.

Mr. VAIL. The privileges of free speech and freedom of the press are traditional in this country and they should be preserved, but we have seen certain of our traditions discarded one by one. For example, foreign entanglements, Presidential tenure. And it is your feeling, I assume, that from here in we should cling to the basic traditional American principles?

Mr. GREEN. Oh, yes, I think we should never sacrifice that, even to the least degree. That reminds me of a statement made by a great philosopher, "I don't believe what you say, but I will defend with my life your right to say it." That puts it in about the way that I have in mind. That puts it the best way I can think of.

Mr. VAIL. That is all, thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. I take it, Mr. Green, from your past record and experience and learning, that you have no doubt in your own mind as to the ultimate purpose and aims of the Communist movement in America to at some time or other change this form of government, by civil processes, perhaps, if possible, but in any event to change it?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. By violence, if necessary.

Mr. GREEN. That is my opinion of the aim and purpose of the Communist Party.

Mr. WOOD. The Communist movement in America?

Mr. GREEN. Yes; ultimately.

Mr. WOOD. Then, doesn't the person who subscribes to that doctrine and to those aims become a conspirator to do just exactly that thing and shouldn't he be made amenable to the same laws, same character of laws that say that a man who conspires with the murderer, or the rapist, or the robber, or the thief, to perpetrate a cancer upon the decent citizen, should receive punishment as does the actual perpetrator of the offense that he conspires with?

Mr. GREEN. Well, Congressman, if I follow my feelings, I would go one way, but if I follow my judgment I find myself going another way.

Mr. WOOD. You agree with me, I am sure, that we cannot have a free society controlled by law anywhere in the world unless we penalize those things that become cancerous against that society?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, I realize that, but we must punish criminals, and we must have statutes by which we can do it, but the trouble is how can you prove your case? They deny it.

Mr. WOOD. I am not so much concerned about that. We will get to that later.

Mr. GREEN. Oh.

Mr. WOOD. But I am trying to establish the theory of it in my own mind, and get your reaction to it. What greater crime can be committed against a free government than an advocacy to overthrow it by violence, if necessary?

Mr. GREEN. I don't know; of course, that is a capital crime in my judgment, as I think it is in yours, to attempt to overthrow the Government.

Mr. WOOD. Don't you agree that any person who conspires to do that thing—and we have just now agreed, I take it, that people who join into a conspiracy to overthrow the Government are conspirators?

Mr. GREEN. Yes. Of course, it is a matter of method, as to how to deal with such people. It is a question of ways and means.

Mr. WOOD. As I understand it, you are suggesting as an alternative to the legislation proposed here that that result be accomplished by taking them into our confidence and trying to show them the error of their ways and making good citizens out of them, democratic citizens that believe in the democratic precepts of government?

Mr. GREEN. No; it is my judgment that we ought to, those that are opposed to communism, unite solidly in opposition to it, to mobilize their full political and moral strength in opposition to communism anywhere or any place, and no matter how it shows itself. Now, the question, however, of punishing people, by law, by statute—

Mr. WOOD. That is the only way you can punish them in America, isn't it, by statute?

Mr. GREEN. But here the Communist Party in America denies, absolutely denies, and all associated with the Communist Party, that they are engaged in an attempt to overthrow the Government.

Mr. WOOD. I understand, but you and I have agreed that that isn't so.

Mr. GREEN. No. I say that their objective, their final objective is that, but the realization of that objective is a long way in the future.

Mr. WOOD. It makes no difference whether it is next year or next century. This Government has existed for more than 150 years and it has cost the blood of countless thousands of patriotic citizens to bring it up to its present high state among the leadership of the world. I am hoping and praying that it is a perpetual organization. I for one am not willing to sit calmly by and see any organization come into its midst with the avowed purpose, whether it is next year or next century, of overthrowing it, and I can conceive of no higher crime against that government of ours than that which is now being taught and advocated by this totalitarian system of government that is amongst us. I gather from your statement that you feel that we would be enhancing the value of their activities by undertaking to penalize them in this way and accordingly that we would be weakening our own democratic concepts and institutions by doing just that thing.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. WOOD. Yet we penalize the murderer and all those who conspire with him; we penalize every man who commits a crime against another citizen or who advocates a cancerous growth against the law,

and all those who conspire with him. What I want to find out from you is just what is the difference.

Mr. GREEN. I think there is a difference, and as evidence of their claim that they are not seeking to destroy our Government by force, although we believe they are, but as evidence of the claim that they are not doing that, is the fact that they are in politics, and they are seeking, as they claim, to change our economic policies by winning in the elections. Well, of course, we have conflicting parties. Those who believe in one sort of political philosophy belong to one party, and those who believe with another one are in another party. Now, their claim is that it must be done through peaceful means and peaceful procedure.

Mr. WOOD. I understand that, Mr. Green.

Mr. GREEN. How are you going to punish them?

Mr. WOOD. You and I agree that that isn't so. The polecat might deny that he had an offensive odor, but denial doesn't make it true.

Mr. GREEN. It may not be so, Mr. Congressman; it may not.

Mr. WOOD. I dare say you have never heard of a murderer going to trial that didn't deny that he intended to commit the crime of murder, but that doesn't make it so. As I see it, we are dealing here with a condition.

Mr. GREEN. Well, you still believe that a man charged with the commission of a crime must be given a fair trial before a court of justice?

Mr. WOOD. Certainly.

Mr. GREEN. How are you going to convict him unless you have the evidence?

Mr. WOOD. That is a matter for the process of the courts. We have first got to have a law before we can have enforcement of it.

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am trying to deal with it in a realistic way.

Mr. WOOD. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Peterson.

Mr. PETERSON. Mr. Green, referring back to the question asked by Mr. Vail a few minutes ago with reference to aliens who come into this country and who shortly after they come into this country become members of the Communist Party or other parties that might advocate the overthrow of the Government by violence, do you have any solution of that? For instance, a man comes in and swears that he is not a member of any organization advocating the overthrow of the Government by violence, becomes a citizen, and within a reasonably short time he does become active in an association that is advocating the overthrow of the Government. Do you think we should pass a law to cover such a situation?

Mr. GREEN. You mean deal with his citizenship?

Mr. PETERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am not sure you could do that, Congressman. I would have to give that more thought.

Mr. PETERSON. Don't you think we ought to have a probational period of citizenship? In other words, haven't we been too lenient in taking people and making them citizens, and shouldn't we just select the best of those who are to be citizens of this country?

Mr. GREEN. That means a change in our immigration statutes.

Mr. PETERSON. That is right. In other words, have a probational period. You stayed here 21 years before you voted, and I stayed here 21 years before I voted. Don't you think they should have a

period in which the citizenship can be canceled if the man doesn't stand out?

Mr. GREEN. Well—

Mr. PETERSON. Does things that are suspicious and it looks like he is trying to run with the wrong crowd?

Mr. GREEN. There might be some room there for amendments to our immigration statutes which would deal with that question in a more effective way.

Mr. PETERSON. One other thing. Don't you think probably that we could amend the law with reference to treason? The Supreme Court, you will recall, turned loose one man, who came into this country and persons helped him contact friends here and even kept his money, the Supreme Court holding that that did not come within the purview of the treason statutes—which requires of course two witnesses or confession in open court—and pointed out that there is a borderline of treasonable action against the government wherein we have not taken legislative action. Don't you think we could reach some of these things, with reference to the broadening of what would actually be treason, without getting as far as we did in the old Alien Sedition laws?

Mr. GREEN. I am not sure about that. I don't believe that is the purpose of the two bills under consideration here, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. PETERSON. I understand, but I say that can be taken care of by amendment. The bills can be amended.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON. Now, delegates to the convention cannot be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. GREEN. No.

Mr. PETERSON. They cannot hold office in the locals?

Mr. GREEN. No.

Mr. PETERSON. That is my understanding, but I wanted to clear that up for the record.

The policy of the American Federation of Labor for a long period of time has been to zealously keep Communists from infiltrating and dominating your organization; isn't that right?

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir. We led in that.

Mr. PETERSON. Even as far back as the days of Samuel Gompers.

Mr. GREEN. We led in that, yes.

Mr. PETERSON. He sounded, in one of his great Labor Day speeches, a warning, without specifically mentioning the party.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON. A warning against those who would try to come in and infiltrate into the ranks of labor and who had no interest in the benefits of the workers but were doing it for their own selfish ends?

Mr. GREEN. That is right.

Mr. PETERSON. I believe he sounded that call years ago.

Mr. GREEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PETERSON. I thank you very much.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Bonner—

Mr. PETERSON. One other question, developing the situation with reference to communistic activity.

I believe Mr. Foster, in the evidence here, showed rather strongly that he had almost gone to the point of admitting that they advocated

violence in some instances; and then there has been testimony that in the Communist schools they taught them how to create mass hysteria, how to make road blocks, how to do all those sort of things, and how to take charge of plants, and that sort of thing.

In that particular instance, would you see anything wrong in amending this bill so as to definitely make it illegal to belong to organizations which advocate the actual overthrow of the government, other than by constitutional means?

MR. GREEN. Well, I don't think anyone could object to a general provision which would make it illegal to advocate the overthrow of the government by violence or in any other way except through constitutional means.

MR. PETERSON. I see. That was the point I was trying to develop.

Of course, you realize in many instances in crime we have to prove by circumstances, rather than by direct evidence, too, don't you?

MR. GREEN. Yes.

MR. PETERSON. All right.

MR. BONNER. Mr. Green, I was interested, on page 4—World Federation of Trade Unions—your emphatic stand in opposition to that group; that is correct, isn't it?

MR. GREEN. World Federation of Trade Unions, yes.

MR. BONNER. Is there any connection between the World Federation of Trade Unions and the philosophy of the World Federation of Nations?

MR. GREEN. None that I know of. I don't think there is any. I have no information that there is any relationship between those two, but in the World Federation of Trade Unions the entire membership of the trade unions, which in Russia are controlled by the Soviet Government, is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, and of course you know that membership is regimented. It is dominated by the Government. We know that, instead of the representatives of these 15 or 20 million regimented members of what they call organized labor in Russia being free to speak for themselves, being classified as free democratic trade-unions, they are nothing more than a part of the Russian Government and they speak for the Russian Government. They get their instructions from the Russian Government. They must not violate those instructions. They must carry them out.

Now, with 20,000,000 in that organization, it is a tremendous force. We know that no 20,000,000 Russians were ever organized freely into a free trade-union, on a democratic basis.

Now, one of their representatives is on this committee, to go to Japan. Then, you know of the growth of communism in France, don't you, since the war?

MR. BONNER. Yes.

MR. GREEN. A representative of the so-called labor movement in France is on that committee, and he is a known Communist.

There is another one or two, we think are Communists, that are on the committee. They are over in Japan now, and they are there because the Government of the United States gave them a visa to go there.

MR. BONNER. I heard you say all that before, but the ultimate aim and end of the World Federation of Trade Unions is a one world trade-union, isn't it; a one world labor group, isn't it?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I think that is it. Of course, I am not——

Mr. BONNER. Isn't that the fact?

Mr. GREEN. I am not so familiar——

Mr. BONNER. Have one great trade-union that covers the world, isn't that their ultimate aim?

Mr. GREEN. I think that is a part of their economic philosophy. I am not sure.

Mr. BONNER. All right.

The World Federation of Nations is all the nations?

Mr. GREEN. You mean what they call "one world"?

Mr. BONNER. Well, it is known and advocated by certain people, leaders and speakers, as a world federation of nations.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. Now, isn't their idea and philosophy and ultimate aim identical with the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I should think so. That is what this is for. That is for the purpose of blending into this World Federation of Trade Unions all the organized labor units in the different countries.

Mr. BONNER. Then, your answer is that there is a connection between the World Federation of Trade Unions and the World Federation of Nations, both having the same ultimate end?

Mr. GREEN. Of course, I couldn't say, because I haven't the information. Congressman. I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. What is your opinion?

Mr. GREEN. But——

Mr. BONNER. What is your opinion on that?

Mr. GREEN. The form of organization is similar: The one, the World Federation of Nations; and the other, the World Federation of Trade Unions. There is a similarity.

Mr. BONNER. Well, if we went into a World Federation of Nations, wouldn't the same policy of a Communist in the World Federation of Nations be similar and identical, and working to the same end that it would be and is, in the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. GREEN. Well, they would attempt, I imagine, to bring about the acceptance of the Communist philosophy in the nations of the world.

Mr. BONNER. If we went into them as a nation, you say the ultimate end then would be to bring about the communistic philosophy? Is that what you said?

Mr. GREEN. I said, I suppose there would be a fight on the part of the Communists and their sympathizers to bring about the acceptance of the Communist philosophy by the nations of the world.

Now——

Mr. BONNER. In the world Federation of Nations, the ultimate end, then, of the great Russian nation and this Nation, which are the two nations of the world today—the prevailing influence of the Russian nation would be to bring about communism, to have communism predominate, in the World Federation of Nations?

Mr. GREEN. I think that is the aim and purpose of Russia and her satellites.

Mr. BONNER. That is the only way that Russia would go into a World Federation of Nations, isn't it?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I couldn't answer that.

Mr. BONNER. Well, what is your opinion? I know you can't answer.

Mr. GREEN. My opinion is that she would be moved by that consideration: that I am going in here for the purpose of trying to bring about the acceptance of my philosophy by all the nations of the world.

That is the clash that is going on now, at every meeting of the representatives of the Allies and Russia.

Mr. BONNER. Then—

Mr. GREEN. That is evident.

Mr. BONNER. What would be your advice, pro or con, with respect to a World Federation of Nations?

Mr. GREEN. Well, do you mean a World Federation of Nations, separate from the United Nations?

Mr. BONNER. Nations, governments—one government, one world.

Mr. GREEN. Separated from the United Nations?

Mr. BONNER. That is the philosophy that you have heard preached.

Mr. GREEN. We are for the United Nations. We want you to know that.

Mr. BONNER. I am not questioning that.

Mr. GREEN. I don't want you to get mixed upon that. We are for the United Nations.

Mr. BONNER. I understand that.

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. I understand where you stand, but I want your opinion as to the connection between the World Federation of Nations and the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. GREEN. I don't know.

Mr. BONNER. What is your opinion?

Mr. GREEN. I can't answer that. I don't know what the connection is. I don't think there is any at the present time.

Mr. BONNER. All right, you just said it.

Mr. GREEN. That is my opinion.

Mr. BONNER. Now, would you advocate a world federation of nations?

Mr. GREEN. I don't want my answer to be misunderstood here. We favor the United Nations, as set up.

Mr. BONNER. I do, too.

Mr. GREEN. Do you?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. Then we are in accord.

Mr. BONNER. Then we are in accord, yes, but this other movement that is advocated—

Mr. GREEN. The United Nations?

Mr. BONNER. The United Nations is entirely different from this.

Mr. GREEN. Well, where is this United Nations Organization established?

Mr. BONNER. The World Federation of Nations, you mean?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. You heard it written about.

Mr. GREEN. It hasn't been created, has it?

Mr. BONNER. What?

Mr. GREEN. It hasn't been created, has it?

Mr. BONNER. No; it hasn't been created, but it is advocated.

Mr. GREEN. Someone advocated it?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. I have noticed organizations that were formed for the purpose of creating what they call one world.

Mr. BONNER. Well, it is the same thing.

Mr. GREEN. Is that it?

Mr. BONNER. That is it.

Mr. GREEN. We would refuse to have anything to do with that.

Mr. BONNER. The answer is that you would refuse to have anything to do with it?

Mr. GREEN. So far as I know at the present time, yes.

Mr. BONNER. Which is the same thing as the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. GREEN. Oh, there is a little difference there, I think, because—

Mr. BONNER. Well, if you came into a World Federation, then you would have one World Federation of Trade Unions, would you not?

Mr. GREEN. We arrived at the conclusion, after studying the set-up of the World Federation of Trade Unions, that the American Federation of Labor would have nothing whatsoever to do with it. We have been asked and invited to become a part of it, but we have positively refused because we will not subject our membership to the domination of the Communist philosophy and ideology.

Mr. BONNER. Then, as a representative of the American Federation of Labor, you would have nothing whatever to do with this World Federation of Nations, is that it?

Mr. GREEN. I have never—

Mr. BONNER. Your answer would be yes or no?

Mr. GREEN. I know nothing about that. I don't understand it.

Mr. BONNER. Well, didn't you know that certain State legislatures throughout the United States had passed resolutions adopting and advocating this program?

Mr. GREEN. The International Federation of Nations?

Mr. BONNER. Nations, yes.

Mr. GREEN. Well, I have followed these declarations by those who were supporting one world, and by other organizations.

Mr. BONNER. Well, it is all the same thing.

Mr. GREEN. But we have never been invited to have anything to do with them and we will not have anything to do with them. You can accept that as an answer to your question, if you wish.

Mr. BONNER. All right, that is all I want.

Now, is this World Federation of Trade Unions growing in America?

Mr. GREEN. Is it what?

Mr. BONNER. Is it making any headway in America, this World Federation of Trade Unions? Is it making any headway in America?

Mr. GREEN. Well, there is an organization here that is affiliated with it.

Mr. BONNER. Do they have—I am not as familiar with the labor set-up as some other people, I am sympathetic to labor organizations—any, what you call, locals, and then from the locals go into United States organization?

Mr. GREEN. There is a group, one national organization here in the United States, that is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, but the American Federation of Labor is not.

Mr. BONNER. What I am trying to get your answer on is—we have the A. F. of L., and the CIO. Now, is this group trying to grow so as to be a competitive organization to yours or the other, here in the United States?

Mr. GREEN. No, not that I know of.

Mr. BONNER. Their membership, then, either comes into the CIO or the A. F. of L.?

Mr. GREEN. The CIO is affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

Mr. BONNER. And you are not, are you?

Mr. GREEN. We are not.

Mr. BONNER. What trade union is predominant in Panama, that is, the Government area—call it the Panama Canal Zone?

Mr. GREEN. In the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. BONNER. No. What trade union is predominant in the Panama Canal Zone? Is it the A. F. of L. or the CIO?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I am not sure. We are there, though, and have been there for years.

Mr. BONNER. And the CIO is there?

Mr. GREEN. Our organization has been functioning in the Canal Zone, oh, ever since the Canal was built.

Mr. BONNER. Now, is this World Federation of Trade Unions trying to organize employees in the Canal Zone?

Mr. GREEN. No.

Mr. BONNER. No?

Mr. GREEN. No. It doesn't engage in local organization, or national organization.

Mr. BONNER. Is any other trade union trying to organize the employees in the Canal Zone?

Mr. GREEN. It is a federation of trade unions, already established in different countries.

Mr. BONNER. Yes, but is there any other union, besides yours and the CIO, trying to organize the employees in the Canal Zone?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. What is it? What is the name of it?

Mr. GREEN. The CIO is engaged in organizing there. I don't know of anyone else.

Mr. BONNER. I asked you the question if there were any other?

Mr. GREEN. I know of no other organizations.

Mr. BONNER. Any labor movement in the Canal Zone, other than the A. F. of L. or the CIO?

Mr. GREEN. I don't know of any. There may be some independent union.

Mr. BONNER. Well, you would know, if they were?

Mr. GREEN. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON. Some of the railroad brotherhoods have their locals there.

Mr. BONNER. I am not talking about that. I am talking about any trade union or labor organization that would be affiliated or similar to this World Federation of Trade Unions. You say there isn't?

Mr. GREEN. You were asking me about——

Mr. BONNER. You said there was not.

Mr. GREEN. In the Canal Zone?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. GREEN. I don't know of any organization there, except the A. F. of L., the CIO, and maybe an independent one.

Mr. BONNER. What would be the independent one?

Mr. GREEN. Just an organization formed of the local workers there.

Mr. BONNER. The local group?

Mr. GREEN. A local independent group.

Mr. BONNER. And they are not led, influenced, or directed by any over-all organization off somewhere else?

Mr. GREEN. No, not at all.

Mr. BONNER. That is all.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Green, you said a while ago that the American working people had reached the highest standard of living in the world. I am very sure the committee agrees with the Chair in his stating that you and your organization have made a great contribution to that very happy status.

To further Mr. Bonner's question, there are some 17,000 members of the CIO in the Panama Cana Zone. Two men known to be affiliated with various Communist front organizations are highly influential in that union. Would it be your opinion, Mr. Green, in the event of military difficulties between Russia and America, that that would constitute a highly dangerous situation for America?

Mr. GREEN. Well, it might.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are there any further questions?

Mr. NIXON. No.

Mr. VAIL. Yes.

Mr. VAIL. I think we are agreed that today we are in a critical stage in world affairs. Just yesterday Ambassador Bullitt testified to the effect that if Russia were in possession of the atomic bomb, it would already have been dropped on an important sector of the United States. That being the situation, don't you feel that it is well to have our house in order, from the standpoint of loyalties? Don't you believe that this investigation is timely?

Mr. GREEN. Well, I believe the investigation is, yes. I think it is well to go into it.

Mr. VAIL. And, in your opinion, do you feel, from your knowledge of the labor situation, that communism has sufficiently impregnated any labor organizations to an extent that would effectively impede production, in the event of war?

Mr. GREEN. No; I don't think so. It is my opinion, in the event of war, that production in America would reach the same high standard that it reached during the last World War. That is my opinion.

Mr. VAIL. That is all. Thank you.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Green, on behalf of the Un-American Activities Committee, I wish to thank you for your very scholarly and thorough analysis of the problem before the committee.

Thank you, sir, for coming here.

Mr. GREEN. Thank you, and members of the committee, for your courtesy.

Mr. McDOWELL. The Chair desires to announce and read into the record at this point a telegram from Cecil B. De Mille, of California.

(The telegram referred to is as follows:)

I regret that my schedule here prevents my appearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities this week, but wish to state for the record my endorsement of the principles of President Truman's Executive Order of March 22 setting up standards of loyalty for Federal employees. I hope that your committee and the Congress will implement this order with appropriate legislation extending its provisions to the other branches of government. The standards set up by the President could well be applied by the governments of the several States, by schools, labor unions, civic organizations, and by employers in nationally vital industry, especially industries that mold public thought. Urge full political freedom for all citizens, including their right to advocate peaceful constitutional governmental change, but our laws should be strengthened to make it impossible for any foreign or native group to plot the overthrow of our Government under the cloak of lawful political activity. I definitely believe the Communist Party is organized in this country for that purpose. In the past few years we have seen Communists burrow in and weaken country after country to the point of collapse. We look to this Congress to protect America from this or any other insidious termite attack from within.

CECIL B. DE MILLE.

The Chair also wishes to announce that at 2:30 this afternoon, Ray Sawyer, the national commander of the AMVETS of World War II, will testify.

Testimony tomorrow: At 10:30 o'clock, Dr. Emerson Schmidt, of the United States Chamber of Commerce;

At 11:30, Mr. Eugene Dennis, the general secretary of the Communist Party of America;

At 2:30, Senator Jack B. Tenney, of Sacramento, Calif.; and at 3:30, Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge, president general of the DAR.

The committee will rise until 2:30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 2:30 p. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. John McDowell and Hon. John E. Rankin.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that this is a continuation of the morning session, and present now are Mr. McDowell, Mr. Rankin, and Mr. Thomas.

The Chair wishes to announce that at the hearing tomorrow we will adhere to the following schedule:

At 10:30 a. m., Dr. Emerson Schmidt, of the United States Chamber of Commerce;

11:30 a. m., Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party;

At 2:30 p. m., State Senator Jack B. Tenney, of California; and

At 3:30 p. m., Mrs. Julius Talmadge, president of the DAR.

This afternoon we will have a statement from Mr. Allen P. Solada, who is now executive director of the American Veterans of World War II.

Mr. Ray Sawyer, the national commander, will not be with us because of a previous engagement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Solada will you be sworn, please.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Solada, have you a statement?

Mr. SOLADA. Yes; I have a statment.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to read that statement before we ask you questions?

Mr. SOLADA. Yes.

TESTIMONY OF ALLEN P. SOLADA

Mr. SOLADA. My name is Allen P. Solada. I am national executive director of the AMVETS.

The AMVETS is the infant organization of the veterans groups. We have 1,142 posts, located in the 48 States and the District of Columbia.

Mr. RANKIN. Before you start reading your statement, AMVETS is the American Veterans of World War II?

Mr. SOLADA. AMVETS is the American Veterans of World War II; yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And you don't take in anyone except veterans?

Mr. SOLADA. No one but honorably discharged veterans who have served in active duty.

Mr. RANKIN. I see. That is all.

Mr. SOLADA. "Eternal vigilance" is a watchword of AMVETS. At its first national convention, in October of 1945, at Chicago, the organization adopted a code of principles, one of the most important of which is the following:

We shall resist by whatever means are reasonably necessary any attempts by enemies from within or without to undermine or destroy the democratic principles upon which this Nation is founded. These principles must be maintained inviolate. Only by eternal vigilance on the part of all Americans can this, our heritage, be preserved for ourselves and posterity.

Freedom of thought and political action are the foundation of our Government, and orderly processes for which we have a great deal of respect were established to implement them. We believe that if important changes need be made in that Government they should be made by the great majority of the people, and not by a minor dissident element strenuously clamoring to sound like a majority.

For what we consider very good reasons, Communists or Communist sympathizers are not admitted to membership in AMVETS.

Article IV of the national constitution of AMVETS provides, in part:

No person who is a member of, or who advocates the principles of, any organization believing in, or working for, the overthrow of the United States Government by force, and no person who refuses to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States, shall be privileged to become, or continue to be, a member of this organization.

Furthermore, article V of the national bylaws provides:

Hereafter all AMVETS shall, prior to their acceptance as members, pledge allegiance to the United States of America and its Constitution, and certify that they have read or have had read to them the AMVETS declaration of principles, and that they accept and subscribe to the same, and they shall not advocate or belong to any group or organization advocating the overthrow of the United States Government by force.

Resolutions were adopted at our recent convention "urging the Congress to continue the fight against all un-American groups and organizations to the end that freemen may live in a free nation in peace" and "denouncing any and all acts, by whomever done, that tend to weaken loyalty, to incite treason or sedition, or in any manner to impair the stability and permanency of free institutions."

Living in a community of comparative ease and affluence, we are prone to disregard the insidious dangers that surround us.

We ask Americans and their Government to be realistic and face the truth. We demand who could unbiasedly, with any knowledge of the Communist movement in the world, doubt that the Communist Party in the United States is a fifth column of an alien nation, designed to overthrow our Government.

Constitutional government is established to define specified rights and privileges within the States. If our Government needs any change, let it be done by properly constituted means, not by subversion and deceit. The question becomes whether we shall abide by the rich wisdom of our fathers. Shall we be ruled by law, and by the considerate judgment of our citizens, or will it be at the caprice of some individual or group, who may use any vicious means to acquire power and maintain it?

The legality of the Communist Party in the United States is questioned because it is notoriously the cardinal principle of Russian communism to operate by deceit and subterfuge. We attack the Communist Party as constituting a conspiracy against the American way of life and the United States Government. There are many honest-thinking Americans far removed from the side of communism who will oppose outlawing of the Communist Party. They will oppose this unprecedented step from the viewpoint that it is undemocratic, that it is unworthy of the hard-won American way of life.

But today we cannot debate democracy. We must defend democracy. Inasmuch as one of the avowed purposes of the Communist Party is to overthrow the American Government, and, thereby, democracy, we believe the Communist Party should be outlawed in the United States.

That is the end of the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Solada, that is a very good statement. Now, if you don't mind, the committee members will ask whatever questions they may have. Mr. Rankin, do you have any questions?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Solada, is your organization willing to join the other patriotic organizations in this country in their efforts to drive subversive elements from the Federal pay roll, from the State pay rolls, and from the radio and the moving-picture industries?

Mr. SOLADA. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. And also from our educational institutions?

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir; we are.

Mr. RANKIN. This last proposition is very important, for the reason that in Communist countries they are short of brains and therefore they try to get hold of all the scientists they can and put them up on the pedestal by making them, we will say, commissars. We have a few people in this country who are overeducated and undertrained; that is, educated beyond their capacities, probably. They have organized them into a Communist-front organization and made them think that

in a Communist country they would be commissars; in other words, that they would have a preferred status; and they are running around over the country using this kind of argument, that we must get rid of the United States. That is the exact language of their statements.

Now, would your organization be willing to join in a movement to ferret out those individuals?

Mr. SOLADA. We would, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And get them out of the educational institutions of America.

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. We have a large number of servicemen, untold thousands of them, now attending college. These individuals, although they may be sent there to teach astronomy or mathematics or history, manage to go beyond their scope of authority and deliver lectures berating and belittling the Government of the United States.

A suggestion was made, I believe by the American Legion yesterday, that the Federal Government withhold these funds from all institutions having such subversive professors on their pay roll. Would you go along with that?

Mr. SOLADA. Emphasizing the subversive parts.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. SOLADA. In other words, if it is subversive, do away with it entirely.

Mr. RANKIN. In other words, if a professor is advocating openly to abolish the United States Government—

Mr. SOLADA. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Or advocating any other subversive activity, then your organization would go along and help purge our educational institutions.

Mr. SOLADA. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. You veterans' organizations—I was chairman as you know, probably, of the Veterans' Committee for 16 years and I have taken more punishment for my support of veterans' legislation than probably any other Member of Congress who ever served in the Congress of the United States. I think today this element we are talking about are doing our servicemen more harm than any other influence that I know of. Your organization which, as you say here, is purely an American organization, admits nobody who is even tinged with communism?

Mr. SOLADA. That is right.

Mr. RANKIN. Or with nazism or with fascism or any other un-Americanism.

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Your organization, and the other veterans' organizations, such as the DAV's and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion, and also the Daughters of the American Revolution, can do more to help save this country from that kind of propaganda and that kind of evil influence than even the Congress of the United States can do, and I am delighted to know that your organization assumes that position.

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. That attitude.

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Because we are coming to a show-down.

Mr. SOLADA. Naturally, I don't want to inject my own personal opinions, so when I speak I am speaking of the intent of our resolutions and the mandates of our convention.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. SOLADA. Which I think have been very clear in that respect.

Mr. RANKIN. I think so; yes.

Now, you have heard about outlawing the Communist Party. What we are trying to do is to destroy the influence of communism on our American way of life, because it is dedicated to the overthrow of this Government and to the destruction of the American way of life. They get out and talk about the capitalist system. You and I would think, if we hadn't been informed on it, that they were talking about multi-millionaires, but what they are talking about is the right to own property, to own your land, your home, your factory, your farm, your store, your filling station; in other words, to make every individual a slave of the state. That means a slave of a bunch of commissars, as there are in all Communist countries today.

In other words, we have come to a definite show-down, it seems to me, between oriental communism and western civilization, and it is going to require the patriotic efforts of all American organizations and all American individuals to turn back this tide of fanaticism that is creeping in and attempting to undermine and destroy not only our Government but our American way of life, and at the same time destroy the religious beliefs, the faith of our children and our children's children.

I know your statement is short, but it tells a great story, and I, for one, am delighted to know that you take that position.

Mr. SOLADA. Thank you, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I congratulate you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. The gentleman from Mississippi forgot the Daughters of the Confederacy.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes. I will take the Daughters of the Confederacy, and I will take the Daughters of the Grand Army of the Republic.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Solada, your organization takes no Communists. I assume you know of no Communists in the AMVETS?

Mr. SOLADA. We know of no Communists, and if we would know it, we would immediately ask for their dismissal.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you know, or would you care to make an observation, of any organization that does accept Communists in an amount sufficient that they may influence the organization?

Mr. SOLADA. To my own knowledge, I know of no organization that does accept Communists. There is one organization that has the reputation for accepting Communists. That is an organization that has a name very similar to ours.

Mr. McDOWELL. What is the name?

Mr. SOLADA. The American Veterans Committee, an organization that, because of the similarity of names, has created a great deal of trouble for us. We, every day, must deny the fact that we are not

a Communist organization. But, as I say, I would have no personal evidence that there are Communists in the AVC.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Solada, how many members do you have?

Mr. SOLADA. We have approximately 113,000.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are veterans of World War II?

Mr. SOLADA. World War II exclusively; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Veterans who have seen service at the fighting fronts, as well as at home?

Mr. SOLADA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many posts do you have, all told?

Mr. SOLADA. We have 1,142 posts.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to make this observation: I can recall back 25 years ago when I was a veteran, when I was joining the American Legion. I can recall now my two sons, one of whom was in the Air Corps out in the Pacific, and one in the parachute troops in Europe. As a result of those associations, I naturally have come in contact with many veterans, both of World War I and World War II, and I have come to this conclusion, that the largest task of veterans' organizations and of individual veterans today and in the future will be to protect this country from within as well as from without.

You have two jobs, two important jobs, aside from aiding one another. The first is to be ever vigilant, and the second, to carry on a program of education. You know what you fought for, but you must know what you are going to fight for in the future, and you can preserve this country more than any other group of people can because you know the seriousness of it more than we old-timers do. I hope that your organization will grow and that the veterans of World War II will carry on in such a manner that we will never have to have these kind of hearings. There will be no necessity for them. I hope you will protect the country so that we won't have to have exposé of un-American termites, and that sort of thing.

I, as chairman of this committee, just want to leave that little message with you and through you to all the veterans of World War II.

Are there any other questions?

Mr. RANKIN. Let me say this to you: It has always been the veterans of this country that have protected it in times of crisis. After the War Between the States, it was the Civil War veterans of the Northern States and the Civil War veterans of the Southern States that kept down lawlessness. A thing like this couldn't have crept in, in those days. You couldn't have gotten a Communist foothold in any State in the Union 10 years after the War Between the States. And after the last war, it was the veterans' organizations—the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the DAV—that turned their efforts, successful efforts, toward stamping out communism in this country.

The veterans of this war, with their assistance and their weight, can save this country from the threats that now hang over us.

Now, were you here yesterday and did you hear the testimony of Mr. Bullitt?

Mr. SOLADA. No, I wasn't here yesterday.

Mr. RANKIN. I hope you will read the testimony of Mr. Bullitt, because it was alarming.

Mr. SOLADA. I will, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you have any other statement to make?

Mr. SOLADA. No.

Mr. RANKIN. If so, we will be glad to hear you.

I hope you get your charter right away.

Mr. SOLADA. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Solada.

I want to make one more announcement before we adjourn, and that is that J. Edgar Hoover will be here tomorrow and testify at 3:45.

The committee stands adjourned.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, and Hon. J. Hardin Peterson.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair would also like to make this statement: This is going to be a very busy day for this committee. We have five witnesses. The quarters here seem to be a little cramped so I suggest that everybody be as careful as possible to make as little noise as possible so that we can hear each witness; and I also suggest to the committee members that we not ask too many questions of any one witness in order that we may conclude the testimony of all the witnesses scheduled for today.

The first witness is Dr. Schmidt, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Dr. Schmidt, be sworn, please.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have any questions?

TESTIMONY OF DR. EMERSON SCHMIDT, SECRETARY, COMMITTEE ON SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM, CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. STRIPLING. Dr. Schmidt, will you state your full name for the record, please?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Emerson P. Schmidt.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are here as a representative of the Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. SCHMIDT. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have a prepared statement, Dr. Schmidt?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes, sir. I think it is on the desks of the members of the committee.

Mr. STRIPLING. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that he read his statement at this time, with questions to follow.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Dr. SCHMIDT. An anti-Communist program :

The opportunity to present our views on the problems of Communist infiltration and activities is appreciated.

The Chamber has watched closely the work of the Committee on Un-American Activities and we have to commend the chairman and the members of this committee for their statesmanlike approach to this problem. We are especially glad to note that the committee is building up an intelligent staff of competent people. We hope that you will have sufficient personnel to do the job which confronts you and your country.

This work should be closely coordinated with the work of several other committees since we are not confronted merely with a domestic problem but also with intricate problems of high international policy.

The Chamber of Commerce started an investigation of the problem in 1945 and we have now published three reports :

1. Communist Infiltration in the United States, 40 pages.
2. Communists Within the Government, 60 pages.
3. Communists Within the Labor Movement, 55 pages.

These reports were released at intervals in the past 5 months; yet they have attained a combined circulation of over three-quarters of a million copies and, Mr. Chairman, we shall be glad to have these three reports made part of the record of these hearings, if in your judgment any useful purpose will be served thereby.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection the reports referred to will be inserted at this point.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Its Nature and How To Combat It

IN THE MODERN WORLD, unsettled by the greatest wars and depressions in history, new groups come into power, unproven economic and political systems come into being, and traditional standards and customs often give way to chaos and ferment.

The first World War produced its brood of problems, not the least of which was the advent of Communism, Fascism and Nazism. The conflicts within and among these power systems in turn plunged us into another world war. The world writhed in agony, because men made political and economic mistakes.

After the fighting officially ceased in Europe and Asia in 1945, political ferment once again became the order of the day. Instead of the iron Statism of Germany and Italy during the thirties we now have two types of collectivism competing for favor in disturbed lands. The Soviet Union is evangelizing its creed of Communism in the nations which it controls. It is spending huge sums in propaganda efforts throughout the world. Many of our citizens are its agents and sponsors, wittingly, and some unwittingly.

On the other hand, many nations outside the Soviet sphere are embracing the Socialist variety of collectivism which may be just as dangerous as Communism for freedom, religion and economic progress. England and France are in the vanguard in this movement, but undoubtedly they will have followers.

Even if the American citizen thinks that he is not yet directly affected by these movements, he can not afford to be indifferent

toward them. Men do not think in a vacuum. Consciously or unconsciously they are influenced by their environment. Accordingly, it behooves us to make a fair examination of the new collectivism. Only in this way can we intelligently choose our own political and economic future.

This brochure makes an accurate and dispassionate appraisal of the new world trends, including the infiltration here among us. It endeavors to study their implications for the United States. With clear understanding, the way will be paved for enlightened action.

The Worship of the State

IN the agony and chaos of recent years, we detect two recurrent themes. The first is the worship of the State. The second, and correlative theme, is the denial of the rights of the individual. As the State takes over, the individual must give way. The absolute State reached its malign perfection under Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. Under these regimes the State was all, the individual nothing. On the other hand, denial of the basic rights of man has existed, even where the evil tree of Statism has not taken root. Thus, in our own land we have movements of organized private power, intolerance and hatred. The Ku Klux Klan, the persecution of racial, religious, and national minorities, and even outright anti-democratic movements have had at least limited sway at different times in parts of the United States. Our democracy is great, but it is not perfect.

In analyzing these trends from the viewpoint of American policy, a student finds that their impact and importance vary considerably. Thus, Socialism is not a strongly organized movement here, although step by step we too may become victims of this form of collectivism. Its importance in some parts of Europe is great. Fascism and Nazism lost their effectiveness

with the defeat of the Axis in the Second World War although the idea may not be dead.

Only in one of the cases portrayed above do we find a thoroughly organized and zealous campaign to introduce total tyranny in America. The Communist Party with its supporters alone is achieving real success in forcing upon us a program contrary to the ideals of our Nation. It is for this reason that the present study concentrates exclusively upon the Communist brand of State-worship and denial of the rights of man.

The Communist Creed

UNDER Communism, the State is the supreme master over the lives of its citizens. In its economic aspect, it is characterized by complete State ownership and control of productive property.

In the political field, Communism makes no pretense of granting freedom. The Soviet Union and the nations it controls are rigid dictatorships. Freedom of speech and assembly are denied. Dissent from government is considered treason, and is punished by all-powerful political police systems. Elections are merely formal, since no choice of candidates is offered. At times religion is openly persecuted, but under any circumstances tremendous obstacles are placed in its path.

There is no likelihood that Communism will ever tolerate freedom. Some of its adherents argue that the present stage (of nearly 30 years) is merely transitional. But there is no evidence that a reversal of policy is possible so long as Communism persists. On the contrary, controls are being tightened and extended as an inexorable result of its political and economic system. Certainly if freedom were to come, it would be a gift from those in power, and not a demand from those under subjection. Yet, history gives few examples of rulers who voluntarily relinquished absolute power.

Communism in Practice

EVEN A casual knowledge of life under Communism shows how language is debased when this system is classed as "peace-loving" and "democratic." In Russia it has manifested itself by consistent expansionist policies and violations of treaties, as well portrayed by William C. Bullitt.* And the all-pervasive tyranny practiced upon its subjects would hardly 'merit the name "democracy."

Americans take certain freedoms for granted. We find it hard to realize that today, after the overthrow of the Axis, hundreds of millions still live in virtual slavery. With some, it is actual slavery. The existence of Soviet slave camps for political prisoners, those who for one reason or another fell out of favor with the government, is not denied. It is more difficult to say with certainty the number of these hapless victims. The consensus of authorities holds that it is a minimum of ten million, and may range as high as thirty million.**

In America, labor is free, apparently free even to abuse its power to the detriment of the national welfare. But under Communism, the trade unions are agents of the State, used to discipline the workers in order to achieve higher production and political ends of the State. They are helpless to protect labor against cruel exploitation. Instances are cited in the Soviet press where workers were not paid for months. Yet, their unions dare not raise a voice against the autocracy of Communist factory managers. Only when the Party itself decides upon a purge are these conditions exposed and corrected.

This tyranny carries over into every phase of life. There is no freedom of expression in press, radio, or schools. Propaganda indoctrination is complete and total. Courts exist, not to defend rights, but only to prosecute criminal and political offenses.

* *The Great Globe Itself*: New York, Scribner. See especially the appendix.

** Not commonly recognized is the fact that this slavery is also a device for securing virtually costless labor.

Religion is grudgingly tolerated today, so long as it remains a creature of the State, but it is not free in the sense that we conceive freedom. Worship is permitted to a limited degree, but no churchman would dare raise his voice against violations of the moral law. A Faulhaber or a Niemoller would be promptly liquidated by the ubiquitous secret police.

This absolute regimentation is apparently for export. It has been applied systematically in the nations occupied by the Soviet authorities. Only the blind can fail to see the gross reality of Communism in action. Even if it were to bring economic benefits to its subjects, it would be at an intolerable price, the sacrifice of the basic rights of man. And, in fact, it has only changed the form of exploitation. Instead of the Tsar and the nobility living upon the toil of the workers, it is now the Commissar, the Party members and a few favorites who prosper while millions slave.*

Communism an Organized Movement

COMMUNISM is an organized and even fanatical world movement. Its ideology holds that the opposition between it and private capitalism is complete and unalterable.** As a result, it holds that capitalism must die in the throes of bloody revolution. Such a movement cannot be appeased by improvements in the standard of living of the people in capitalist nations. It is dangerous to make any contrary assumption. Marx said that capitalism is essentially exploitive, that it must oppress the workers, and hence that it must be overthrown by force. Communists believe this with blind fanaticism and privately preach violent revolution. The

* For a calm portrayal of the Soviet system, see: "*Communism in Action.*" House Document 754, 79th Congress, 2nd Session. This can be obtained from your Congressman or Senator, or from the Superintendent of Documents at twenty-five cents a copy.

** The U. S. S. R. operates under state capitalism, in contrast to our voluntary private competitive capitalism.

successful working of free enterprise may make it difficult for Communism to gain recruits, but it will not dampen the faith of the confirmed Communist. Nor would it prevent the triumph of Communism here through conquest by a foreign power, aided by our domestic Fifth Column, namely, the infiltration of Communists and their sympathizers in government, the armed forces, labor, and other important spheres of American life.

This dogma of essential conflict must be understood in order properly to evaluate Soviet policy. Thus, when Stalin, in February, 1946, announced a vast military program to counter foreign "encirclement," and in September, 1946, derided the idea of encirclement as a myth, the average reader was confused. Actually, the first proclamation was in harmony with the basic principles of Communism. The subsequent retraction was but another temporary tactical retreat, similar to many others which Stalin describes in his own writings. Significantly, there was no let-up in military preparations or stay in aggressive Soviet actions to prove the sincerity of Stalin's "peace message."

The Comintern

AS THE INSTRUMENT of the crusade to crush private capitalism, the Communist International has been organized. The aims of this world movement, called the Comintern, are to organize and stimulate Communist movements in all the nations of the world. Its openly professed objectives are to foster revolution in all capitalist lands. While technically distinct from the Soviet Government, it is in fact an agency of that State. Its headquarters are in Moscow and its leaders are the most powerful men in the Communist hierarchy.

The Comintern was ostensibly dissolved in 1943 as a gesture of cooperation between the Soviet Union and its allies. A

detailed study of the *Report of the Royal Commission*, issued in June, 1946, in connection with the Canadian espionage trials, casts grave doubt upon the reality of the dissolution. On the contrary, there is documented and irrefutable evidence that the Comintern organized major espionage rings among its allies throughout the war.

Furthermore, the scope of coordinated propaganda activities of the Comintern since war's end is almost unbelievable both in extent and intensity. Such widely diverse regions as the Arab world, the colonial countries of Asia and the newly independent Philippines, and practically all Latin American countries are being thoroughly cultivated. Comintern agents were the guiding forces behind the 1946 elections in Chile, where Communists showed astonishing strength. In the small island of Cuba, they have a powerful radio station and a subsidized news service, both used to spread propaganda through other Latin American countries. Their staff in Mexico is large and skillfully organized.

Little information has been released in regard to Comintern activities in the United States. Nevertheless, the Canadian Report shows that the several groups there worked closely with similar and more extensive rings in the United States. It also reveals that the Tass News Agency in New York sends lengthy reports to the Soviet Union, of which only an infinitesimal fraction is used for the Soviet press. Purchasing commissions and other economic groups transmit most minute details of commercial and industrial activity, sending abroad tons of blueprints and elaborate reports. In the fields of military and diplomatic secrets, according to the Canadian Commission, the Comintern seeks and usually obtains detailed and circumstantial accounts.

The Canadian Report indicates that the present headquarters of the Comintern are still in Moscow. Nevertheless, there are indications that some of its functions have been transferred to Paris. At least, this latter city is the headquar-

ters for the various international Communist groups of labor, youth, and women. Other groups still to be formed, such as a world federation of scientists, will undoubtedly center there. This transfer permits such groups to pose as democratic organizations. Furthermore, Paris is a better communication center for the purpose of reaching Western Europe and the Americas.

The spirit of this movement was expressed by Comrade Yudin, one of the chief molders of the USSR policy, as quoted by Victor Kravchenko in *I Chose Freedom*: "There are two worlds . . . The two worlds of capitalism and Communism cannot forever exist side by side. As long as we exist in a capitalist encirclement, we are in danger." Stalin reiterated this same view in his February, 1946, address.

Soviet Expansionism

IN ADDITION to the ideology of Communism, many persons see in the Comintern a tool of a new form of old-fashioned power politics. Indeed, the Trotsky branch of Communism maintains that the Stalinists have deserted Marx and are merely seeking personal power on a world scale. Whatever be the merits of this theory, it is a fact that the Soviet Union has expanded its territories tremendously as a result of the war. It currently controls Eastern and much of Central Europe, the Balkans (except Greece), Manchuria, Northern Korea and North China. It is pressing towards Turkey and the Near East, in order to control the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf.

The Soviet Union has openly announced plans for the greatest army, navy, air force, and military scientific arm in the world. It is questionable whether its own industrial potential could maintain such a force, although the new five-year plans are directed towards such a goal. But Soviet technology has been strengthened through the use of German and Czech

workers and technology. Currently, the Soviet Union is putting pressure upon Sweden to orient its economy towards the East. Many analysts feel that the Molotov plan for a unified Germany would bring all German technology within the Soviet sphere. If the skill of the West can be wedded to the unlimited human and natural resources of the East, within twenty years the Soviet Union might be more powerful militarily than any combination of nations arrayed against her.*

Against this background of Soviet hostility towards the capitalist world, gigantic military preparations, and an unabashed expansionist policy, the role of the Comintern seems ominous. It is revealed as a Fifth Column preparing the way for internal Communist revolution, when feasible, or for conquest from without by imperial Communism. It is at once an agency for espionage and revolutionary agitation. Such were the clear findings of the Canadian Commissioners, who reported that domestic Communists admitted a loyalty to the Soviet Union higher than that to their own country.

The Workings of the Comintern

THE COMINTERN supervises the several national Communist parties in the different countries. Where they are weak, it pours in funds and organizers. Where they are strong, it directs policy in accord with a master plan. Normally, Communist parties everywhere hold to the same line, although special circumstances may permit or even dictate deviation as a matter of tactics.

An interesting example of the latter concerns Argentina. When American Communists both in and outside of the government were pressuring our government to attack Perón, Latin American Communists were denouncing this policy as Yankee imperialism. The result was the alienation of much of Latin America from us, and successful efforts by the

* See "Communism in Action," p. 100.

Soviet Union to cultivate Argentina. Then the American Communist policy was changed to meet the new situation, denunciations of Perón ceased, and the new regime was openly approved. Similarly, Italian Communists may favor the retention of Trieste, and French Communists may agitate for French acquisition of the Rhineland.

Such uniformity and flexibility is possible only through the iron discipline which all Communist parties maintain. Outsiders sometimes find drastic overnight changes in policy ludicrous, but they illustrate the strength of Communist control over its members. Communists do not find such changes difficult, because they are carefully indoctrinated to subordinate truth to policy. They expect tactical changes in accord with the master strategy of overthrowing private capitalism. They have a blind faith in the wisdom of the Soviet policy.

In addition to discipline, Communists excel in organization and planning. They zealously exploit every mistake or failure in the country where they live. They seek constantly to obtain positions in government and in agencies which can influence public opinion. They agitate continuously for strife in the domestic labor movements. They exploit the grievances of minority groups. They are particularly adept in forming "front" organizations, to use persons who would never consciously collaborate with Communism. And discipline, zeal, conspiracy, and secrecy have produced important results.

Why Do People Become Communists?

THE SYSTEM just described seems so fantastic to most Americans that it is almost incredible. Indeed, the Canadian investigating commission was hard put to explain why so many citizens professed a higher loyalty to a political power outside their borders. In fact, the motivation of Communists and their followers is extremely complex and *unless* this fact is recognized, countermeasures are likely to be ineffective.

With a few, it is a perverted form of idealism, a worldly substitute for religion. Some people are personally maladjusted and are chronic rebels. The Communist movement gives them an outlet. Many became Communists as a reaction against abuses in the present social and political order. In particular, many Communists are rebels against one or another form of exploitation. In certain cases, their conversion may be traced to some bitter experience in the labor field. Others may have felt discrimination because they were members of minority groups. To such persons, Communism is preached as a doctrine which *promises* equality to all.

Many intellectuals have been won over to Communism on the basis of rosy accounts of life in the Soviet Union. These persons are well aware of the faults in our own system, and have been led to believe that in Russia none of these evils exists. When the faults of Communism are called to their attention, they either dismiss the charges as capitalist propaganda or else consider them as transitional evils to be overlooked in the great promise of the future. The urge to remake the world is strong among some intellectuals. Some are sufficiently detached from everyday life to be indifferent to the cruel sufferings of the so-called transitional period.

Other motives are less creditable. Some individuals in civic and labor politics appreciate the support of a disciplined minority. They know the value of the publicity which it affords. Such persons follow the Party for motives of expediency rather than conviction. In other cases, vanity may suffice. This is particularly true of specialists who feel their inadequacy in broader affairs. A scientist or a motion picture star is often highly flattered in being asked to address a political meeting. In Hollywood, Communists arranged a meeting peopled by motion picture stars and scientists, each group attracted by the prospect of meeting the other. This technique of using celebrities is widely practiced.

Finally, many liberals follow the Communist line through

confused good will. As one writer put it, some persons are so busy doing good that they fail to realize the harm their efforts cause. These are the "joiners," who readily give their names to any organization whose apparent purpose is noble. Thus the president of a great State university has become affiliated with some twenty such "fronts." Actually, in scores of cases such names and money are used to promote Communist causes. The Party has even enlisted persons of wealth to support its causes through the medium of these "front" groups. Even a casual study of the power and influence of Communist "fronts" should dispel the notion that the Party is weak and ineffectual.

Communist Fronts

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to realize the extent of Communist influence in American life without some knowledge of the "front" technique. Except possibly during the War period, everything labeled Communist is suspect to the average citizen. Accordingly, if public opinion is to be influenced, it must be done in an indirect and concealed manner. To do this, the Communists evolved the masterful strategy of the "front" organization. The setting up of a front involves two main steps. The first is the discovery of a proper cause and label. The cause is usually some form of alleged injustice or a proposed reform which will arouse the interest of the public, particularly the group which styles itself liberal. The label is some high-sounding word or phrase, such as "democratic," "peace," and the like.

When the issue is picked and the title decided, the case is presented dramatically to some "innocent," who is both prominent and willing to have his name used for a "good" cause. His name is used as the bait to attract others, until a rather impressive list is obtained. Then the organization is announced publicly, funds are raised, and propaganda and pressure activi-

ties are begun. Communists, not generally known as such, do the work for such groups and occupy the active, in contrast to the honorary, offices. They determine policies and direct the front in accord with the Party aims. The well-meaning sponsors are usually too busy even to inquire into the activities of the group to which they have given their names.

Some fronts are permanent, particularly those which deal with some constant Communist objective. Thus, for youth, the Communists have the American Youth for Democracy. To win over the Negroes, they have the National Negro Congress. In the field of insurance, particularly among the foreign-born, there is the International Workers Order. Other fronts, by contrast, are temporary. Such is the committee which in 1946 is staging the various "Win-the-Peace" rallies throughout the country. Other illustrations could be taken from groups promoting some specific foreign policy. Thus there would be committees for a "democratic" China, Greece or Japan.

One of the more prominent and apparently respectable fronts today is the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions (I. C. C.). This group has been successful in gaining publicity and support which would never have been accorded to the Communist Party. It has enlisted aid from persons who would not consciously collaborate with Communists. Yet, the Party has claimed credit (in its 1945 New York State Convention) for founding the I. C. C. A large number of I. C. C. directors have participated in pro-Soviet activities. Its line on controversial issues is identical with that of the *Daily Worker*, the national Communist paper. While there have been some resignations because of its leftist leanings, at this writing it is still a powerful influence in the liberal community.*

Not to be confused with Communist fronts are the various infiltrated organizations. A front is organized by the Party and

* For an extensive and accurate partial list of Communist fronts, see Andrew Avery, "The Communist Fifth Column," *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, ten cents.

for the Party. An infiltrated group was organized for a legitimate purpose by citizens loyal primarily to the United States. Subsequent to its formation, Communists, by various devices, have obtained some degree of control. At times, this control is extensive, as with the Southern Conference for Human Welfare or the American Veterans Committee. At other times, it is local, as is the case with some chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or some locals of non-Communist labor unions. Infiltration has been discovered in surprising places, even in religious publications and seminaries, among atomic scientists, and in research groups dealing with foreign policy.

The net effect of such activities was well summarized by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his speech before the American Legion on September 30th, 1946:

“The fact that the Communist Party in the United States claims some 100,000 members has lulled many Americans into a feeling of false complacency. I would not be concerned if we were dealing with only 100,000 Communists. The Communists themselves boast that for every Party member there are ten others ready to do the Party’s work. These include their satellites, their fellow-travelers and their so-called progressive and phony liberal allies. They have maneuvered themselves into positions where a few Communists control the destinies of hundreds who are either willing to be led or have been duped into obeying the dictates of others.”

What Communism Means to America

THE SYSTEM just described in general terms is by no means remote from American life. On the contrary, it affects us in many important ways. Among these the first in order of importance may well be the domain of international

affairs. One has but to accept the surface, not the worst, interpretation of recent Soviet moves, and one is left with profound feelings of disquiet.

The Soviet Union has proclaimed its intention to become the greatest military power on earth. It has already stretched beyond its borders to absorb nearly half of Europe and some of the richest parts of Asia. Parties under its control are active in the other half of Europe, with reasonable chances of extending Soviet influence to the Atlantic. Finally, the Comintern is meddling in most of the rest of the world, with special attention to Latin America, the orient, colonial countries, and the Arab world. Its theme is one of unremitting hostility towards the English-speaking world.

When this activity is compared with that of the Axis during the late Thirties, the points of similarity are greater than the points of difference. Those who then perceived the drift before others and cried out, as did Winston Churchill, were called warmongers. The same treatment is given today to those who observe the well-publicized facts summarized above. Yet we would be remiss in duty towards our country if we ignored them. We know that the Soviet people themselves want peace and good will towards other nations. But in the too familiar pattern, their leaders feed them warlike propaganda instead of peace, and military preparations instead of a higher standard of living. Observers of these facts tend to discount Stalin's peace line of September, 1946, as being a mere tactical move. The axiom that actions speak louder than words must be invoked once again against world Communism.

What Communism Means to World Trade

IF THE RECITAL of facts as given above savors too much of prediction, attention might be called to the immediate repercussions of Communism in the international sphere. Some

American firms have suffered directly through the confiscation of their property abroad. We have virtually lost all oil wells and refineries in the Balkans, as well as giant industrial plants in Germany and Hungary. While present and future losses of this type may not be a major item to the Nation as a whole, they are a serious loss to the investors involved. They are a blow to future international investment, so badly needed to restore world production and American foreign trade. Thus, would American investors be wise to develop regions of Latin America or China, if it were probable that Communist régimes would arise to seize possession of this wealth?

Present Communist policies are badly disruptive of world trade. They have cut off the Danube, one of the great waterways of commerce. They are paralyzing economic life in Hungary, Austria, Korea, and Italy. Their reparations demands upon Italy are such as to make this nation an economic satellite. Strong pressure is being put upon Sweden and Denmark with the same aim. In many regions they are engaged in pre-emptive buying of scarce raw materials, disrupting prices and production in other lands. Thus, they seek hides from Uruguay and linseed oil from Argentina. Some of these products are not needed for their own economy. The time will come when the destructive character of these activities to multilateral trade will work to our disadvantage.

Communists and the Labor Movement

COMMUNISTS have striven successfully to infiltrate the American labor movement. Organized labor, when captured, is to them a source of funds, a propaganda outlet, a means for stirring discontent, and, if necessary, a weapon of sabotage. Controlled unions contribute heavily to the various Party fronts and causes. They in turn serve as fronts for diverse propaganda schemes. They can picket consulates and

government offices with practiced skill. When conditions warrant, strikes can be provoked so as to create the atmosphere of unrest in which Communism thrives. And, finally, if Comintern policy so dictates, they can actually sabotage essential production. Thus, the 1945 shipping strike "to bring back the soldiers" (American, not Russian) was an example of political sabotage.

In general, American Communists have been more successful in seizing power in the Congress of Industrial Organizations than in the American Federation of Labor. In the latter organization, they have some strength in New York and Los Angeles, and scattered control elsewhere. They have achieved real footholds in the painters union, in the hotel and restaurant unions, and in the film and stage unions. They are seeking, with some success, to infiltrate some of the independent railroad unions and the International Association of Machinists. But their stronghold is the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

History explains this success. When John L. Lewis sought to organize mass production industry, he suffered from an acute shortage of trained organizers. He used experienced Communist help, planning to discard it when the task was done. Nevertheless, he was outmaneuvered. Communists installed themselves and their sympathizers in key positions in many of the new unions. The newly organized workers, with no experience in unionism, were no match for these skilled tacticians. The result was that in union after union, Communists controlled the top levels, although the membership was overwhelmingly American in its sympathies. In spite of this fact, the C. I. O. has been slow to learn. When its Southern organizing drive bogged down in 1946, it quietly accepted support from Communist organizers. Earlier statements that no leftist aid would be used were conveniently ignored.

Present Trend in the Labor Movement

THE SITUATION TODAY is fluid, since Communist control is being occasionally challenged with success. On the other hand, Communists in turn make new gains periodically. At the time of this writing, two excellent surveys have been made of radicalism in labor.* The correctness of these studies is attested privately by non-Communist labor leaders.

In general, the studies found that Communists had control of about one-third of the voting strength of the C. I. O. Executive Board. Their die-hard opponents controlled about one-fifth. Among the remainder, there were enough fellow-travelers to bring Communist strength to a majority in complex and obscure issues, such as foreign policy. On domestic issues the lines have been sharply drawn, with non-Communists having the balance of power.

How Communists Control Labor

WHILE COMMUNISTS initially seized power through organizing unions, they maintain or lose control largely in terms of their strength in the locals of these unions. To understand their control over labor, it is vitally necessary to realize how they gain control over the various locals. If they must start from scratch in a given situation, they usually send a few key organizers to work in a plant to join a union. These men show skill in speaking and fighting for workers' "rights," and soon obtain a minor office. At the same time, they cultivate ambitious opportunists and disgruntled minorities.

When they are ready to seize control, they usually make impossible demands upon the existing union officers and circulate

* In early 1946, the Research Institute of America published a highly accurate listing of the leanings in C. I. O. unions. In June and July of the same year, Andrew Avery wrote an especially competent series of articles for the *Chicago Journal of Commerce*, *op. cit.* See bibliography.

slandrous rumors about them. Then they form an election slate consisting of opportunists with some following, representatives of racial and national minorities, and pleasant but weak characters who will be dependent upon them for advice. In large plants, where personal knowledge of the union officers is slight, the rumor campaigns and the aggressive program put out by the Communists are usually sufficient to install their slate in office in whole or in part.

Once Communists have gained power in a local, they often try to expel or discredit any potential opposition. They prolong meetings so that the membership will not attend. This permits their minority to vote funds; pass resolutions, and adopt action programs. By such tactics they often perpetuate power indefinitely. If in the beginning the Communists control the international union, they can often assume and maintain power from the very beginning of a new local.

Such tactics explain the comparative helplessness of non-Communists such as Philip Murray and James Carey. Carey was deposed from his own giant union, the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, when he opposed the Communist clique which dominated it. The issues at the time were the Hitler-Stalin pact, our foreign policy, and national defense. Murray does not dare to discharge the two powerful Communist officials who exercise such major influence in the national C. I. O. He submits to a large proportion of Communists among the legislative representatives of the C. I. O. unions. He tamely accepts resolution after resolution which show remarkable similarity to the Communist Party Line.

Communist Labor and the Businessman

UNTIL RECENTLY the average American tended to dismiss such maneuverings as something foreign to his life. But the tremendous power of labor today permits no such

complacency. Many an industrialist and businessman, and millions of union workers, have learned from experience that these moves do affect their lives vitally. When a businessman or industrialist finds that nothing he does can please his union, he tends at first to form a sour view of organized labor. But, as he becomes more sophisticated, he realizes that his difficulties may not arise from his own workers, who usually understand his problems, but from the outside forces controlling his local union. Their demands are insatiable, because they thrive on trouble. His workers are no more happy than he in such a situation but they are not trained to cope with it. They may at times even be constrained to support extreme and impossible demands.

Even where workers or their employers are not directly involved they are often affected in an oblique manner. The national policies of organized labor, if influenced by the Communists, can sometimes involve unions led by non-Communists. This is particularly the case where the objective *seems* reasonable to labor. An instance of this would be the Political Action Committee of the C. I. O. The general principle that labor has an interest in politics is almost as old as unionism itself. The more direct and aggressive methods of the C. I. O. are new and in contrast to the established approach of the A. F. of L. Even here, however, many workers who are by no means radical would accept the new approach.

The result is that practically all C. I. O. unions readily support P. A. C. Its philosophy and its program sound reasonable to them. What they do not realize is the nature of the forces which infiltrated this program. While Hillman was not a Communist, nor is Philip Murray, two of their top advisers are Communists, taking direct and frequent orders on P. A. C. policies from the very top levels of the Communist Party. At the other end of the scale, in many cities and regions, the local committees are Communist-controlled. They have the organization for ringing doorbells and getting out the vote.

The easy thing is to use them, and many labor leaders take the easy way. As a result, at the time of writing such important Councils as those in New York and Detroit are Communist-controlled.

The direct national effect of Communist infiltration in P. A. C. may not have been serious. A few candidates deserving of labor's favor may have suffered because their foreign policy was opposed to the Communist line. A half dozen Communists may have gotten into our national legislature. The net effect of these moves would not be tragic. The real danger lies in the threat of the future. The feared power of P. A. C. forces politicians to select candidates in accord with the views of those who control the vote. In the day by day running of government, administrators hesitate to clash with the left wing, lest their Party suffer reprisals at the polls. It was the follow-up of the November 1944 elections in the form of pressure, demands, and suggestions which made left-wing control of P. A. C. a real force in shaping national policy.

Nor should the ambition of the local leader be overlooked. When a Communist minority can give the aggressive support needed to win an election, some politicians are willing to give their verbal aid in some specific policy, in order to obtain their help. Thus, a governor may attack our so-called "tough" policy towards Russia, knowing that he has no direct responsibility to make good on his promises. This has happened, not only in large metropolitan centers, but also in some less settled Southern and Western states. It was the cumulative effect of all these moves which led to increased Communist influence in both domestic and foreign policies of the United States.

Communism and Government

BOTH TRUTH and much nonsense have been written about Communist penetration into government. There were those who visualized all New Dealers as starry-eyed

radicals. Some labeled any program which changed the established order of things as Communist. This loose use of terms has caused considerable mischief. The result has been that at times the Communists could take credit for widely popular reform measures. Indiscriminate denunciation threatened to make Communism quite respectable. This was unfortunate, since it covered up a real and dangerous penetration of government.

Communist penetration of government since 1933 stems primarily from one phenomenon: the broadmindedness of the average liberal both in government and on the outside. The period characterized as the New Deal was humanitarian and reformist in its aims. As a result, there flocked to Washington large numbers of self-styled liberals, bent on reforming the Nation's economic system and curing social ills as seen by them. Bold experimentation became the order of the day. Our capitalist system was alleged to be so feeble that only daring and even recklessness could save the day.

In such an atmosphere, practically any philosophy was tolerated, provided only that it promised some modification of capitalist free enterprise. No political system was too extreme for the liberal to treat with sympathy, save only Fascism, which Communist propaganda had cleverly distorted into a "tool of reactionary big business." It was only natural that under these conditions, a considerable portion of Communists attained civil service status. Some reached positions of authority. Once they had power, they behaved in a most illiberal manner. They were careful to appoint only like-minded individuals to offices under their control, and they schemed relentlessly to drive their opponents from government service. They achieved a considerable measure of success.

Communist Fronts as Lobbyists

EVEN MORE SERIOUS in the long run were the effects of Communist pressure groups upon the liberals. Pressure came through two broad channels. The first was the left-wing press, so widely read and highly regarded in Washington. Newspapers such as *PM* and periodicals such as the *Nation* and the *New Republic* enjoyed almost a sacrosanct status among many government officials. These publications in turn were pro-Soviet and often followed faithfully the Communist line. Indeed, the Washington staff of *PM* recently resigned, alleging continued Communist domination of the paper.*

The tactics of these periodicals followed the familiar "club and carrot" technique so well used by the Communists. Favored public officials and policies were praised to the skies, while those disliked were flayed unmercifully. An illustration of their success can be found in the Department of State. By attacking this Department, and certain individuals, as reactionary and Fascist, this group succeeded in driving many faithful public servants from the government. Their successors were more careful not to offend such an aggressive group. They made appointments and advocated policies which would not be attacked by the vigorous leftist press. The result was the disastrous era of appeasement of Russia, the bitter fruits of which we have harvested since VJ Day.

The second major vehicle of pressure consists of the many Communist "fronts" and controlled organizations. These groups are adept at creating publicity and thus forcing adoption of their policies at Washington. If the general public is uninformed and indifferent as to American interests in a given situation, such as China, it is relatively easy for a pressure group to have its way. They may not exert much pressure but it is the only pressure felt, and it is all in one direction.

* In this connection, see "A Tour of the Leftist Press" by Eugene Lyons, in *The Nations Business*, August, 1946.

Inside Contacts

NATURALLY these outside influences are the more influential because of their lieutenants within government offices. Front research groups have been successful in placing "specialists" in the government bureaus. This is particularly true in the field of foreign affairs. These inside contacts in turn give the "fronts" advance information. As a result, propaganda and coercive efforts can be prepared carefully and released before the general public is aware that an issue has arisen. Thus, all too frequently, those whose interest is primarily American are on the defensive and often beaten before the battle begins.

Such was the case in regard to major policy decisions on China, Argentina, and Germany, to be described subsequently. The Communist hue and cry was in full operation at the moment that vital decisions were to be made. By contrast, more patriotic and far-sighted forces had to content themselves with protesting after unsound government policies had been followed.

In connection with Communist influence in government, some mention should be made of their use of the balance of power. It is axiomatic in politics that where opposing forces are fairly evenly divided, an organized minority can decide the issue. Communists have used such methods in both civic and labor politics.

One illustration may show the importance of their tactics. Communists and their sympathizers control the American Labor Party in New York City. This in turn often has the balance of power in a State whose vote is vital in a Presidential election. The result is that at times twenty thousand Communists can put great pressure upon both the major parties in the United States. Such a balance, of course, is precarious. But if the Communists through P. A. C. ever substantially

control the organized labor vote, they will be much more assured of the whip hand.

The Results of Communism in Government

SOME concrete illustrations will show the effectiveness of Communist infiltration and pressure tactics. They will be taken from the field of foreign policy, since this is the current Communist concentration. The first concerns the Potsdam policy in Germany. The long-range Communist policy on Germany was two-fold. The Comintern was to stir up pressure for a hard peace and unconditional surrender. This was to turn the German people against the Western Allies.

In Russia itself, however, a much softer note was taken. A distinction was made between the Nazis and the German people. A committee of German prisoners including leading generals was formed in Moscow. When the Russians occupied Germany, after some excesses by undisciplined troops, a policy of conciliation was put into effect. Factories in the East hummed with activity, producing arms for Russia, while Americans and British concentrated upon de-Nazification!

In accord with this policy, American Communists formed fronts and used their influence in government to force a harsh peace upon Germany. Through their control of certain influential officials in the Treasury Department at the time, they agitated for the Potsdam agreement, based upon a Treasury policy previously urged at the Quebec Conference. The result has been an unworkable economic program. German industry was cut to such levels that exports would be insufficient to purchase needed food. Rich agricultural regions were ceded to Poland and the Soviet, yet the industrial Western section was supposed to survive without these food sources. Plants were not permitted to manufacture badly needed fertilizers. Locomotives could not be made at a time when Europe's transport

was paralyzed. Such a program could lead only to anarchy. Experts agree that its immediate effects were widespread misery and starvation in Western Germany. Its ultimate effects may be the driving of Western Germany into the Soviet sphere, since here alone it could obtain food. Thus, the entire economic resources of Germany could be integrated into the Soviet master plan for industrial and military supremacy.

A similar situation existed in regard to American policy on Argentina and China. In the former case, pressure groups denounced the Perón government and successfully urged American intervention. The State Department issued a series of charges immediately prior to an election in Argentina. Argentine citizens rebelled against such an obvious effort to control their internal affairs. In reaction, they overwhelmingly elected the candidate which our government opposed. The result was a decisive repudiation of our policy by Argentina, and a loss of prestige throughout Latin America. Other nations resented the apparent revival of "Yankee imperialism" in place of the Good Neighbor policy. Local Communists in these countries fanned the fires against the United States. Then the Soviet Union stepped in and cultivated our disgruntled good neighbors.

In China we had an opportunity to obtain a powerful friend. If we lost China to Communism, hundreds of millions would be available for slave labor and military service in accord with the Soviet master plan. Our debt of gratitude to Chiang and his government was great, even though their imperfections were admitted. So urgent was the need to keep China in the war, that at Cairo we solemnly pledged the return of Manchuria to China. This promise was cynically betrayed at Yalta, where the Soviet Union was given an immense booty for a nominal participation in the Far Eastern war.

At Yalta, the Soviet Union was given concessions in Manchuria and North China so extensive as to threaten the continued sovereignty of the national government over these rich regions. These economic concessions were not only a repudia-

tion of our promise to China, they were also an abandonment of our long-standing "open-door policy" in regard to that nation. More recently we treated a rebellious faction, loyal to a foreign power, as equal to a long-suffering ally.

From the moral point of view, such procedure was a cynical betrayal of trust. From the aspect of American interest, it was likewise a subordination of American policy to Russian aspirations. Yet such a policy sprang from the two-fold source mentioned above. Pressure groups were highly active, aided by the strongly pro-Soviet groups in the Far Eastern wing of the Department of State. History may judge harshly the decisions made in 1945 and 1946.

Communists and Public Opinion

IN ADDITION to the specialized pressure activities noted above, the Communists have other techniques for influencing public opinion. They have endeavored to penetrate the general press, radio, book and magazine publishing, motion pictures, and lecture fields. Details of their success would consume too much space, but the sampling given in the *Chicago Journal of Commerce* booklet "The Communist Fifth Column" leaves little doubt that their accomplishments are real. The techniques noted below are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

Radio commentators are important molders of opinion. Only a few on national networks are Communist or consistent followers of the Party Line. But great skill and pressure are exerted to keep the remainder under some control. To achieve this, one of the more prominent Communist front groups has established a quiet monitoring service. Broadcasts are combed to detect any tendency towards a so-called anti-Soviet line. If such is found, a "spontaneous" letter-writing campaign commences, with letters to the sponsor, the station, and the commentator. The effectiveness of this has been demonstrated

in more than one case. On the positive side, such molders of opinion are flooded with free literature, digests, and the like. One noted columnist and commentator finds that the employing of a Communist research assistant pays off in the form of inside information, advance tips, and the like, from Party members and their followers in government.

Communists have worked hard to use the motion pictures and the legitimate theatre as propaganda weapons. Their national leader, William Z. Foster, has openly laid down the line to be followed in this regard, and Dalton Trumbo, a leading pro-Communist scenarist, has listed pictures which they have sponsored and others which they have blocked. The list of Hollywood stars available for front organizations is long and prominent. Some of the best propaganda brains of the Party are employed by our entertainment industry. Often we have the incongruity of business firms hiring such talent to write radio plays which subtly attack the system which sponsors them. Businessmen need to develop more sophistication in these matters.

One of the most interesting attempts at totalitarian control of thought is the plan issued in July, 1946, for an American Authors' Authority. The Authority is to be a marketing monopoly which will copyright and lease to users *all* writings by American authors. It is to begin with scripts for screen and radio and articles for magazines. By controlling this lucrative field, it will be the exclusive agent for America's most successful writers. This in turn will furnish a club to force all publishers and other users to employ only Authority material. The alternative will be the denial of manuscripts by the writers under the Authority's control. The grip on the publishers will then force recalcitrant authors into the Authority and the related guilds.

It is obvious that these techniques are similar to those used successfully by Petrillo in forcing musicians to join his union and compelling radio and recording groups to follow his rules.

The language and methods outlined when the plan was proposed leave no other interpretation. Significantly, this proposal appeared in the *Screen Writer*, edited by Dalton Trumbo, who writes for several Communist publications. It was overwhelmingly accepted by the Communist-dominated Screen Writers' Guild and Radio Writers' Guild. It is currently being considered by the Authors' League.

In reaction, over a hundred of America's most prominent authors have been compelled to divert their talents and energies by forming an American Writers' Association to oppose thought control for the United States. Whether or not the Authority succeeds in its announced aims, it furnishes a graphic illustration of Communist objectives. If it succeeds in its original form, Communists and their sympathizers will literally be able to dictate to every publication agency for influencing public opinion.

Thus far, in the book, periodical, and general press fields, Communists have had considerable temporary success, although much of it was due to special war conditions. War-time restraints and government accreditation of correspondents, plus the Washington-inspired notion that any criticism of Communism or the Soviet Union was virtual treason during the War, effectively restricted the American press. Direct pressure was infrequent. Usually the subtle suggestion that anything offensive to Russia would ultimately cost American lives was sufficient. These conditions have changed, as is witnessed by the frank revelations about Russia since March, 1946. Communists in the government are still attempting to use the press through giving out in advance exclusive news favorable to their cause. The idea is to create a friendly press through this method of favoritism and to give their programs the impetus of an early start. A friendly correspondent gets more beats and is thus more useful to his newspaper or wire service.

Again Communists have scored some enduring and spectacular, if isolated successes. Thus, a prominent and highly

regarded metropolitan newspaper has followed the Communist line in its reporting and editorials on foreign affairs. A well-known conservative magazine from a conservative city, and a book firm in the same city, have consistently followed this line in recent years. An attractive digest magazine has never deviated from Soviet policy, and is currently sponsoring a lecture service. These illustrations could be expanded almost without limit.

A Clouded Picture

THE TOTAL RESULT of all these activities presents a clouded picture from the viewpoint of American interests. The composite story would seem fantastic, if each of its parts had not been carefully documented before the Chamber of Commerce of the USA authorized the publication of this report. As a sample of the zeal and skill which goes into even minor details, one might consult Canada Lee's account of the promotion efforts for the play "On Whitman Avenue," narrated in *The New York Times*, August 11, 1946, after the play had received an adverse reception. It is a brilliant account of how left-wing groups work, and how they achieve success where others fail. When critics almost unanimously gave an adverse judgment, the promoters turned to unorthodox channels. They appealed to union weeklies, the press serving minority groups, and to scores of organizations of every type. "We jimmed our way onto every possible radio program, we talked to teachers in schools, we called on our friends and neighbors, we talked to the barbers who cut our hair, and left leaflets everywhere we went." The result was increasing attendance for a play which had aroused enthusiasm only in the left-wing press.

The only conclusion obtainable from the facts is that the American Communist Party is an important and growing

influence in our national life. It is using this influence exclusively in the interests of the Soviet Union. It opposes both political democracy and free enterprise, and operates with surprising effectiveness against both. Unfortunately, this influence has been seriously underestimated, often because of inept and uninformed attacks on Communism.

Counterattack

TO MEET the menace of Communism, the first need is to get the facts before the American public. In so far as the system is an attack upon free enterprise, the American businessman has a duty to show both in theory and in practice the superior merits of our present way of life.* But this is not enough. It attacks only one segment of a major problem. Communism thrives on secrecy and deceit. If its machinations were exposed to the public, if its front groups had the mask torn from them, its influence domestically would rapidly shrink. The same weapon of fearless truth should be used against the inhumanity within the Soviet Union. It should be shown as the ruthless dictatorship it is, rather than as a "peace-loving democracy."

The great need today is fact-gathering of unquestioned integrity and competence. Such research must content itself solely and rigorously with exposing the truth about Communism. It should not favor any special interest, no matter how legitimate and useful. Many important groups in America today are opposed to Communism. Church, veterans, business, anti-Communist labor, fraternal, and foreign-language associations all attack this evil. Their individual efforts have been largely ineffective, partly because of lack of adequate information and want of concerted action.

* See: THE AMERICAN COMPETITIVE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM, by the Chamber of Commerce of the USA, Washington 6, D. C., 1946.

Destroying the Fifth Column

PUBLICITY ALONE will not solve the problem. Much Communist success, as in the labor field, is due primarily to organizational methods. To uproot Communists from labor unions and to expose them in the literary world, the American-minded majority must be trained and organized, so that it will not be dominated by a disciplined minority. Labor education today is vitally needed. Some unions excel in this field, but those which need it most do not want their members too competent. A start has been made in this direction by a labor extension education service, in the Department of Labor, comparable to that afforded to farmers by the Department of Agriculture. Naturally, precautions should be taken to see that this remains in competent hands, since Communist influence in the Department of Labor is increasing. Labor education likewise could be fostered by State and local governments, and by church and patriotic groups.

The businessman who deals with a Communist labor union must realize that he faces a specialized problem. He is not normally trained to meet it, or even to recognize it. He, too, needs guidance and education. Unless, however, he becomes trained in this matter, he will be unable to distinguish real grievances from political demands.*

We cannot be complacent about Communist influence in government. The Canadian experience should be ample warning as to the dangers faced in this regard. Unfortunately, inept attempts to purge Communists have discredited the whole program. As a result, today the Civil Service Commission is starved for funds. There is an immediate need of reinstating the practice of careful screening of new government employees, and even of existing employees where strong reasons exist to doubt their loyalty. Nor should proof be required that a given

* In this connection, the study prepared by the Research Institute of America is of superior quality. It should be required reading for all who handle labor relations.

subject is actually a member of the Communist Party. If he follows its line, joins its front groups consistently, and shows constant sympathy with its aims, he should be open to question. Such activities reflect either upon his loyalty or his judgment. Deficiency on either count should disqualify him from public service.

Serious thought should be given today to exposure of the activities of the Communist Party. This proposal is advocated with great reluctance, because our traditions of freedom are rightfully sacred. Yet, we have never extended the principle of freedom so far that we have countenanced sedition and treason. These strong words are accurate in describing the activities of the Communist Party. This Party is loyal to a foreign power which is constantly professing hostility toward us. It is engaged in secret and conspiratorial activities within our borders. In Canada, at least, it has been a breeding ground for espionage agents against its own government.

It is doubtful prudence for any free government to tolerate movements which are directed towards the violent destruction of democracy. If such movements are weak and ineffectual, they may be ignored. But the Communist Party, although small in numbers, is neither weak nor ineffectual. Hence the least we can do in the way of self-protection is to demand that the Communist membership lists and sources of funds be made available for public inspection. The Department of Justice should use this and other information to expose front organizations in their true light. Probably the searchlight of publicity would be sufficient to prevent Communists from spreading their message through deceit. Of course, any communication of secret information to agents of a foreign power should be summarily punished.

It would be wise to establish a principle of reciprocity with other nations in regard to entry and rights of their respective citizens and representatives. It is ludicrous that the United States, which is permitted an embassy, two consulates in the

Soviet Union, and a few correspondents and a few visitors strongly restricted in their movements, should permit Soviet representatives to roam our land by the thousands. In the light of Canadian experience, it would be the part of wisdom that we insist upon complete reciprocity in such matters.

There is reason to believe that much of our foreign policy is being formulated in an atmosphere of excessive secrecy. While we realize that it would be impractical to have complete publicity for all diplomatic exchanges, yet the secret commitments at Yalta and Teheran were contrary to the spirit of democracy. Moreover, American public opinion has frequently been shocked by some development in international affairs, when our government knew many facts which would have prepared the public to meet the crisis. Such concealment is undemocratic. It is also imprudent, since hasty public reaction to a crisis may be less than satisfactory. Candor and complete honesty alone will permit an enlightened public guidance of our elected officials.

Because the proposals outlined in this section form one of the most important parts of the present study, it might be helpful to repeat them in summary.

- 1. Since Communism thrives upon deceit,** exposure of the facts would be a potent counter weapon. We propose more fact-gathering, competent, impartial, and patriotic. Both private groups and the government have a responsibility here.
- 2. In the labor field,** Communism thrives primarily through organization and discipline. Labor unions and non-economic groups, not directly interested in labor's relation with capital, should encourage labor education. This would give the non-Communist majority the training needed to fight their disciplined opponents.

3. **The businessman**, heavily preoccupied with business problems, should concern himself more with the problems of government and should make certain that he learns to detect Communist influence in his labor relations, his business, and other contacts.
4. **Because Communist loyalty** is primarily given to a foreign power, Communists *and* their followers should be excluded from government service. Congress should appropriate adequate funds for a stringent but fair loyalty test.
5. **As an agent of a foreign power**, the Communist Party should be forced by law to reveal its membership, funds, and activities.
6. **In view of the revelation** of Comintern activities throughout the world, the United States should enforce strict reciprocity with the Soviet Union in regard to the number and freedom of movement of nationals of either country within the other.
7. **Our government should follow a policy** of frankness with its citizens in regard to the major facts which enter into the making of our foreign policy.

Conclusion

Collectivism today in the United States is primarily a problem of Communism. This does not mean that Socialism can be dismissed lightly. On the contrary, the tremendous bureaucracy and immense concentration of power which this system would entail would be a real menace. Ultimately, it would be as destructive of our liberties as the more ruthless Communist dictatorship. Nevertheless, Socialism is not an immediate

problem in the United States. The Socialist Party is relatively weak, and its appeal too limited, to make it an imminent danger.

There is more danger that many of the evils of Socialism may be introduced through excessive centralization of power in government. This could come about in two ways: The first would be the assigning to government of more and more of the functions which traditionally have been the field of individuals and of private business. The second would be the hampering of business transactions through unwise and unnecessary regulations. This could proceed to such a degree that our free enterprise system might break down. Such a "failure" would then be used as an excuse for replacing the present system with Socialism or Communism. Needless to say, we must be vigilant in protecting ourselves from such dangerous trends.

Nevertheless, Communism must be opposed promptly with the utmost vigor. Not only should it be exposed and checked in this country, but its workings abroad should be told plainly and fearlessly. It is utterly undemocratic. It denies basic liberties to the individual. It tramples under foot the dignity of man. If America is to remain strong and free, it must preserve itself from the encroachments of a system which is utterly alien to its ideals. We have never yet failed to meet a challenge to our freedom.

COMMUNISTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT

The Facts and the Problem

INTRODUCTION

THE IMPORTANCE of a study of the problem of Communist infiltration of our government can scarcely be exaggerated. In the light of our earlier analysis,* we know that the security of the United States is menaced by Soviet expansionism. Under such circumstances, it is vital that we do not have within our own government a fifth column of a hostile power. To ignore this problem or to fail to deal with it adequately means the surrender of our sovereignty. It would pave the way for the destruction of our government through internal disintegration and decay.

For the safety of our nation, we must be brutally frank. This is not the time for diplomatic double talk. The Canadian government discovered within its official ranks three distinct systems of military and political espionage. Its Commission of Inquiry established in 1946 that not merely Communists but also pro-Soviet "liberals" were willing to turn over secret information to a foreign power. It found many undercover agents whose connection with the Communist Party could not have been established by their public responsibilities. Its findings showed that the Communist or the Communist sympathizer is a potential traitor, though often unaware of the full significance of his actions. It established a pattern of infiltration and espionage which finds its parallel within the United States.

Evidence is clear and irrefutable in regard to three major points. *First*, Communists in our midst have a unique loyalty to the Soviet Union. They will use government positions in order to further the interests of a foreign power. In doing this,

* *COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES*, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., 1946. (See bibliography for additional sources.)

they will go as far as treason. Furthermore, their sympathizers and dupes have been led, sometimes unwittingly, to do the same.

Second, Communists and their followers have achieved positions in our government where they can do immense harm to national welfare and security. Our previous study noted vital decisions where their influence predominated. Further questions are raised in the present document. The composite picture leaves no room for complacency.

Thirdly, it is clear that our government has shown appalling laxity in meeting this problem. For reasons to be shown subsequently, a dangerous penetration was accomplished in the face of progressively declining standards of security. Even when substantial evidence of disloyalty was presented, action was deferred or evaded. Cases of espionage and treason were ignored, lest their disclosure "prejudice our relations with the Soviet Union." In many cases purges were prevented for political reasons.

In the light of past disclosures, we cannot feel secure about our future policy. The serious blunders in regard to Latin America, our German policy, and our relations to China, noted in the previous report, are not yet irremediable. We can still act to safeguard national friendships vital for our security and for world peace. But the chances that our program will be revised in time to safeguard our future are dependent on our getting the facts. Too many persons of doubtful loyalty still hold positions where they can influence national policy. Leaks of confidential information are so serious that many governments hesitate to confide in us.* America is dissipating its immense power and prestige throughout the world, in part, because it tolerates advisers who seek precisely such a result, incredible as this may seem.

A further illustration may strengthen the thesis herein advanced. We have committed to the Atomic Energy Commission unprecedented powers. Decisions made by this group will determine the future of America.** Whether we like it or not, the agents of our government can in many ways determine our

* Report of Subcommittee IV, Pursuant to H. R. 430, p. 9, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1946.

** For startling disclosures see: *Plain Talk*, Feb. 1947, p. 3.

destiny. Certainly the least we can expect is that they represent us. Citizens of double or even of uncertain or confused loyalties have no place in positions affecting our national security. If such men have shown inability to detect Communist influence in front organizations, or in making appointments, they can hardly be considered safe candidates for exalted office.

Significance of Communist Party Membership

THE PRESENCE of Communists in government has deep significance. At various times in the history of the Communist Party, USA, it has openly disclosed what is implied in party membership. In 1935 in New York City, two thousand new Communists took the following pledge:

I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious Socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the Party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet Power in the United States.

Each Communist Party application carried the following declaration:

The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C.I. (Communist International) and the Communist Party of the U.S.A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work.

Such pledges are not openly publicized during the present period but they are implicit in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, to which the Communist Party, USA, fully subscribes at the present time.

Discussing the relations between the Communist Party, its front organizations and the Soviet Military Intelligence, the Soviet Secret Police (or OGPU), General Walter Krivitsky, former member of the Soviet Intelligence Service, declared in his testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities on October 11, 1939, that such people:

Are recruited for the OGPU from the Communist Party and from organizations which are regarded as sympathetic with the Communist Party, and that often for a particular job it was more advantageous to use a person who was actually not a member of the party.

Results of Penetration

WHILE the matter of numbers is important, even more significant is the fact of penetration into strategic positions. Thus, highly placed persons in the Bureau of the Budget have an unbelievable influence in rewarding or punishing "cooperative" or "recalcitrant" government departments, and in eliminating appropriations for national defense and security. A dozen persons in the "right" positions in the Department of State exercise an enormous influence on American foreign policy. A handful of advisers in the Treasury formulated the basic program of the Potsdam Agreement in Germany, which played into the hands of Soviet policy and which we have been forced to repudiate. Furthermore, there is evidence of a shrewd ring which keeps informed about important openings and has its candidates for such positions. In this way, relatively few Communists have been able to wield considerable power and to do much damage.

Strategic positions are not necessarily high positions. A file clerk may be more suitable for espionage than a prominent official. Minor functionaries often compile the memoranda from which important decisions are made.

Many decisions have been made in recent years, whose authorship would bear thorough investigation. There was at times a curious coincidence between Soviet aims and precipitously-announced policies of our government, later to be renounced, when their full implications were understood by us. It would be interesting to discover who effected our repudiation of Mihailovitch in favor of Tito, the despot who ordered the shooting down of American fliers. Another enlightening inquiry would uncover the forces behind our intervention in Argentina, which scuttled the Good Neighbor Policy and furnished ammunition for Communist propaganda in Latin

America. Who furnished misleading military intelligence as to the situation in the Far East resulting in our granting far-reaching but uncalled-for concessions to the Soviet Union?

It is well known that forces in the State Department are pushing the cause of the Chinese Communists against the constituted national government of China. The authors of such memoranda would bear investigation. Again, the full story of UNRRA has not been told. A high percentage of relief supplies has found its way into Soviet-controlled territory and has been used for political and military purposes even at the sacrifice of our domestic needs.* Another useful inquiry would delve into the tax-exempt status of notorious Communist-front organizations. Such a grant has led to indirect government subsidy of anti-American groups. It would be interesting to note the stimulus given Communist-controlled unions by certain officials in Government labor boards.

An English magazine noted humorously that the State Department had scooped a columnist in publishing a secret document. But the prevalence of leaks of confidential material is not humorous. Certainly an address by W. Averell Harriman to a closed meeting at the Army-Navy War College should not have been released by a French press agency three days later. Actually, the Communist and left-wing press has consistently obtained and published confidential data. At the same time, information which might enlighten the public on Soviet policies is being withheld or suppressed.

Espionage and Sedition

Americans do not normally think in terms of espionage and sedition. We reserve such "cloak and dagger" material for war time, or for mystery stories centering in the turbulent Balkan region. We would consider even occasional peaceful espionage as fantastic. Certainly we are not prepared for mass espionage, motivated not by thoughts of revenge or monetary gain, but merely by fanatical devotion to the interests of the Soviet Union. Yet the June 27, 1946,

* See: *Reader's Digest*, February, 1947, p. 39.

Report of the Canadian Royal Commission describes a startling pattern which is not confined to Canada:

Perhaps the most startling single aspect of the entire Fifth Column network is the uncanny success with which the Soviet agents were able to find Canadians who were willing to betray their country and to supply to agents of a foreign power secret information to which they had access in the course of their work, despite oaths of allegiance, of office, and of secrecy which they had taken.*

An application of this idea to American conditions was made by Major General William J. Donovan, former Chief of the Office of Strategic Services. As late as March 1945, General Donovan had defended the employment in OSS of such well-known Communists as Irving Goff, Irving Fajans, Milton Wolff, and Vincent Lossowski.** A number of pro-Communists in the OSS were subsequently blanketed into strategic intelligence posts in the State Department. Granting the General's thesis that, "no foreign policy can be stronger than the information upon which it is based," it can be seen how considerations of wartime expediency have endangered our safety.

In recommending the reorganization of our Intelligence system, he declared (*LIFE Magazine*, September 30, 1946):

The N.K.V.D., the U.S.S.R.'s secret service, operates everywhere and in a highly distinctive manner . . . N.K.V.D. depends characteristically on sheer mass. It has thousands of operators scattered throughout the world in countries friendly and not so friendly. It draws information from a vast number of sources—trained secret agents, agents provocateurs, fellow travelers, Communists, as well as the customary diplomatic channels.

This statement is significant, since it reflects disillusionment with Communist professions of loyalty.***

* *Report of the Canadian Royal Commission*, p. 57, (Ottawa: Kings Printer, 1946).

** *Evening Star*, Washington, March 13, 1945; *Washington Post*, July 19, 1945.

*** In this connection, the letter of J. Edgar Hoover, in connection with the Eisler case, made public on February 6, 1947, is significant. (*New York Times*, Feb. 7, 1947, p. 3.) It represents the first official admission of Soviet espionage operations in the United States. Congress should investigate this situation further.

Public Charges

THERE have been three public charges of espionage which would warrant further investigation. In December 1945, a newspaper chain published a detailed and circumstantial story that Soviet agents had pilfered atomic secrets. The President of the American Federation of Labor charged at its 1946 convention in Chicago that an official had stolen and photographed State Department documents to send to Moscow.

In June 1945, six persons were arrested on charges of violating the espionage act, two of them connected with the pro-Communist magazine, *AMERASIA*. According to Congressman George A. Dondero, a search of the offices of the magazine disclosed more than 100 files containing top-secret and highly confidential documents stolen from the State Department, War Department, Navy Department, Office of Strategic Services, Office of Postal and Telegraph Censorship and the Office of War Information.* This charge was corroborated by a subsequent Congressional investigation. One of the six, Emmanuel Larsen, declared that influence was used to prevent real prosecution of the defendants.**

An illustration of our inexcusable laxity was the order given to permit Communists to receive commissions as officers of the United States Army. The intelligence branches of both the Army and the Navy were ordered to discontinue investigations into Communist activities. Such orders were given in spite of violent protests by patriotic and far-seeing officers of the armed forces and members of Congress. The result was a dangerous penetration of our military arm by Communists. They infiltrated the Army orientation course, and gave it a pro-Soviet bias. They reached strategic positions in the intelligence services and were able to color information upon which vital decisions were based. The editorship of many army papers was captured by known Communists. Such individuals gravitated into key positions in the armies of occupation. It is known that Communists organized most of the mutinous dem-

* *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*, April 16, 1946.

** Emmanuel S. Larsen, "The State Department Espionage Case," *Plain Talk*, October 1946, p. 38.

onstrations which so badly lowered American prestige and strength after the fighting ceased.

How Communists Get Government Posts

THE OBJECTIONS to Communist infiltration of government are not unknown to responsible government officials. On the whole, federal policy and public opinion have been against the employment of Communists. In spite of this fact, however, they have successfully scaled the barriers erected against them. The explanation of this fact lies in two situations:

1. A series of factors which weakened the determination of top officials to exclude Communists and their sympathizers.
2. Major defects in the legal and administrative procedure for screening out undesirable elements from federal employment.

Each of these points deserves detailed analysis.

In examining the first point noted above, our first emphasis should be placed upon the psychology of the so-called "liberal" public official. Since 1933, this group has dominated the government. Very early in their careers they developed a strong aversion to resisting Communist infiltration in government. This was due in part to careless charges often made against real liberals and their reform programs. As a result, when genuine and well-founded charges were made, they rarely bothered to examine them.

Furthermore, these liberals found a common cause with the Communists in opposing Hitler and the rise of Fascism. A quiet merger was facilitated by the current Communist Party Line. During the years 1935-1939 and 1941-1945, the Party wore lamb's clothing. These were the days of the united front against Fascism, when revolutionary aims were temporarily set aside, in order to save the Soviet Union from Nazi conquest. During these years, Communists talked like liberals, and were accepted by them, sometimes consciously, often unwittingly.

This quiet trend changed into a quasi-official policy as the recent war progressed. It is now known that the Administration promised Stalin to secure a favorable world opinion for the Soviet Union.* To implement this promise, the Administration used effective pressure against "Red baiting" and discrimination against Communists. Any attack upon Russia or its American agents was considered as hurting the war effort. This pressure was enforced by criticism from the Communist press, the pro-Communist liberal press, and by Communist inspired front organizations. The result was a heavy influx of Communists and their sympathizers into the war agencies, such as the OWI, OSS, OPA, FEA, and WLB. With the termination of the conflict, these individuals shifted to the more permanent agencies. At the same time, investigative work by the Civil Service Commission was tapering off and lapsing into almost complete ineffectiveness.

Politics and Loyalty

THERE IS still another class of government officials who do much harm. In this type are those who from various motives introduce and promote candidates of doubtful loyalty. In some cases the motive is politics. Thus, recommendations from left-wing labor groups have been accepted on the grounds that this will win the labor vote. Several projected purges of government employees were vetoed on political grounds. Again, some popularity-seeking officials fear the smear techniques of the left-wing press. An example of such smears were the attacks upon the State Department as "reactionary" and "pro-Fascist." Such attacks ceased when Soviet sympathizers began to infiltrate this Department in important numbers. Officials who connived in such moves have sacrificed the interests of our country to gain the applause of those motivated by their loyalty to a foreign power whose aims are frankly hostile.

* See: William C. Bullitt, *The Great Globe Itself*, New York: Scribner, 1946, p. 21.

All these classes have done a grave disservice to their country. No eradication of fifth columnists would be complete which did not make a thorough and exacting study of each group. It is necessary that public or secret Communists be removed from government posts. Their sympathizers or dupes likewise should go, since they are equally dangerous.* But a complete study should go deeper. It should examine the forces which led to their original appointments. Their recommendations for personnel should be scrutinized. Finally, any official who appointed a substantial number of such persons should in turn be suspect as to loyalty or judgment.

The recommendations given here are severe, because the problem is critical. No one has a vested right to be appointed to a government job. If his actions or policies endanger our security, the people have a right to be protected from him.

Communists in Government

NO FIGURES are available to the public as to the number of known Communists in government. It has been estimated that about 400 hold positions of importance in Washington. Others occupy strategic positions in the military government abroad. The Communist-dominated United Public Workers of America (CIO) claims membership of 100,000, of which 40,000 are federal workers. While it cannot properly be said that all members of this union are Communists, it is undeniable that they are all subject to Communist propaganda and pressure.**

The United Public Workers of America, (a merger of the United Federal Workers and The State, County and Municipal Workers) has a long pro-Communist record. It denounced

* For three extensive and accurate partial lists of Communist unions and fronts see: Andrew Avery, *The Communist Fifth Column*, and *Communist Power in Industry*, Chicago: Journal of Commerce, 10c and 15c; *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States*, House Committee on Un-American Activities, May 29, 1946, Washington: Government Printing Office.

** See: *Stalin's Hand in the Panama Canal* by R. de Toledano, *Plain Talk*, Nov. 1946, pp. 34-36.

American foreign policy at its Atlantic City convention in 1946, supported Soviet Union programs and policies, and went on to advocate a strike policy in Government service. Although it is true that the Executive Board of the union perfunctorily repudiated the convention strike resolution in response to the wave of public condemnation and Congressional resentment, the Communist character of the organization and its predecessors (UFW and SCMW) had been clearly demonstrated by their subservience to the Communist Party line since their beginning.* Nevertheless the United Public Workers union is allowed the privilege of meeting in government buildings. Its posters are freely displayed on bulletin boards. Its literature is freely circulated. There has been no official ruling against the organization by the Civil Service Commission or any federal agencies.

The United Public Workers of America has recently announced the organization of 17,000 workers in the militarily strategic Panama Canal Zone under the leadership of Leonard H. Goldsmith, a New Jersey CIO organizer with a long record of Communist activities. This union has locals in the State, War and Navy Departments and other important federal departments, in arsenals, Navy Yards, scientific laboratories, proving grounds, penetrating to the positions in government most sensitive from a security viewpoint.

As a further indication of Communist strength in government, of a total of 562 federal employees listed by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1939 from the files of the American League for Peace and Democracy, cited by Attorney General Biddle as a Communist front organization, a large proportion is not only still with the government but are in far more important positions. Communist Party and Communist front meetings in Washington attract thousands, most of them federal employees. Secret Communist cells are continuously at work within the Nation's capital.

Once Communists infiltrate sufficiently into government, they set up an efficient patronage machine. Openings are noted, and candidates are pushed for strategic positions. Aiding in this process are gullible liberals, front organizations, infiltrated

* See Appendix V for further evidence in this regard.

groups, and pro-Communists in the labor movement. This penetration is not confined to the executive arm alone. Communist sympathizers also received appointments as technical advisers to Congressional committees and to individual members of Congress.* Some of the most dangerous appointments in recent years to such departments as State, Treasury, Labor, Commerce, Federal Communications Commission and Bureau of the Budget were the work of this patronage system.

Legal Status of Communists in Government

THE PRESENT legal basis for barring Communists from government service is Public Law 135 generally referred to as the Hatch Act. This forbids the employment of those who advocate "the overthrow of our constitutional form of government." Although the Communists do not at this stage in the United States openly advocate such overthrow, it is basic in their fundamental teachings and tactics. Communists, with characteristic duplicity, do not hesitate to deny such advocacy even under oath.

A further difficulty in applying the Hatch Act is the obtaining of proof that a given individual is a member or a follower of the Communist Party. An illuminating study of this problem is contained in a letter to Hon. George A. Dondero, written on February 20, 1945, by Adjutant General U. A. Ulio. The General notes:

It was clear that the burden of proof in applying the Hatch Act was squarely on the Army. Legal proof of membership had to be established. . . . The Hatch Act did not refer to persons of communist ideology who were not members of the Communist Party. . . . Long experience and careful investigation showed conclusively the virtual impossibility of developing actual, legal proof of membership in the Communist Party on the part of persons desiring to conceal such membership. The Communist Party took action to prevent the Hatch Act being applied to its members in the Army

* For first-hand documentation see: *Turn the Light on Communism* by Robert M. LaFollette, Jr., *Collier's*, Feb. 8, 1947, p. 22.

by giving them leaves of absence in such a manner as to constitute at least a suspension of membership in the Party. Certain court decisions [the Schneiderman case] had to be considered. It has been held that proof of past membership in the Communist Party is not conclusive proof that the individual thereafter continued to be a member of the Party. As a result of these considerations, the War Department has found itself in a difficult position legally to take effective action under the Hatch Act.

The Army's difficulties found a parallel in the Civil Service Commission as disclosed by the Subcommittee of the House Civil Service Committee Report:

It has been extremely difficult to prepare standards that would protect both the government and the employee. Very few individuals openly advocate the overthrow of our government by force or violence or belong to organizations that so advocate. If membership exists, it is extremely difficult to prove.

The Report of the Canadian Royal Commission (June 27, 1946) enlarges upon this problem as follows:

To judge from much of the evidence, the secret adherent is apparently encouraged never to be honest or frank, outside the secret "cell" meetings, about his real political attitudes or views, and apparently is led to believe that frankness in these matters is the equivalent of dangerous indiscretion and a potential menace to the organization as a whole.

The Civil Service Commission and the Federal Bureau of Investigation both have pointed out a situation summarized as follows:

While fingerprint and name checks afford some protection to the government, the protection cannot be adequate since many individuals who are disloyal to the government do not have criminal records and often operate under assumed names.*

It should be noted, however, that automatic fingerprinting of all employees has not been enforced. Many employees in the government have not been fingerprinted.

* *Congressional Record*, July 20, 1946, p. 9729.

A Court Decision

A SECOND blow to effective application of the Hatch Act was given by the United States Supreme Court on June 21, 1943. In the case of William Schneiderman, a Communist organizer, the Court held that membership in a Party does not of necessity indicate acceptance of the Party's program! The court did not in this case rule whether or not the Communist Party actually advocates the overthrow of government. This attitude of the Court appears strangely unrealistic in the light of recent purges of Communist Party members who did not faithfully accept the current Party Line. Nevertheless, it stands as a severe legal obstacle against one method of purging Communists from government. It is clear that the approach from the "advocacy of revolution" aspect is not sufficient. A more satisfactory approach is the right of government to set up its own standards of employment, a right upheld in regard to government purchases under the Public Contracts Act (the Walsh-Healey Act).* In the case of Morton Friedman, the U. S. Court of Appeals (D. C.) stated:

The United States has the right to employ such persons as it deems necessary to aid in carrying on the public business. It has the right to prescribe the qualifications of its employees and to attach conditions to their employment. (Dec. 16, 1946)

A further difficulty with the approach previously used is that at most it would affect a small group of Communist Party members. It would be wholly ineffective against the fellow traveler or dupe who co-operates with the Communists. It would likewise be useless against officials, who, for political or personal reasons, connived in the appointment of persons whose loyalty or judgment can be questioned.

Previous Supreme Court history in regard to subversive groups is not entirely clear. There are two opposing lines of precedent. The Holmes dictum ** states that there must be "clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent." According

* For further comment on Supreme Court decisions, see Appendix I.

** *Schenck v. United States*, 249 U. S. 47, 52, 63, L. Ed. 470 (1918).

to this approach, it is not enough to show that the Communist Party advocates the overthrow of government. It must be further proved that the threat is real and imminent. On the other side is the "self-defense" dictum, whereby a government can take the steps necessary to defend its existence.* This theory would give the Congress greater latitude in protecting the nation from potential evils, even before they progress sufficiently to become an imminent threat.

There exist two further legal bases for action against Communists and their followers. The Voorhis Act requires the registration of proved foreign agents with the United States government, with a full statement of their activities, revenues, and disbursements. To avoid registration under this Act, the American Communist Party ostensibly "broke" with the Comintern in 1940. The Comintern itself went through the motions of dissolution in 1943. Yet the Department of Justice is in a position to prove that the American Communist Party takes direct and continuous orders from Moscow and its agents. In the light of these facts, it would be advisable for the Department of Justice to proceed against the Communist Party for violation of the Act. It should further enforce future compliance upon the Party and thus force its activities into the light of public scrutiny.

A second legal aid may be found in the Logan Act of 1912. This law prohibits and punishes conspiracy by American citizens and foreign agents, helping foreign agents to influence relations between the United States and any foreign government, and the attempt to defeat measures taken by the United States in the course of such relations. The law also applies to those who counsel, advise or assist in such operations. Actually the top officials of the American Communist Party have consistently engaged in activities which are forbidden by this law. The Department of Justice can compile evidence to show such violations. Prosecutions under this Act would unmask the Party and show it in its real light: an instrument whereby American citizens have become agents of a foreign power and traitors to their own government.

* *Schaefer v. United States*, 251 U. S., 466, 477, 64, L. Ed. 360 (1919). See in this connection the *MARQUETTE LAW REVIEW*, March 1943.

Comprehensive Program Needed

THE FACT is that the Department of Justice representing the law enforcement arm of the government has thus far utterly failed in securing either legislation or Supreme Court opinion that would lay a sound and watertight basis for proceedings against members of the Communist Party, or its agents, particularly those who are in Government employ. It has avoided meeting the issue.

Of course the government has other powers which it may invoke, but which it has not exercised with any energy or persistence. Section I, Rule 12 of the Temporary Civil Service Regulations specifically gives that power to the federal agencies in the following explicit terms:

No person in the classified service of the United States shall be removed therefrom except for such cause as will promote the efficiency of the service and for reasons given in writing; and the person whose removal is sought shall have notice of the same and of any charges preferred against him and be furnished with a copy thereof and also be allowed a reasonable time for personally answering the same in writing; and affidavits in support thereof; but no examination of witnesses nor any trial or hearing shall be required except in the discretion of the officer making the removal; and copies of charges, notice of hearing, answer, reasons for removal, and of the order of removal shall be made a part of the records of the proper department or office, as shall also the reasons for reduction in rank or compensation; and copies of the same shall be furnished to the person affected upon request and the commission also shall, upon request, be furnished copies of the same.

Encased in the legal phrasing of the rule there are two essential points: first, that employees of government can be removed to promote the efficiency of the service. The second point is that while the employee has a right to answer the charges, he does not have the right to a formal trial or hearing.

The importance of this latter point is brought out in Appendix II. The need of protecting informants from Communist reprisals, and the necessity of protecting sources of information about a secret and conspiratorial group, call for special techniques. On this subject, the rights of a federal employee

are best protected by skill and competence among investigators and security officials on the basis of publicly announced adequate standards fixed by Congress. An open hearing, which would unmask informants and sources of investigation, would reduce to impotence the future process of purging the government of disloyal employees.

Practical Obstacles

IN PRACTICE, however, these existing powers have been used reluctantly and sparingly. There were many reasons why officials hesitated to proceed even against flagrant disloyalty. One was the current view that such actions would endanger the "friendship" between the United States and the Soviet Union. Another was the fear of savage attacks from the United Federal Workers Union (now the United Public Workers of America), Communist fronts, the Communist and pro-Communist press. It was politic not to act on such cases. Furthermore, the Civil Service Commission, except in rare instances, investigates only new employees. Those previously blanketed into government are left to the untrained inquiries of department or agency heads. The result was a set of conflicting and inadequate standards, with employees rejected on loyalty grounds by one agency being accepted by another.

Congressional efforts to exclude employees who were active in Communist causes were balked by one pretext or another. Then, after the Civil Service Commission had lapsed into innocuousness, its funds were cut to the bone. At present, the Commission has funds to make loyalty investigations of about one in two hundred new employees. An influence in the starving of the Commission was the attitude of high Bureau of the Budget officials. Congressman Bradley quoted Paul Appleby, then Acting Director of the Bureau of the Budget, as stating: "A man in the employ of the government has just as much a right to be a member of the Communist Party as he has to be a member of the Democratic or Republican Party."

In summary, it can be seen that part of the difficulty in removing Communists from government is legal, and part the

result of administrative decisions. As noted earlier, it should not be difficult to establish a sound legal basis for standards of loyalty. Our government has abundant evidence to prove the treasonable nature of the Communist Party. All that is needed is the revelation of facts now suppressed. The administrative problem is likewise relatively simple, given good will. Congress should see that definite security regulations are made and enforced. Stern vigilance along this line is the only road to safety. An unwise economy which prevents investigation of present and prospective employees would be most shortsighted. It would be a paradox to appropriate billions for military defense against external enemies, and yet to ignore fifth-column elements in our midst.*

A Statement of Policy

IN ORDER to protect our nation from persons of doubtful loyalty, there should be a clear understanding that certain types of persons are considered unsuitable for public service. This bar would apply to present employees as well as to applicants. This policy statement should contain clear and comprehensive definitions, some details of which are advocated subsequently. Safeguards should be erected to protect those who innocently became entangled with Communist groups, or who subsequently changed their views. The benefit of the doubt should be given to the security of the nation and not to the individual. As was noted in our previous report, pro-Communist activities reflect upon either the loyalty or judgment of an individual, and persons lacking in either should not be retained for government service.

It is to be anticipated that Communists, through devious routes, will try to arouse liberals and the general public against a program of insuring loyalty in government. Charges will be raised that freedom of thought will be muzzled and a Gestapo set up. Demands will be made for full public hearings in each case and for the revelation of sources and informants. Such

* For a fuller discussion of the Civil Service Commission and its functions, see Appendix III.

a campaign will be the more dangerous, since all sympathize with its announced objectives. Actually, however, trained investigators with clear directives based on statute do not confuse liberals with Communists. No individual with a consistent record of loyalty will be injured by proposals made here. Charges to the contrary will be only a smokescreen to protect subversive elements, always adept at clothing themselves with an American flag when attacked.

Once standards are set, it is important that adequate investigative machinery be available. This problem is difficult, but not insuperable. The investigators of the Civil Service Commission performed their task with considerable efficiency, prior to Administrative decisions which hampered their work. While it will be hard to reassemble a trained staff now scattered far and wide, adequate standards of salary and security might prove an inducement for experts to return to the service. Investigators trained by other government agencies during the war, and now in civilian service, might be attracted by favorable offers.

Congress should see that some central agency is responsible for security and loyalty supervision. This agency should set definite standards, which must be followed by department and agency heads. It should report to a subcommittee of Congress whose principal functions would be to enforce the will of Congress in this matter. In so far as possible, and subject to the exception of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, security files of government should be centralized. This agency should not only check upon applicants for employment, but also investigate complaints about and initiate its own inquiries in regard to present personnel.

To assist this security agency, Congress should legislate clear and definite standards. It should enact into law some such standards as are given subsequently. A tightening of security and espionage provisions, and a strengthening of loyalty requirements, would give a security agency real tools with which to improve the quality of federal service.

Conclusion

THE PROGRAM presented in this report is a proposed pattern for action. It is based upon a careful study of well-documented material. Such information is largely a matter of public record, indeed much of it stems from Congressional inquiries. In view of the urgency of the problem and the wealth of material on hand, it would be a mistake to defer action pending another prolonged investigation of the problem. Analysis of existing material and recommendations by qualified experts afford Congress ample basis upon which to erect a fair and workable pattern of laws.

There is room, however, for further investigation on a broader front. Throughout this report there have been allusions to suppressed information. Reference has been made to policies which appear to be more pro-Soviet than pro-American. The entire aspect of outside interference in American foreign policy calls for exhaustive study. It would appear that such inquiries could be appropriately directed by either the Senate or House Foreign Relations Committee, or by a joint subcommittee. Such a group could go into the influences which entered into such important decisions as the Potsdam Agreement, the Argentine policy and the China policy. It should probe the reasons behind the suppression of information regarding activities of Soviet agents in this country. This committee could bring into the open the full story of Communist penetration of military occupation zones, UNRRA, certain clashes between the USSR and the USA in mutual occupation zones, the whitewashing of espionage cases, and scores of other items important for an intelligent foreign policy.

A dignified and competent investigation of this type would educate the public to the realities of our foreign relations. In trained hands, it should not and would not be a sensation-seeking witch hunt. Rather it would be a penetrating study into the pattern which determined American foreign policy at a critical period in our history. A real service could be rendered if the secret story of Yalta and Teheran could be made public. Much that is sordid would be revealed by a complete inquiry, but it would furnish the basis for an intelligent and realistic

foreign policy.* It would also further document the need for loyalty and security in federal employment policies.

But the cleansing of government should not wait the conclusion of such a broad investigation. National security demands prompt, although carefully considered, action. We urge this, knowing that the government has extensive files which would justify an extensive program of security standards and measures. The recommendations given here provide safeguards against hasty and ill-considered action. They would not lead to wholesale dismissals on flimsy grounds. But they do furnish a groundwork for national security.

The building up of a competent investigative corps will take time. In the meantime, however, once the proper principles are enacted into law and administrative rulings, the removal of Fifth Columnists could begin. Actual Communists and foreign agents known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation should be cited to the proper security officers for immediate action. In many cases, criminal prosecution would be in order. At any rate, the sources of leaks and espionage could be promptly spotted.

It will take longer to prepare properly the cases against fellow travelers or dupes who have effectively aided the Fifth Column. This would be more properly the work of the central security agency and of the department and bureau security officials. It would be aided immensely by the probe recommended above.

Cooperation Needed

THE SECURITY of the Nation demands that there be full cooperation of the Executive branch with the Legislative and Judicial branches on this matter. The issue should be above all partisanship. Federal employees should be called upon to cooperate by furnishing helpful information in the interests of national security. Present and past employees should be released from oaths of secrecy and of office, to the extent that they testify before properly constituted Congress-

* For the evidence see: *Defeat in Victory*, Jan Ciechanowski, Doubleday and Company, New York, 1947, and Wm. C. Bullitt, op. cit.

sional Committees or security boards. Guarantees as to immunity from reprisals should be given to those who testify, whether in government or in civilian employment. In this way, thousands of present and former federal employees and members of the armed services will be able to supply information. It is known that many have felt that their country's interests were being betrayed because of faulty policies. They should be given their chance to testify and to document the general charges made in this report.

In discussing agents of a foreign power, we have limited our treatment mainly to Communists. Agents of the Axis have been largely suppressed by the prompt and intelligent action of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. To the extent, however, that any foreign agents other than Communists operate to menace our security or interests, all of these principles and recommendations would likewise be operative in their cases. But the danger of the Communist Fifth Column is imminent and great.

We have not said the last word on this important subject. We hope this report will help the American people to find a solution to a vital problem. We pledge our support to all conscientious and loyal Americans in this endeavor.

We wish to emphasize two points:

1. The overwhelming majority of government employees are competent and thoroughly loyal. No broadside or sweeping indictment or investigation is called for. Emotional witch-hunts do more harm than good.
2. Because the Communists are daring, ruthless and resourceful, the task of keeping public employment free from them and their sympathizers is a continuing task, calling for objective standards applied with resourcefulness, intelligence and insight.

Persons interested in studying more detailed suggestions for implementing the foregoing general program, are urged to examine Appendix I on Specific Recommendations.

APPENDIX I

Specific Recommendations

THE FOLLOWING detailed recommendations are designed to implement the general proposals given previously. They are concrete and practical suggestions to Congress and the security agencies of the government. They represent the experience of many experts who have studied at length the question of subversive penetration into our government.

1. Loyalty

THE QUESTION of loyalty should be one which can be raised at any time by the government in reference to any employee regardless of whether he has been cleared before or not, and regardless of the permanency of his status. This will make it possible for the government to rid itself of disloyal elements if further evidence is found on the subject's past record or in the event of subsequent subversive activity. In other words unquestionable loyalty to the government should be the *sine qua non* of government employment, at all times.

2. Investigative Agencies

WITH OVER two million employees on the federal payroll and with thousands of new applicants each year, it is manifestly impossible for the one hundred investigators on the Civil Service Commission staff to investigate new cases as well as old cases which may arise. Even if the staff were considerably increased it would be an impossible task for any one agency. It is therefore suggested that responsibility for staff loyalty be placed not only upon the Civil Service Commission but also upon *all* agency, section and department heads. Each executive officer should be duty bound not only to report any evidence of disloyalty but to see to it that proper action is taken in each case. He should be responsible for the drawing up of any special security measures appropriate to his department and for the appointment of a security committee which should function in his agency, section or department. Officials in all departments who encounter any evidence of disloyalty in any other department in the course of their activity should be called upon to report their findings to a designated authority.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, which now has no power of recommendation, thus rendering information in its vast files almost valueless, should be required by law to pass information on loyalty cases to the agencies concerned with recommendations and to expe-

dite action in the interests of national security. Thus instead of concentrating responsibility upon one single agency, an assignment impossible of accomplishment, the responsibility should become a part of the fundamental duty of all government executives on the basis of open uniform standards established under Congressional law. Nevertheless, decentralization in the execution of security rules for existing federal employees should be no excuse for evasion of duty. A central agency should not only set up standards, but it should have the power to check upon the enforcement of these standards by department and bureau security officers. Moreover, a subcommittee of Congress should have as its task the maintaining of vigilance in this regard.

In order to protect its sources of information, the Federal Bureau of Investigation does not disclose them to the various agencies. Agencies are thus required to act on unsupported charges. This results in widespread evasion, delaying any decisive action. The Federal Bureau of Investigation should be permitted to keep its sources confidential but it should be required to state definitely whether on the basis of its weighted findings, the subject is or was a member of the Communist Party, a fellow traveler, and the like.

Two points in regard to the Federal Bureau of Investigation are important. The first is that it be permitted to keep inviolate its records and sources of information. It would be imprudent in the long run to expose and thus to nullify trusted sources merely to gain short-term objectives. Secondly, it should have the responsibility and the opportunity to initiate, on its own discretion, loyalty inquiries. It is not enough that it pass judgment upon cases sent to it from the Civil Service Commission or the departments. It should also have the right and the duty to call to the attention of security officers cases which endanger national security. In such instances, it should send its weighted conclusions to this officer, who would be bound to give such judgments most careful consideration. In doing this, it would act under the uniform publicly-known standards to be set up for all loyalty cases.

3. Handling Records

AT THE present time loyalty records are scattered over a number of agencies, each of which is highly jealous of its own prerogatives. The resultant friction serves the interests of those who seek to avoid detection. Hence records should be concentrated as far as possible with the understanding that special records should be encouraged where it specifically suits the needs of the given agency. Access to such records should be granted only to specially selected investigators under carefully drawn security provisions.

4. Trained Personnel

THE DETECTION of Communists and their agents, the discrimination necessary to avoid injustice to individuals, the difference between a Communist, a fellow-traveler, a liberal, and those in other movements, all require considerable knowledge and study. This necessitates the training not only of investigators in this field, but more important, of those who supervise this work and especially those who make evaluations. In the past, knowledge and training in this intricate work has almost invariably diminished proportionately as one approached the top, decisive or executive levels. Persons with years of experience in this work have either been dropped or shifted to other activity. Positions of this kind, in which questions of national safety are so deeply involved, must not be left to an untrained and inexperienced political appointee. The policy of maintaining a security official like J. Edgar Hoover in office, regardless of changes in Administration, is sound. It should be applied in all levels of security work. The issue of security should be above partisan politics.

5. The Communist Party and its Fronts

IN A LARGE MEASURE the government is responsible for the present confusion because it has failed to set down definite and reasonable standards as a guide to all departments, to present and future employees, as well as to the public. The Department of Justice should officially rule that the Communist Party, USA, is an agency of a foreign power and subject to the provisions of the Voorhis Act and the Logan Act. The Department of Justice should make public at least twice a year a certified list of Communist-controlled front organizations and labor unions. The government should clearly state its attitude toward public employees who support such organizations.

The front organization should be clearly defined. Attorney General Francis A. Biddle has referred to them as organizations:

Represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist Party to carry on its activities, pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution.

In urging the necessity of building such organizations, Otto Kuusinen, former Secretary of the Communist International, has referred to them as "mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes."

Identification of Communist front organizations and Communist-controlled unions should be based upon publicly announced standards such as the following:

1. Information that the group was formed by the Communist Party or through its instigation and corroboration of this by strict adherence to the Communist Party line.

2. Communists or supporters of the Communist Party line in strategic and policy-making posts of the suspected front, as speakers, editors, secretary, organization director, educational director, organizer, executive board members, office staff, and the like.
3. Cooperation with the Communist Party and its other front organizations.
4. Support of the organization by the Communist press and Communist-controlled organizations.
5. Use of well-known Communist service organizations for printing, mimeographing, meetings, entertainment, advertising, accounting, unions, and so forth.
6. Unwavering support of the Soviet Union on all questions, even when such policies are in opposition to the policies of the United States.

All agencies of the government should have a uniform attitude toward these organizations, once they are definitely identified. They should be dealt with as the direct or indirect instrumentalities of a foreign power, subject to the provisions of the Voorhis Act and accorded no official recognition or standing by any government agency. This should apply also to a Communist-controlled union such as the United Public Workers.

6. Civil Service Rules

ON NOVEMBER 3, 1943, the Civil Service Commission issued debilitating instructions coincident with the pressure from the United Federal Workers, which made a mockery of its investigations. These instructions concerned Communist activity in unions, aid to Loyalist Spain, Communist reading matter, family connections with subversive elements, and adherence to front organizations. By eliminating such questions, a fruitful source of information was cut off. The detailed reasons why these and similar questions should be reinstated are given in Appendix II.

7. Clear and Precise Definitions

PRECISE definitions, as objective as they can be made, should be evolved as to the various categories included in loyalty investigations, as well as the definite attitude of the government toward them.

(a) Members of the Communist Party, USA, as proven by: possession of a membership card, payment of dues, soliciting membership, holding a post in the party or on one of its official publications, doing other work for the party, running for office on the Communist Party ticket, proof of attendance at closed meetings of the Communist Party, or announcement of party membership by an official Communist publication or admission of party membership.

The question has been raised at times as to whether such evidence would prove *present* Communist Party membership. Properly to pass on this question one must understand the nature of such mem-

bership. Communist Party by-laws and rules have time and again emphasized the fact that membership is strictly the possession of the party, to give, withhold or renounce. Communist Party members cannot resign. They are expelled. They are never granted a leave of absence from duty, contrary to what the Army was told, except in cases of ill health. Those who claim they are no longer members should therefore be compelled to furnish proof of their severance from the party. This could be in the form of a public Communist announcement of expulsion as in the cases of Browder, Minton, McKenney and others, or some evidence indicating that the subject has on one or more occasions, sincerely opposed the party. Otherwise it should be assumed that membership is still in force. Members of the Communist Party should be barred from all government agencies because of their subservience to a foreign power.

(b) Since it has been a recognized Communist practice not to admit party membership and to hide actual membership behind one or more pseudonyms plus other artifices, the subject's amenability to Communist discipline, his loyalty to the Communist Party and the Soviet Union, must be established as it is done in the trade union movement, as it was done by Attorney General Francis A. Biddle in the case of Harry Bridges, and as it was done by the U. S. Labor Department in the case of Helen Miller, by showing that *the pattern of behavior* over a substantial period has been *unvarying* in its conformance with the publicly announced Communist Party line, and that affiliations and associations have invariably been with organizations and individuals identified with the Communist Party. In this category belong registered Communist voters, signers of Communist election petitions, subscribers to the Communist press, financial contributors to the party or its organs, supporters and defenders of the party, and the like. Because of the secrecy of the Communist organization especially where a "capitalist" government is concerned, this method is the only practical one which can be relied upon. The following opinion of Judge Charles B. Sears, characterizing Harry Bridges, should serve as an excellent model. Speaking of the defendant he points out that said defendant's

cooperative and sympathetic attitude toward various Front Organizations of the Communist Party and toward certain Communist-sponsored programs and policies . . . *viewed as a whole, form a pattern* which is more consistent with the conclusion that the alien followed this course of conduct as an affiliate of the Communist Party, rather than as a matter of coincidence. (Italics supplied).

Generally, not one isolated act or incident should control; rather it is *the pattern* of loyalty or disloyalty and of behavior over a period of time which should be the test. Those who accept completely the discipline of a foreign power or its American instrumentality, the Communist Party, should be barred from federal employment.

The government should consult with educational experts to explore the feasibility of employing the new type objective attitude examination in connection with the determination of the loyalty of employees and applicants. This type of examination, ingeniously constructed and intelligently applied, can do a great deal to determine whether the examinee has the type of knowledge and attitudes which only Communists and close fellow-travelers have. In skillful hands this type of examination could be a highly discriminating supplementary tool for determining loyalty, and possibly, degrees of disloyalty; and coupled with other evidence the results would help to identify those persons whose primary loyalty is to a foreign power.

(c) The attitude of the government toward the group known as "fellow travelers" involves many difficulties. Nevertheless the significance of this group and their potentialities as far as national security is concerned, should be frankly faced.

A fellow traveler should be defined as an individual who from time to time supports the Communist Party or one or more of the organizations or campaigns operating under its initiative and control. He may or may not agree with the full program of the Communist Party or its controlled organizations. As a rule his support is influenced by his sympathy and admiration for the Soviet Union as a symbol of progress and social welfare, or by his belief that the particular organization or campaign is a meritorious one, or by both considerations. Since the founding of the international Communist movement, it has been standard Communist practice to utilize and exploit such middle-of-the-road elements for special Communist purposes. F. Brown, then a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA, and a well-known Comintern operative, (*Daily Worker*, August 25, 1937, p. 2) declared:

It is no exaggeration to state that besides the 55,000 Communist members, there are today tens of thousands of individuals who are active in every field of the progressive movement, carrying out the line of the Party in practice. They work shoulder to shoulder with the Party members, follow the Party line through our press—*Daily Worker*, *Sunday Worker*, language press, through the mass activities of the Party—mass meetings, lectures, and all struggles in which the Communists are in the forefront. . . . We must point out: First, that their actual work is appreciated by the Party; second, that we consider their work Communist work and want them to continue it.

The closeness of a fellow traveler to the Communist Party and the extent of its confidence in him, may be measured by:

1. The number of his associations with Communist-controlled organizations.
2. The importance of the post or posts occupied by him in these organizations.

3. Extent of his activity.
4. His adherence to these organizations despite public exposure of their Communist character.
5. His standing in the Communist press.
6. Public statements, writings, and the like.
7. Type of character references.

In certain naive, "liberal" government circles, it has been customary to look upon these ties somewhat lightly and with considerable good-natured tolerance. It should be pointed out, however, that a well-meaning but unsophisticated dupe in the hands of shrewd manipulators, can often do as much or even more harm than a Communist Party member. The Report of the Royal Commission of Canada offers the following startling example:

Raymond Boyer, a wealthy and noted Canadian chemist, who described himself as having "worked in organizations in which there were Communists and in which I knew there were Communists, and I have worked very closely with Communists, but I have never held a party card nor paid dues." A memorandum found in the Soviet Embassy cites his services as follows: "Gives full information on explosives and chemical plants . . . (Gave the formula of RDX . . .)" RDX is an explosive perfected in England in 1942. He also furnished information regarding the Pilot Plant at Grand Mere, Quebec, for the production of uranium.*

It has repeatedly happened that the individual under consideration is held in high esteem in scientific, cultural or artistic circles, but is naive politically and easily exploited by the shrewder and more purposeful Communists. It will take unwavering determination and loyalty on the part of government officials to adhere strictly to standards to be established in such cases.

In setting up security provisions and in providing punishment for violations, the British Secrets Acts of 1911 and 1920 provide a model worthy of serious consideration. The more pertinent sections of these Acts are quoted in Appendix IV.

In the light of the problems we face in the coming critical period, it would be highly undesirable to permit the following categories to hold any post in the government involving, directly or indirectly, the determination of policy on other than purely technical matters, the appointment or control of personnel, or access to confidential information important to our national security:

1. Persons who demonstrate an attitude fundamentally hostile to our form of government. This does not imply any desire to stifle honest criticism of those who are fundamentally loyal to the principles of American democracy.
2. Persons who demonstrate a loyalty or devotion or admiration for the Soviet Government in preference to our own,

* *Report of Canadian Royal Commission*, p. 375.

who resolve every question of doubt on matters involving the two nations, in favor of the Soviet Government.

3. Persons who cooperate with Communists, or defend or support them, or their organizations.

From the standpoint of practical statecraft and national self-preservation in a critical period when minor mistakes may have major consequences, the fellow-traveler must be classified as an unreliable element, whose employment will involve definite and undesirable risks. If the government would frankly state this as its attitude, it would serve to educate these individuals and discourage them from joining Communist organizations, thus ultimately lessening the number of cases for the government.

8. Regulations for Record Keeping

ALL AGENCIES should be instructed to draft efficient security regulations dealing with the safety of files, documents and information, and graduated but severe penalties should be provided for violations of these regulations. These regulations should be standardized, as far as possible.

9. Proof of Identity

ALL EMPLOYEES of the government should be fingerprinted and photographed. Loyal employees will not object, especially if the government frankly explains its purpose. This will make it possible to carry through a thorough screening of all employees including those who were hurriedly employed without investigation during the last war. Undoubtedly there are some employees with criminal and subversive records which would thus be disclosed.

Subversive elements should not be allowed to protect themselves from exposure by hiding behind the claim that the photographing of applicants and present employees would open the way to racial and other discriminatory practices. Proper safeguards should be provided against such practices with the cooperation of loyal representatives of minority groups.

10. Civil Service Application Form

THE PRESENT Civil Service application form, No. 57, should be amplified in order to include necessary information such as: father's and mother's name, date of naturalization, place, etc., former addresses, use of other names, foreign residence and employment by a foreign power, etc. All applicants should be required to sign a record search release enabling investigating agencies to examine draft or other pertinent records.

11. False Information

ANY EMPLOYEE who *at any time* has falsified his record as far as a material matter is concerned and with clear intent to deceive the government or its appointing officers, should be discharged and prosecuted wherever possible.

12. Uniform Standards for all Agencies

PERSONS ousted from one agency on disloyalty grounds, should be barred from reemployment by another agency. Persons who have resigned while under investigation, should be released under prejudice and rated unfavorably for further employment.

13. Executive and Congressional Committee Staffs

A LOYALTY CHECKUP on persons appointed to executive office is a highly delicate matter. Nevertheless the problem must be tackled, possibly by a special agency selected for the purpose. Those whose records are clear will raise no objection to what every loyal citizen will look upon as a necessary precaution. Persons in high executive posts whose loyalty is questionable can do considerably greater damage than those in inferior positions. Oftentimes an appointment is proposed on the spur of the moment at a staff meeting, on the basis of personal friendship and no further checkup is made. It is well known that Communists and their supporters have insinuated themselves into both major political parties for the express purpose of thus securing posts of political power. A case in point is the recent Presidential appointment to the key post of legal advisor to Lieutenant General Lucius Clay, head of the American Occupation Zone in Germany, of an individual whose loyalty record with the Government has been questioned.

All Congressional Committee staffs should be subject to standard investigative procedure since Congressional Committees play an important part in shaping our domestic and foreign policy. Employment should be barred to those barred in other services. It should be noted that Congressional Committees are in a position to gain access to strategically important information. In the past such information has been made available to the Communist press. Members of the House and Senate have neither the training nor the facilities to conduct loyalty investigations.

14. Communist Patronage Channels

AS LOYALTY and security investigations become intensified, every effort should be made to discover common sources of unsatisfactory

appointments. In this way, the Communist patronage machine would be uncovered and its future operations stifled. Furthermore, a full knowledge of the pattern of appointments might uncover dangerous individuals who might otherwise remain undiscovered. Thus, espionage agents are instructed to avoid public affiliation with the Communist Party and its controlled groups. They would refrain from discussions which might reveal their convictions. Their sole purpose would be to obtain information, not to influence policy directly. Activities of this type were uncovered in the Canadian espionage inquiry. Similar agents in the United States could be uncovered when their pattern of appointment is identical with that of questionable officials.

Promptly when the present loopholes are plugged and danger points are discovered by the government, the purposeful Communists and their sympathizers will alter their tactics appropriately. For this reason, only continuous wide-awake vigilance on the part of our security officials will solve this and other problems.

15. Wise Economy

ECONOMY MEASURES in government, however desirable in themselves, should not interfere with security measures. All economy measures must be so drawn as to safeguard loyalty and security investigations in the departments and in the armed services. The Civil Service Commission should be reorganized and strengthened, or supplemented by an autonomous central security agency, so that an adequate staff can be maintained, possibly drawn from existing personnel. Competent former employees should be recalled when possible if the staff requires augmentation. Likewise, the Federal Bureau of Investigation should be strengthened and permitted a salary scale sufficient to retain experienced and loyal employees.

16. Education

FOR THE CREATION of a sound public opinion that will understand and approve these efforts, a nationwide campaign of education is necessary through the press, radio and the schools. In the past government agencies have allowed themselves to be pressured by publicity campaigns in the left wing press falsifying the issues involved. This will be obviated by an intelligent and informed public opinion, the building of which is an organic part of any security program.*

* See, for example, *Communism in Action*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. 1946, 25c.

17. Advisory Board

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION should be assisted by an Advisory Board consisting of responsible and loyal representatives of labor, business and the legal profession. Pressure groups should be directed to present their appeals to this advisory board. The Civil Service Commission should not be subject to direct pressure from highly articulate Communist-inspired groups. An insignificant minority of members of Congress is in sympathy with these groups. These individuals must not be in a position to exert direct pressure on the Civil Service Commission in order to influence its decisions in loyalty cases, as has happened in the past.

Members of Congress should be directed to make their complaints to the proper committee of Congress, either the Civil Service Committee or the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Conclusion

THE FOREGOING RECOMMENDATIONS have been made in some detail in order to indicate the type of approach which we think is desirable. We believe all suggestions merit consideration. Since we may have not covered the entire ground, we hasten to urge that additional suggestions be brought to the attention of Congress.

APPENDIX II

*The Supreme Court and the
Issue of Communism*

THE SUPREME COURT DECISION of June, 1943, in the case of William Schneiderman, a Communist organizer, has not only furnished the basis for the action of the War Department in permitting the commissioning of Communists in the armed forces but it has dealt a severe blow to the legal bases for action against them by the Civil Service Commission, the Department of Justice and other agencies of the government. Unfortunately the Court's decisions still stand in the face of the fact that both the Soviet Government and its satellite organization, the Communist Party, USA, have long since repudiated publicly the ideas of friendship and co-operation for the United States, which they promulgated during the period of the wartime alliance.

Stalin's book, *Problems of Leninism*, now on sale at all Communist book shops, declares:

It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long period side by side with imperialist states—ultimately one or the other must conquer.

The authoritative Eugene Varga, Soviet economist and adviser to the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, has declared:

The fact that the Soviet Union and the highly developed capitalist countries fought in the same camp against the Fascist aggressors did not signify that the struggle between the two systems had slowed down and stopped; it did not even signify the beginning of the end of this struggle.*

We have permitted those whose primary loyalty leans toward the Soviet Government to penetrate into the very vitals of our own government at a time when the Soviet Union and the still-active Communist International of Communist Parties have declared and demonstrated throughout the world their hostility to the United States. Hardly a day passes without an official Soviet broadcast or editorial attacking our government and country; American foreign and economic policy is being opposed by Soviet representatives in every part of the globe. American soldiers have been imprisoned and

* *New York Times*, September 8, 1946, p. 30.

even shot by Soviet or Communist military forces. The Communist press is conducting a continuous assault upon American "imperialism." Communist-controlled unions have launched a number of industrial and political strikes, for the primary purpose of promoting civil strife. Communist leaders have sought to provoke rebellion in our armed forces. Can we—dare we—at this critical juncture, fail to remedy with all speed, the suicidal mistake of permitting pro-Soviet persons to penetrate our government which we made in a spirit of blind and overweening faith in the good intentions of Marshal Stalin and his American satellites?

Public officials have admitted the gravity of the present danger. Referring to the activities of American Communists, in a speech before the Chicago Bar Association on June 21, 1946, Attorney General Tom C. Clark declared:

We know that there is a national and international conspiracy to divide our people, to discredit our institutions, and to bring about disrespect for our government . . . they seek . . . to create strikes and dissensions, and to raise barriers to efforts to maintain civil peace.

Nevertheless the following excerpt from the Supreme Court opinion remains in force to hamstring effective action by all federal agencies:

Under our traditions beliefs are personal and not a matter of mere association, and that men in adhering to a political party or other organization notoriously do not subscribe unqualifiedly to all of its platforms and assorted principles.

The Court here fails to differentiate between a monolithic, disciplined, political group like the Communist Party, from which all dissidents are expelled (witness the case of Earl Browder, Ruth McKinney, and others) and the traditional American political party which may include innumerable shades of clashing opinions.

The Court further leaves it as a matter of doubt that the petitioner, an avowed Communist "was not in fact attached to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States." Belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Court finds not "necessarily incompatible with the 'general political philosophy' of the Constitution." The Court holds that it is possible to advocate the fundamental teachings of the Communist Party "and still be attached to the Constitution." Further to confuse the entire picture, the Court declares that it has never passed upon the question whether the Party does so advocate (governmental overthrow by force and violence.)

By its ruling the Court has practically invalidated the provisions of the Hatch Act relating to the Communist Party. It has super-

seded the opinion of Attorney General Francis Biddle in the case of Harry Bridges, on May 28, 1942, which declared:

That the Communist Party of the United States of America, from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, and displays printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the government of the United States.

The decision makes it practically impossible to remove a Communist employee directly because of his membership in the party. It compels the government to resort to subterfuge and indirection, if it does not destroy the will to do anything about the problem at all. An examination of Ambassador Bullitt's *The Great Globe Itself*, (1946) should dispel all delusions on this matter.

APPENDIX III

The Civil Service Commission

THE INHERENT WEAKNESSES of our Civil Service machinery and its ineffectiveness in dealing with loyalty cases, are brought out to some extent by the Report of the Subcommittee of the House Civil Service Committee formerly headed by the Honorable J. M. Coombs, of Texas. (*Congressional Record* of July 20, 1946.) First there is our utter lack of experience in this field; "prior to 1939 the various agencies and departments of the government did not make inquiry into the question of loyalty." The Civil Service Commission felt that it "could not legally inquire into any question concerning the political opinions of any applicant for employment."

Beginning with the fiscal year 1942, Congress added to all appropriation bills a provision providing that no part of any appropriation shall be used to pay the salary or wages of any person who advocates or who is a member of an organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force or violence. Despite the assurance by the Committee that the Civil Service Commission "found no difficulty in holding persons that actively associated with groups or organizations whose primary loyalty was to the Nazi, Fascist, or Japanese Government or who were members of the Communist Party were persons who came within these prohibitions," there have been comparatively few eliminations on grounds of Communist affiliations. The Committee therefore recommended that "The reason for comparatively few decisions of eligibility on loyalty grounds resulting in the actual removal of employees from government service should be given study."

The weakness of the Civil Service Commission's position is further disclosed in the Committee's Report which states:

The power of the Civil Service Commission applied only to applicants for a position or persons appointed subject to investigation. It did not include those employees whose initial employment to the federal services may have been approved in some instances years ago, and concerning whom some question is now raised.

In other words the Commission implies that a Communist who was previously blanketed into the service through the incompetence of the investigation or the lack of evidence, cannot be discharged by the Commission even though further evidence should come to light. Here the Commission conveniently passes the task to the head of the department or agency who "is the only person who can

effectuate removal." * It is scarcely conceivable that a department or agency head with the meager facilities at his disposal will take this initiative after the Commission has approved the applicant and without an Executive Order regarding such employees. Thus far no such general directive has been forthcoming. In fact the federal government has practically no standards of judgment on such matters and whatever few standards there are, vary from department to department and from executive to executive.

United Effort Vital

RECOGNIZING this confusion and duplication of effort the Committee recommended the consideration of a single agency with power to investigate the loyalty of government employees. It also held "that all proceedings for preferring charges against and removing disloyal employees should follow the same standards and rules of procedure and should be decided on the same legal principles." The Committee considered the question as to "whether a single standard of loyalty should be followed for all employees." The Committee admitted that "Congress had not thoroughly studied the problem or provided well-directed and adequate legislation."

In his minority report to the Committee, Congressman Edward H. Rees, added:

There is no consistent or uniform policy among the agencies in federal government with respect to investigating and removing the employees who are known to be disloyal. In numerous cases persons rejected on loyalty grounds in one agency are accepted in another.

To demonstrate the looseness of Civil Service procedure, Congressman Rees (June 24, 1946) quoted from the decision in one case by Alfred Klein, Chief General Counsel, Civil Service Commission, as follows:

If I had to express an opinion as to whether the applicant is a Communist, my reply would be in the affirmative. However, I am constrained to recommend that the applicant be rated eligible.**

One would suppose that in view of the complexity of the situation that the Commission would voluntarily appear before Congress to demand proper legislation to meet its difficulties. The Commission has only appeared when compelled to do so on this matter and on such occasions its attitude was purely defensive and apologetic rather than positive and constructive. Although it is the agency most closely confronted with the problem of loyalty investigations, the Commission has presented no overall and thoroughly worked out plan for legislation and procedure to meet this problem.

* See *Myers v. U. S.*, 272 U. S. 50, 30, Op. Atty. Gen. 79, 83.

** Question: Why was he "constrained"?

Laxity in Investigations

COMMENTING on investigations of complaints made against several thousand permanent employees, by order of the Attorney General in October 1941, the House Committee adds: "The reports of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contained no recommendation." In other words the FBI which is most elaborately equipped for investigatory work and for the compilation of evidence, has no power to remove or even recommend the removal of an employee shown by their records to be subversive. Should the FBI become aware of the subversive record of any given individual department employee, it cannot even take the initiative of bringing this record to the attention of the department concerned.

A perfect evasive technique has been developed in so-called investigations conducted from time to time. Inter-departmental committees present a maze of statistics affording no opportunity for a name by name checkup of the findings in each case. The same technique was employed by the Department of State during the summer of 1946 in replying to charges made by various Congressmen, although there is reason to believe that the situation has improved somewhat. Minority Committee Member Rees reported (July 20, 1946) that:

Although an array of statistics was presented to the subcommittee by the Civil Service Commission, the fact remains that comparatively few decisions of ineligibility on loyalty grounds have resulted in the actual removal of employees from government employment by the Commission.

The Civil Service Commission's assurances that it has the problem of loyalty cases well in hand, are vitiated by its disclosures of the budgetary figures for 1947, in the Committee Report:

The Civil Service Commission appropriation for the fiscal year 1947 will make it possible to maintain only approximately 100 investigators. Many of these investigators will be busy in conducting postmaster investigations, . . . investigations under section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, and investigations growing out of alleged violations of civil-service rules.

The Civil Service Commission estimates that it will be possible to make only 1,400 character and suitability investigations during this fiscal year.

At the same time the Commission estimates that during the present fiscal year approximately 790,000 placements will be made in the federal service.*

In view of the current practice under which an employee rejected on loyalty grounds by one agency may procure employment in an-

* *Congressional Record*, July 20, 1946, p. 9729.

other agency, through the potency of the Communist patronage apparatus the Committee recommended that:

Techniques and procedures must be devised that will not permit persons rejected by one agency on loyalty grounds from being accepted in another.

Budget Bureau Restrictions

IT IS worthy of note that the Bureau of the Budget, according to the Committee Report, has been unwilling to approve adequate funds. Budget Bureau officials, George F. Schwarzwalder and Weldon Cooper, will be remembered as having been strangely active some years ago in urging the liquidation of "subversive files" in the Army, the Navy and Civil Service. Subversive files, according to Schwarzwalder, "should have a lean and hungry look." He is also credited with having written the Executive Order which blanketed thousands of OWI and OSS employees into the State Department and did more than any single act to change the complexion of this Department.

Congressman Karl E. Mundt, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, has called attention to the role of the Budget Bureau in sabotaging the investigative arm of the government in a speech on the House floor (July 18, 1946). He declared:

Both agencies (Civil Service Commission and Federal Bureau of Investigation) recognize the need for such investigations, both agencies view with acute alarm the steps which have been taken by the Budget Bureau to circumscribe their powers of investigation, their warnings that they cannot be expected to safeguard America against the employment of undesirables on the public payrolls under prevailing circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, here is the record of the sordid story showing how under the false guise of economy, the preemployment investigation services of our government have been almost destroyed in so far as the Civil Service Commission is concerned and how they have been hopelessly crippled in so far as the Federal Bureau of Investigation is concerned.

In the course of this discussion Congressman Fred Bradley of Michigan gave some added information to indicate the political bias of persons in the Bureau of the Budget. He called attention to the fact that the then Acting Director of the Bureau, Paul Appleby, once stated over his own signature that:

A man in the employ of the government has just as much right to be a member of the Communist Party as he has to be a member of the Democratic or Republican Party.

Congressman Mundt then demanded "an investigation to determine who it was in the Bureau of the Budget who brought about this almost complete scuttling of the investigative service."

Hesitancy and Delay

IN HIS minority statement, Mr. Rees further charged that:

The Civil Service Commission is responsible for permitting hundreds of employees to remain on the payroll for long periods of time after their loyalties have been challenged. . . . In numerous instances the Civil Service Commission has held loyalty cases in abeyance for many months, and in some cases 2, 3, or 4 years, before final decisions are made. . . . In a number of cases, employees have been placed on the payroll subject to investigation when at the time they were employed there was reason to believe there was grave question with regard to loyalty. A number of them are in federal employment now.

The evident hesitancy of the Commission and other government agencies in arriving at definite decisions in individual cases and in deciding upon rules and standards must be ascribed in part to what Congressman Rees has called its "susceptibility and too much attention given to outside influences." The Commission was keenly sensitive to denunciation by PM, THE NATION, THE NEW REPUBLIC and such Communist front organizations as the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, the Civil Rights Congress, Communist-controlled unions like the United Federal Workers (now the United Public Workers) as well as certain leftist Congressmen who rallied to the defense of those charged with subversive activities. Such pressure has at times resulted in the reversal of Commission decisions. In one instance an individual now occupying an important position on the Allied Control Council in Germany, who has a most questionable loyalty record, was reinstated as a result of his mobilization of a number of friends and associates with records equally questionable. The secretary of a Congressman with strong leftist leanings and support once threatened the Civil Service Commission with dire consequences unless it reversed its decision in a certain case involving charges of disloyalty.

The Problem of Legal Proof

THE FAILURE to act decisively in loyalty cases has been defended by certain government officials on the ground that complete legal proof is lacking. Some, moved no doubt by liberal legalistic but naive considerations, have demanded that the accused be confronted by those testifying against him, be permitted to have access to all testimony and that standard judicial procedure be strictly adhered to. Those who make such demands are apparently not aware of the conspiratorial and terrorist nature of the Communist Party, nor of the degree of its penetration of government agencies.

The Committee Report held with the Commission:

that it would not be administratively feasible to endeavor to apply standard judicial procedure to a consideration of loyalty cases. Unless it is possible to obtain information under a pledge that the source of information will not be divulged, the government will not be given adequate protection.

A letter from R. P. Bonham, San Francisco, District Director of Immigration for the Department of Labor, to Edward J. Shaughnessy, Assistant Commissioner of Immigration, dated September 23, 1937, relating to the case of Harry Bridges, indicates the hazards facing patriotic citizens who dare to testify against the Communists. The letter says in part:

When I interviewed Mr. Bridges some time ago on another matter, he boasted that he had seen the central office's file relating to himself, and also that, "They" had an excellent intelligence organization of their own that kept them well informed of what was going on. Several of the witnesses in behalf of the government are fearful of their lives, if ahead of the hearing the fact of their having testified becomes known to . . . Communists . . . and may I not, in order that their lives may not be unduly endangered, adjure the central office and the Department to observe the greatest precautions to safeguard this record.

In 1941 Mr. Earl Warren, present Governor of California, at that time Attorney General of that State, commenting on the famous King, Conner, Ramsey case, described the ruthless vengeance of the Communists against those who venture to oppose them. King, Conner and Ramsey were leaders of the Communist faction of the Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers Union, AFL. George W. Alberts, a chief engineer and member of the union, was emphatic in his opposition to the Communists. According to Attorney General Warren:

These men (King, Conner and Ramsey) initiated the brutal murder of a law-abiding citizen without provocation and while he was peaceably engaged in earning a living for his wife and three babies. They didn't give him a chance for his life. He was beaten with blunt instruments and hacked with knives until he was dead in his own living quarters on the Steamship Point Lobos where the assassins laid in wait for him. King, Ramsey and Conner were fairly convicted by a jury.

Mr. Warren further declared that several labor union men who disagreed with King and his crowd, disappeared and were never found. Some were found, one or two weeks later, floating in San Francisco Bay. One man was found floating in the bay, wrapped up and manacled in a chain.

In the face of this type of unscrupulous conspiracy, the government cannot expect any type of cooperation if it does not supply at

least certain elementary safeguards of secrecy and protection for its informants.

Where the government seeks to oust an employee on loyalty grounds, it is not attempting to deprive the individual of any constitutional right to life, liberty and property. It is simply carrying out its responsibility to safeguard our national security. Hence nonadherence to formal court practice is entirely legitimate. The Courts have upheld the Public Contracts Act (Walsh-Healy Act) which permits the government to set its own standards. A similar philosophy should apply to federal employees.

In order to make this attitude clearly understood the government should inform the applicant *in advance* that employment will be denied in the event of evidence of outright disloyalty or doubtful loyalty. The applicant should sign a statement of his understanding of this fact.

Instructions to Investigators

IN 1943 the United Federal Workers Union by its own admission was responsible for the formulation of instructions to Civil Service investigators which practically torpedoed investigations and shattered morale.* These instructions should be rescinded.

The instructions issued by the Civil Service Commission to its investigators on November 3, 1943, under the avowed pressure of the Communist-controlled United Federal Workers, and presumably these instructions are still in force, show certain fundamental misconceptions regarding such organizations.

1. Investigators are prohibited from asking any question of an applicant or a witness "involving union membership, union associations, or union activities," thus automatically closing the doors to a fruitful source of information. A Communist-controlled union is not a bona fide union. Abundant testimony before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities by former Communists shows these organizations as intended primarily for espionage purposes. (See Appendix V.)

Alleged labor activities of these organizations are purely incidental serving as camouflage for the most important aim of advancing the interests of the Soviet Union, to which the real interests of labor are invariably subordinated. A knowledge of the activities of a pro-Communist applicant within his union is invaluable in disclosing his pattern of behavior, since union activity has first priority among Communists. Loyal labor union officials will readily cooperate to aid the government. The best safeguard against an anti-labor line on the part of investigators, is the formulation of proper standards determined jointly by government loyalty investi-

* *Congressional Record*, Dec. 2, 1943, p. 10359.

gating agencies and loyal representatives of the organized labor movement through a Labor Advisory Board.

2. Investigators are prohibited from asking questions regarding activities connected with Loyalist Spain, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the numerous so-called "relief" organizations built up in support of these efforts, as not "having any bearing on pro-Communism." This instruction was issued in spite of the open declarations by international and American Communist spokesmen emphasizing the importance of support for the Spanish Loyalist cause and the organizations involved therein. George Dimitroff, Chairman of the Communist International, announced in 1937 for the Communist Parties of the world: "The most urgent, though of these tasks, the very first at the moment, is that of organizing international aid to the Spanish people for their victory over Fascism." Earl Browder, then General Secretary of the Communist Party, declared:

It is the duty of every American worker and every progressive to help the Spanish people defeat the Fascist invasion. . . . Collect all the money possible in your organizations and among your friends to buy munitions, food and clothing for the defenders of Spanish democracy.

Numerous liberal-minded individuals, such as Norman Thomas, in sympathy with the struggle against Fascism in Spain, have testified as to the real nature of these organizations which were set up in response to the Communist appeals. Mr. Browder has boasted that "over sixty per cent of the Lincoln Battalion members were members of the Communist Party." As late as September 20, 1946, (p. 5) the (Communist) *Daily Worker* announced that:

Communist veteran leaders yesterday appealed to all Communist and progressive veterans of World War II to participate in the memorial service and parade which will precede the opening of the first post-war convention of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

According to General Walter Krivitzky, former Chief of Intelligence in the Soviet Secret Service, the object of these efforts was "to include Spain in the sphere of the Kremlin's influence." Support of such campaigns or organizations should therefore be properly included in establishing the candidate's pattern of behavior, although this one item, were it to stand alone, might not establish definite Communist allegiance.

Communist Indoctrination

3. CIVIL SERVICE investigators are instructed not to ask "any question about membership in the Washington Bookshop or any bookshop in any city similar to the Washington Bookshop." They are not to ask any question, "regarding the type of reading matter read by the applicant. This includes especially the *Daily Worker*

and all radical . . . publications." The Commission advises investigators to "remember that the mere fact that a person reads a certain publication is no indication that he believes in the principles advocated by such publication."

The Washington Bookshop has been identified by Attorney General Biddle as a Communist book shop. It is known as the official outlet for Communist literature in Washington.

Those acquainted with Communist practice know that Communist Party members are instructed to read the *Daily Worker* and other party literature assiduously for current directives on the party line. From time to time the *Daily Worker* has announced such instructions. Communist Party organs and literature constitute the indispensable pipe lines of communication between Communist headquarters and members spread throughout the country. To say that such reading "is no indication" of the applicant's beliefs is to display an abysmal ignorance of the methods of the Communist Party.

The Civil Service Commission has also displayed a lack of appreciation of the importance of indoctrination, resulting from the reading of Communist literature, in the recruitment of converts for the Communist espionage apparatus. These zealots generally are not motivated by any desire for monetary gain. Their motivation is largely ideological. The Report of the Canadian Royal Commission describes such indoctrination through study groups, as follows:

The curriculum includes the study of political and philosophic works, . . . selected to develop in the students an essential critical attitude toward Western democratic society. . . . But this curriculum would appear in reality to be designed not to promote social reform where it might be required, but to weaken the loyalty of the group member towards his or her own society as such. Linked with these studies at all stages, moreover, goes an organized indoctrination calculated to create in the mind of the study-group member an essentially uncritical acceptance at its face value of the propaganda of a foreign state. Accordingly the study-groups are encouraged to subscribe to Communist books and periodicals . . . The indoctrination courses . . . are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the Party" and "obedience to the Party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen. (Pp. 73-75.)

Let us, by way of example, quote from the pro-Communist (leak and scandal) sheet, *In Fact*, sold in the Washington Bookshop and other similar book shops throughout the country. The following is quoted from its issue of January 21, 1946:

Although the Benton (William Benton, Assistant Secretary of State) directives are marked "secret" and "confidential"

there are hundreds of State Department employees, the majority from the OWI and OIAA (the former Rockefeller agency), who subscribe to the belief that they are American citizens first and State Department employees second. Unless the State Department sets up a U. S. Gestapo to intimidate its employees into silence, the "secret" and "confidential" directives *will continue to reach the light*. (Italics supplied.)

Is this not an open invitation to federal employees to violate State Department secrecy? And yet, according to the Civil Service Commission instruction, it is of no consequence if an employee reads such a paper!

While it is true that in certain cases, anti-Communists interested in following up Communist activities, may read Communist literature, this purpose will be made clear by the individual's pattern of behavior. Where the reading of Communist literature coincides with pro-Communist activity, there is established a convincing pattern of either a Communist or a fellow traveller.

Indirect Connections

4. NO QUESTIONS are permitted concerning the applicant's family. The Commission evidently does not understand that even personal relations of its members are strictly scrutinized by the Communist Party. Its 1938 Constitution declared that "No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with . . . known enemies of the Party and of the working class." Numerous accounts of Soviet purges have indicated that members of the family of those purged are subjected to suspicion and persecution.* A Communist who associated with an anti-party individual would be under immediate suspicion. Hence family and other associates are important, despite the Commission ruling.

5. QUESTIONS regarding membership in the National Lawyers Guild, the League of Women Shoppers or the Harry Bridges Defense Committee, are also barred. All of these organizations have been characterized as Communist front organizations by Congressional and federal agencies. They fulfill the qualifications we have outlined for such organizations, to the letter. Communist control of the National Lawyers Guild has been openly denounced by such prominent persons as A. A. Berle, Jr., Ferdinand Pecora, Robert Jackson, Frank P. Walsh and others. The League of Women Shoppers can be found supporting any number of Communist-inspired campaigns. The *Daily Worker*, itself, termed Harry Bridges a Communist, on March 13, 1943.

The instructions cited above have made a mockery of the Civil Service Commission loyalty investigations.

* See: *I CHOOSE FREEDOM* by Victor Kravchenko, or *I SPEAK FOR THE SILENT* by Tchernavin.

APPENDIX IV

The British Secrets Acts

THE LANGUAGE of the British Secrets Acts may be pertinent in tightening our espionage and security legislation. It is to be noted that Canada under these Acts was successful in prosecuting Communist espionage for the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the United States, whose scientific research and industrial effort were much more extensive than those of our smaller neighbor, did not prosecute a single important case of espionage for the Soviet Union.

The two sections which are most interesting are those dealing with unlawful acts against security measures, and those which define communication with agents of a foreign power. The security section includes the following:

If any person for any purpose prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State . . .

(b) makes any sketch, plan, model or note which is calculated to be or *might be* or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power; or

(c) obtains, collects, records, or publishes, or communicates to any person any secret official code word, or pass word, or any sketch, plan, model, article, or note or other document of information which is calculated to be or *might be* or is intended to be directly or indirectly useful to a foreign power such person commits an offense under the Statute.*

The subsection dealing with foreign agents reads as follows:

- (4) (a) a person shall, unless he proves the contrary, be deemed to have been in communication with an agent of a foreign power if—
- (i) he has, either within or without Canada, visited the address of an agent of a foreign power or consorted or associated with such agent; or
 - (ii) either within or without Canada, the name or address of, or any information regarding such an agent has been found in his possession, or has been supplied by him to any other person, or has been obtained by him from any other person;
- (b) the expression "an agent of a foreign power" includes any person who is or has been or is reasonably suspected of being or having been employed by a foreign power either directly or indirectly for the purpose of committing an act, either within or without Canada, prejudicial to the safety or interests of the State, or

* Section III, Subsection I.

who has or is reasonably suspected of having, either within or without Canada, committed, or attempted to commit, such an act in the interests of a foreign power . . . shall be guilty of an offense under this Act.

Section 9 provides further that:

Any person who attempts to commit any offense under this Act, or incites or endeavors to persuade another person to commit an offense, or aids or abets and does any act preparatory to the commission of an offense under this Act shall be guilty of an offense under this Act and shall be liable to the same punishment, and to be proceeded against in the same manner, as if he had committed the offense.*

* Section III, Subsection IV.

APPENDIX V

United Public Workers of America (CIO)

THE United Public Workers of America resulted from a merger of the United Federal Workers of America and the State, County and Municipal Workers of America, in Atlantic City April 1946. The three organizations have been repeatedly characterized as Communist-controlled by authoritative sources which have specialized in the field of Civil Service.

Congressman Fred E. Busbey of Illinois declared on the floor of the House that:

Although the United Federal Workers of America claims that it is a bona fide union seeking to advance the interests of Federal workers, it is actually an organization which has as its primary purpose the advancement of the policies and organizations supported by the Communist Party.*

In its Report of March 29, 1944, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives cited the United Federal Workers of America and the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, as unions in which "Communist leadership is strongly entrenched."**

In the same Report the House Committee has characterized Abram Flaxer, the present head of the United Public Workers of America, and his former organization, the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, as follows:

Abram Flaxer, president of the State, County, and Municipal Workers of America, C.I.O., has been active in the affairs of the Communist Party as far back as 1936. Although he has never publicly avowed membership in the Communist Party, his allegiance is indisputably established by his presence at closed meetings of the Party, by the statements of those who have been closely associated with him in the labor movement, by his complete loyalty to the party line throughout its various changes, by his defense of Communists and Communist fronts, and by the standing established by his union as a Communist-controlled organization.***

Eleanor Nelson, present secretary-treasurer of the United Public Workers of America, and former secretary-treasurer of the United

* *Congressional Record*, December 2, 1943, page 10359.

** House Report No. 1311, Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, pages 18 and 19.

*** *Ibid.*, page 108.

Federal Workers, has been characterized in the same Report as follows:

Eleanor Nelson has been eulogized by the *Worker*, official Communist organ, of August 9, 1942, page 4, section 2, a mark of distinction reserved for those who possess the confidence of the Communist Party. The union headed by Miss Nelson claims a membership of over 15,000 in the War Department, Navy yards, Army bases, Federal arsenals, and numerous other agencies of the Government, and followed the Communist Party line cautiously but faithfully.*

John F. Cramer, Scripps-Howard Civil Service reporter, a member of the CIO American Newspaper Guild, has the following to say of the United Public Workers of America:

On the record of its Atlantic City convention, UPWA is the kind of an outfit that holds that Russia, with its totalitarian, Communist government, can do no wrong.**

Jerry Klutz, Washington Post Civil Service reporter, who has always been sympathetic to government employee unions, summarized his article on the Atlantic City Convention of the United Public Workers in the following manner:

But on the record at Atlantic City the union has had an extreme left-wing label pinned on it.***

The following is quoted from a letter sent by Civil Service Commission President Harry B. Mitchell to Arthur Stein, a leading official of the United Public Workers of America:

The mere fact that a person attended a convention which declared that the Communistic Russian government was perfect in all that it did, while the Government of the United States was imperialistic in its designs on humanity, would not, standing alone, justify that the person was a Communist and consequently believed that force to overthrow the Government to which he normally owed allegiance was justified. However, such action is bound to arouse suspicion against the members, as it unquestionably did in the case of your organization.

Its purpose in throwing an utterly uncalled-for proverbial red rag in the face of the American public, the employer of its members, is rather difficult to understand.****

* House Report No. 1311, Report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, 78th Congress, 2nd Session, page 141.

** *Washington Daily News*, April 29, 1946, page 2.

*** *Washington Post*, May 2, 1946, page 1.

**** *Washington Times Herald*, May 22, 1946, pages 1 and 26.

The following is quoted from an article in *Plain Talk* for November 1946, page 31, by Ralph Toledano, a student of Falangist and Communist activities in Latin America:

When the United Public Workers, whose flagrant pro-Soviet record is unsurpassed among the labor unions of America, suddenly launched a whirlwind drive last July to organize the government employes in the Panama Canal Zone, the question arose before the men in charge of our national defense: "Is Stalin's hand behind it?" . . . If Stalin has in the Canal Zone, too, his "secret battalion" for the "organization of catastrophe" . . . then he would be in a position to strike a deadly blow of sabotage at the jugular vein of our system of defense. Through such an operation he could paralyze our navy and immobilize our whole fleet of aircraft carriers in a moment of crisis. . . . When the *Washington Star* recently raised the question editorially "as to where the loyalties of the leaders of this union lie," it did so for the avowed reason that their activity in the Panama Canal Zone might "endanger the security of this country."

Charging that the United Public Workers of America, CIO, had failed to obey the mandate of CIO conventions to purge themselves of Communist influence, local union leaders in Pittsburgh announced withdrawal from the UPW.

Elmer A. C. Holland, president of Postoffice Local 253, said his union acted after receiving information that postal workers in Chicago, Detroit and Duluth had taken the same step a few hours previously.

E. J. Maloney, a local official and a railway mail clerk here for nine years, said:

"The postoffice workers do not want their loyalty to their Government questioned, and the communistic policies and tendencies of the United Public Workers has placed many of these employes in a misunderstood and sinister position."*

* *New York Times*, Jan. 5, 1947.

COMMUNISTS WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The Facts and Countermeasures

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM of Communism in labor relations can no longer safely be ignored. It affects vitally the employer, the worker, and the public. The fundamental reason for this lies in the nature of Communism. As noted in the earlier report, COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES, the American Communist Party is not a political movement in the normal sense of the term. Nor is it a reform movement comparable to the great surges in American history which have altered our destiny.

Communism fundamentally is a secret conspiratorial movement in the interests of a foreign power. Its policies are not American-made. They are made in Moscow and directed from Moscow. If the interests of the Soviet Union happen to coincide with American aims, as they did during the War, American Communists can become "superpatriots." When they diverge, as they have done since V-J Day, the Red groups seek to sabotage every phase of American life. Such sabotage is particularly dangerous and effective in the fields of labor relations.

If Communism were merely a domestic movement aiming at social reform, its tactics alone would make it dangerous. It is utterly ruthless in its bid for power. During the War, when all-out production was its motto, its drives for power in the labor movement seriously impeded the war effort. It promoted factionalism and dissension and thus undermined labor morale. Its secret plottings within unions led to a general spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction. Communists seem incapable of constructive efforts, even when they try to aid the union or management to increase production.

The immediate victim of their tactics is the employer with a Communist-controlled union. He is subject to constant political harassment, bad faith, and every form of deception and chicanery. Even with the maximum of good will towards his workers, he will find himself unable to achieve peace and harmony. Production will suffer and costs will mount. As one commentator puts it: "Every time Molotov toughens up on Secretary Byrnes, the local union comrades play rough with the foremen and executives in plants around the country."*

Other employers suffer as well. Even where their unions are under honest, American leadership, they cannot insulate themselves from the trend. Sometimes they pay the price through strikes of suppliers. At other times, they find their own union leaders forced to parrot demands made by Communist unions.

Gains or even demands made in one sector of the A.F. of L. or the C.I.O. tend to repeat themselves elsewhere. It must be remembered that the labor movement is intensely political. If non-Communist leaders do not gain as much as their opponents, they may soon find themselves with an active Communist opposition in their own union. The opposition makes capital of the reasonable demands of the honest leadership. Hence irresponsibility in labor tends to become infectious.

An illustration of this analysis can be found in the policies of Walter Reuther. In the political struggles of labor, Reuther is considered a leader of the anti-Communist bloc. But at the same time, he is the head of a union which has a powerful Communist minority. He faces sabotage, not only from this clique, but also from the national headquarters of the C.I.O. Communist influences there have persuaded the top leadership that Reuther is a threat to their positions. As a result, Reuther faces an alternative: he must either be aggressive or retire in favor of some Communist dupe. This explains in part the conflict in his public statements. On the one hand, he may favor increased labor productivity and decry inflationary wage rises. On the other hand, he makes wage demands which cannot be other than inflationary.

* *Fortune*, November 1946, p. 285.

Labor Suffers from Communism

LABOR SUFFERS from this internecine struggle. Its legitimate objectives are obscured in factional struggles. It is maneuvered into expensive and fruitless strikes. Thus, most labor leaders concede today that the 1946 strikes brought no net gains to labor. Higher wages were offset by higher prices. A.F. of L. leaders have been extremely critical of the C.I.O. strike policy. They consider it political rather than economic. And one of the most important factors in labor's political struggles is the Communist issue.

There are many current indications that labor realizes how the Communist menace hurts its cause. Thus, in 1946 the heads of two C.I.O. unions resigned and gave as their reason Communist control of their groups. The National C.I.O. Convention in 1946 saw fit to denounce Communist interference. State Industrial Council (C.I.O.) meetings in Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New York took action against the Communists. There were rumblings in two other Communist-controlled unions. The first instance of restiveness was when Joseph Curran of the National Maritime Union engaged in an all-out struggle with the Communist officers associated with him. Then Lewis Merrill of the Office and Professional Workers, who has been a regular writer for the Communist weekly, *New Masses*, disclaimed Communist interference in his union, although his sincerity in doing so has been questioned.*

It is obvious that the public is a victim in these struggles. The shortages, inconveniences and sufferings of 1946 are too recent to need detailed recounting. Yet, they may appear trivial compared to possible future events. If the foreign policies of the United States continue to diverge from those of the Soviet Union, we may be in for an era of thinly disguised political strikes. Strikes of this nature are basically sabotage. They will not be settled in any easy fashion.

* The resigning Presidents were Morris Muster, head of the United Furniture Workers (*The New York Times*, July 1, 1946, p. 1) and Frank R. McGrath, head of the United Shoe Workers (*New Work World Telegram*, October 3, 1946, p. 2). For a summary of the Industrial Council moves, see *Business Week*, December 28, 1946, p. 64 and January 4, 1947, p. 56. In early 1947, Joseph Curran openly charged his fellow officials with putting Communist interests above union interests (*The New York Times*, January 5, 1947, Section 1, p. 7).

The Present Situation

IN EARLY 1947, the problem of Communism exists in scattered Locals of A.F. of L. unions, and in a more serious way in international unions as well as Locals of the C.I.O. In the A.F. of L., pressure from the top combined with trained and conservative unionism on the part of the rank-and-file have tended to keep out Communist infiltration. Exceptions exist where there is a heavy concentration of Communists in a given region, such as New York or Los Angeles. In these sections, many A.F. of L. Locals and those of independent unions have been infiltrated seriously.

By contrast, the C.I.O. has shown great weakness in fighting Communist inroads. Furthermore, so many of the rank-and-file are new to unionism that aggressive pressure from the bottom has usually been lacking. Untrained unionists have often been quite helpless to ward off an invasion by a clever and unscrupulous clique of Communists in a Local. Their resentment at such tactics, however, rose to such a pitch in 1946 that the national leadership was forced to take some action against Red control. At this writing, trends are confused and uncertain, the more so since Communists are presently going underground and concealing their identities when this is possible.*

Master Strategy

SOME INDICATION of probable future patterns may be found in the general Communist plan for seizing power in labor, as outlined in Comintern schools. In Moscow plans, the primary emphasis is upon heavy and strategic industries, since control here is most useful for sabotage and revolution. Among these industries are railroads and communications, steel, and such war industries (or potential

* For a highly competent discussion of this problem, consult the new series by Andrew Avery, *COMMUNIST POWER IN INDUSTRY* (*Chicago Journal of Commerce*, 15 cents).

war industries) as the automobile, farm implement, electrical, shipbuilding, atomic energy, and related heavy industries. In addition, penetration is sought into government either through unions or through direct espionage. Finally, unions which deal with office and professional workers are penetrated by Communists, since they are used for commercial and industrial espionage.

It will be noted that this ideal pattern conforms with the existing plan of Communist penetration in the United States, with the exception of steel and railroads, where Communist success has been only sporadic to date. In these situations, however, current orders call for concentration of efforts to remedy past failures to obtain control over labor.

The value of knowledge by business leaders of the overall pattern is obvious. If they are in a field which is considered strategic, they can count on no respite from Communist attempts to control their labor unions. Vigilance can never be relaxed. It does not follow from this, however, that firms not within the strategic category are automatically assured of labor harmony. Control of strategic industries is not the only labor objective of Communists. They seek control of the labor movement as a whole; they use it as a source of members and a medium for propaganda; and they draw vast funds from captive unions. Accordingly, if any labor situation is ripe for exploitation, Communists will seize upon it. The only difference between strategic and non-strategic situations is that in the former case, the Communists will come back again and again, no matter how often they are defeated. In non-strategic unions, a resounding and thorough victory over the Red element may ensure peace for several years.

A Specialized Problem

IN DISCUSSING the problem of Communism in labor relations, it is basic that we note its specialized nature. Neither the average employer nor the average worker is equipped to handle it. Indeed, they often fail to recognize it at all. Many an industrialist feels that labor is

inherently ungrateful and irresponsible whereas the real basis of his problem may be a Communist political machine which has enslaved his workers as well as himself. Also there are employers who, feeling that they know Communist tactics, attack honest union officials as Reds even though they are merely factual, calculating, and hard bargainers. It is a fact that labor leaders may be forced into an intransigent position because they are caught between two fires: the fight against the Communists within the union, and the bargaining with the employer to obtain minimum concessions. Intelligent recognition of these facts by employers would in itself lead to much more harmonious labor relations.

The problem may be stated in another manner. Today labor relations are not confined exclusively to problems arising in a given plant or firm. Local problems are important, but the sources of many of the difficult local questions are found elsewhere. Unless industrial relations directors have a trained realization of the roots of their problems, they may be very unrealistic and ineffective in handling this type of situation locally and in making recommendations to meet it. Mistrust and mutual recriminations replace genuine collective bargaining. Discussions of rates of pay or conditions of employment become academic, when a political machine is looking for excuses to cause trouble.*

Purely political strikes by Communist-controlled unions cannot as yet be called commonplace. However, before we entered the War, the North American Aircraft strike and the Allis-Chalmers strike were inspired by the then current Soviet policy of preventing aid to Hitler's enemies. More recently, a brief shipping strike in 1945 was politically inspired. Although the possibility of having more political strikes cannot be discounted, they should be considered the exception rather than the rule at this time. What is much more common is the prolonging of an apparently economic strike for political reasons. Thus in the 1946 Allis-Chalmers strike a group of workers declared: "We have returned to work after being taken to the cleaners by a bunch of Communist revolutionaries."** This same sentiment was voiced

* See: *Communist Power in Industry*.

** *New York Times*, Nov. 25, 1946

by workers in two other strikes, in Connecticut and New Jersey. Unfortunately, such a realization often arises only after grave damage has been done. To repeat, the diagnosis of such problems requires expert and specialized knowledge.

Communist-Inspired Strikes

IN VIEW of probable future trends, special attention should be given to the problem of the Communist-inspired strikes. Strikes hurt. They are injurious not only to those involved, but also to the general public. The employer loses immediate earnings and the future good will both of his workers and his customers. To the worker, a strike means physical and mental suffering for an uncertain goal. Even if he attains his ends, he may be in such a weakened economic position that he may have to work for several years to make up for wages lost during the strike. The general public loses when production is interrupted and when purchases by the strikers decline. The larger the number involved in the strike, the greater is the public loss. At times public health and security may be placed in jeopardy, as was the case with the coal and power strikes. The unions themselves usually fear strikes. This fear is based on the heavy cost which has often been sufficient to wreck strong Locals. Even when a union feels that its cause is just, it still must decide whether a struggle would be worth its possible cost.

Even with basic good will, hard bargaining at times leads to an impasse which may result in a short strike. But on the whole, labor leaders know that when management suffers, they suffer. Only in the rarest of cases will they risk bankrupting a company in order to attain an objective. Such is not the case with Communist-controlled unions. They are willing to fight employers piecemeal and to cause the maximum of confusion in the minds of the worker and the public alike. They seek turmoil for its own sake. They would gladly bankrupt an employer, thereby causing unemployment and building up bitterness and hate towards all employers and the American way of life. Hence it is vital that

each employer possess an understanding of this problem before he is confronted with it.

One further illustration shows the implications of Communism in labor relations. There has been much recent discussion of labor-management committees. Much thought has been given to the question of management prerogatives and of labor participation in functions hitherto exclusively reserved to management. Many employers view with sympathy labor's objectives in seeking teamwork with management. They know that cooperation aids morale and stimulates production. But concessions of this type to a Communist-controlled union are most dangerous. If such committees are agreed upon, Communists are given a wedge which enables them to penetrate effectively into the field of management. This in turn permits them to increase the area of conflict and disruption. Unfortunately the fear of such a turn of events inhibits an employer in making such concessions even to a good Local. There are numerous examples of generous contracts made with fair-minded union leadership which later boomeranged when new faces and strange ideologies appeared at the bargaining table.

The Case of Local 94

INSTEAD OF dealing with the problem in the abstract, a case history may be offered. The plant in question was in a war industry, employing forty thousand workers. Management from the beginning cooperated with labor and did nothing to hinder the formation of a union. Local 94 was connected with a C.I.O. union generally credited with being non-Communist. One of the national officers, however, was politically ambitious and connived with Communist groups in order to gain their political support.

At the beginning, Local 94 won recognition in a struggle with the A.F. of L. It became bargaining agent for twenty thousand workers. Its officers were fairly competent, and showed an appreciation of their responsibility. Bargaining and discussions were hard, straight, and constructive. Then

the government expanded the contract and employment soon doubled. New faces appeared at the union hall, and many of them were actively interested in union matters.

Capitalizing upon the lack of experience of the Local's officers, a request by a few workers was usually sufficient to bring forth the scheduling of an official departmental meeting. What was the result? Suddenly a request would arise for another election, for a particular departmental shop steward. The incumbent's term might not have expired, but his pride in the job he had done would not permit him to stand upon this technicality. He wanted a vote of confidence. So he acceded to the demand and submitted to an election. The meeting was called, the election scheduled, the battle lines drawn. The incumbent did not realize that the meeting was packed with a roving group of employees from other departments. Suspicions could not be proved and election was by acclamation. Naturally, the incumbent was ousted—the Communist infiltration had begun.

The next move was a decision to print a weekly paper. This decision was made at a sparsely attended union meeting. Volunteer editors were immediately available, all of them Communist. From the very first edition, management was deprecated, belittled, and lied about. Malicious and personal attacks were made upon supervisory personnel. This gutter sheet plumbed the depths in its vitriolic invective. And it had its effect in a new plant; this was a shop whose workers had little personal knowledge of any operations, other than those in their own immediate section. They had migrated from almost every State of the Union, and had no knowledge of the previous history of personal accomplishments by which to judge either management or their fellow workers. As a result, the vicious lies obtained credence, and bargaining became very strained.

At this juncture, the Communist faction proceeded to attack and undermine the existing union officers. This was done by prolonging union meetings until impossible hours. General membership meetings started at 8:00 p.m. and now might continue until 2:00 or 3:00 a.m. These meetings began to be called more and more frequently and upon any pretext. This proved to be a terrific strain upon the health of the

officers, all of whom worked in the plant. Their shift started at 6:00 a.m. and they could not afford to remain away from work. Moreover, they were concerned over the vicious rumors being circulated against them, and wished to show an example of industry and zeal. Like the shop stewards, they lost their heads and decided to call for an election as a show of confidence. This they did in the middle of their terms.

In the meantime, the Communists had built up a good political machine at the plant. By capturing shop steward jobs, they were able to process grievances and build a following. Their slanderous rumors against the officers were having their effect. At the same time, they were cultivating minority groups, particularly the Negroes and members of some national groups. Aiding in this process was the anti-Negro bias of a vice-president of the Local. As a result, the incumbents were thoroughly defeated, and a group of Communists along with their dupes were swept into power. In this Local, the Communists as such were satisfied to take over the posts of business agent and secretary. The president was a weak tool in their hands. Other posts went to ambitious leaders who could command votes. The power behind the throne was a shrewd, disbarred lawyer, who was a New York Communist who preferred "war work" to the Army. Later the State Communist chairman took direct personal command of strategy in union meetings by sending messages from a nearby restaurant.

The Results of Communist Control

UNDER Communist leadership, agitation was the order of the day. Turbulence and strife were deemed necessary to keep and to extend control of the Local. This policy of turmoil posed a difficult problem for the local leaders, when the Party Line called for all-out production. They solved their problem by giving up agitating throughout the entire plant and instead concentrated on irritating stoppages, "quickies," and slow-downs, all involving small numbers of workers strategically located. Numerically more significant

were the noon-time protest meetings. Actually they were less vital, since the men were on their lunch period. Their presence did not impede production, nor did it even necessarily indicate interest of those present in the subject discussed. However, in this way, Communists hoped to continue agitation without interfering substantially with production, the USSR being under vigorous attack by the Nazis. In fact production dropped off twenty per cent. As a result, they gave up "demonstration tactics," and confined themselves to exploiting grievances. The slightest complaint would be magnified out of all proportion, and processed through all the steps of the grievance procedure. Reasonable, factual data meant nothing to them. Every grievance lost was automatically appealed to the higher steps in the procedure.

Within the Local a terrific all-out effort was made to eliminate this group of Communist disturbers. Charges were placed against individual members of the group and a trial was held which was unnecessarily extended over too long a period of time, at considerable financial loss to those making the charges. This was a period of turbulent charges and counter charges, and appeals to the International. Here, however, a combination of weak leadership on the one hand and the influence of the pro-Communist International officer on the other hand, prevented decisive action. (Actually things became so bad that Communists came within a hair's breadth of taking over the International. Only after the War, and with the contraction of the industry, did the non-Communist leadership again become secure.) But within the Local, the bitter struggles tended to disgust decent members, who stayed away from union meetings and failed to vote in elections. Some of the dissidents went over to the A.F. of L. and tried unsuccessfully to change the affiliation of the Local. An adverse National Labor Relations Board decision on this matter was considered favorable to the Communist group.

During this whole struggle, attendance at Local meetings fell off. With a claimed local membership of nearly thirty thousand, it was not unusual to have less than a hundred persons present at general membership meetings. Usually a majority of these were Communists or their sympathizers. If they were uncertain of their majority, they would stage a

disturbance and disrupt the meeting. Even when an active, but not too intelligent, anti-Communist faction formed, attendance rarely reached three hundred. Communist caucusing and knowledge of parliamentary maneuvers usually enabled them to outwit their opponents. As an incidental point, the fact that Communists and their dupes numbered less than a hundred at meetings shows the effectiveness of their tactics. A few dozen trained organizers were able to control absolutely the union policy of forty thousand workers.

The situation was cleared up only when the International stiffened its attitude and suspended the autonomy of this and several other Communist-controlled Locals. Trained administrators were sent to take over the Locals and what was left of the finances. In this particular instance they found that hundreds of thousands of dollars had been directly dissipated in Communist causes. This Local did not have a serious strike during the War, but not a cent was left of the million dollars collected in dues. As a result of this episode, the workers suffered, the employer was plagued continuously, and the war effort, was impeded. This is a typical, not an exceptional, Communist situation.

Reaction to Communist Dictatorship

THE CASE of Local 94 was described in detail, because it represents a pattern which is found elsewhere. Wherever the Communists either control a union or seek to control it, the same elements will be found: unrest, low morale, disturbed production, and, within the union, complete dictatorship. Employers find themselves in positions where nothing they do will satisfy the insatiable demands made by the leadership of the Local. They may find themselves embroiled in long and exhausting strikes. Such certainly was the case with Allis-Chalmers. Significant in this connection is a letter which this company sent to its workers on October 11, 1946. The firm presented to the employees photostatic evidence that the leaders of their local union had signed the

nominating papers for a Communist candidate for Governor of the State of Wisconsin.

The result of the application of this "common pattern" is best demonstrated and expressed by the attitude of business men as described in *Modern Industry* (November 15, 1946). The tabulation of the survey shows that if managements who now deal with the C.I.O., where the problem of Communism is most severe, were allowed a choice, only 9.5 per cent would continue with the C.I.O., whereas 25 per cent of the group would prefer to deal with the A.F. of L. Of the employers who now deal with A.F. of L. unions, not a single one could be found to prefer the C.I.O. It is reasonable to infer that the strictly trade union practices of both groups do not differ greatly. After all, the C.I.O. began with unions which split off from the older group. The one point of major difference probably is the irresponsibility induced by the political activities of Communists, although some non-Communists in the C.I.O. talk in terms of class warfare.

How to Recognize the Problem

IN THE LIGHT of the preceding analysis, it is clear that the Communist problem is real in industrial relations. Yet it can still happen that an employer faces or will shortly face such a situation, and remain entirely unaware of his danger. He may know that his troubles have increased tremendously, but may blame the situation on general national conditions. Accordingly, it is vital that employers and their industrial relations executives become trained to recognize and to combat this problem.

Recognition on the general level demands some knowledge of both Communist literature and anti-Communist studies and publications. The most authentic Communist publications nationally are the *Daily Worker* and the *Worker* (Sunday), and *Political Affairs*. There are also a number of authentic local or regional Communist periodicals. In addition, an industrial relations director should consult the publications of Communist-controlled unions.

Useful studies by opponents are: *COMMUNIST INFILTRATION IN THE UNITED STATES* (Chamber of Commerce of the United States); *THE COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMN* and *COMMUNIST POWER IN INDUSTRY* (Chicago Journal of Commerce); *THE COMMUNIST IN LABOR RELATIONS TODAY* (Research Institute of America); and the periodicals *Plain Talk* and the *New Leader*. (See bibliography).

From these sources, an industrial relations director can obtain the general "line" and jargon of the Communist Party. He will learn which issues are considered important at the moment. Indeed, he may be able to obtain from *Political Affairs* a rather detailed blueprint of the collective bargaining demands which he is likely to meet when his contract expires. In addition, he learns which unions and persons are favored or opposed by the Party.

Naturally, a national edition of the Communist press cannot carry sufficient details of local activities. When possible, the national press should be supplemented by reading local or union papers. Furthermore, the reading of the anti-Communist press will help sharpen an executive's perception of key Communist issues and personnel.*

With competent knowledge of the general Communist line and personalities, it becomes possible to judge the political complexion of a Local. The material included in the union paper, if one is published locally, is often a good guide to the type of control. Resolutions adopted in meetings and stands on public issues also furnish sound indications. Knowledge of the record and history of key local union personnel is also useful. If there has been any tendency towards ideological factionalism in a Local or an International, it is likely that officers will have taken sides with one group or another. Attitudes towards prominent union leaders engaged in such struggles also indicate an individual's cast of thought. Also Communists have their own distinctive jargon which can be

* In this connection, attention should be called to two publications by groups connected with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, the *Wage Earner* in Detroit and the *Labor Leader* in New York. These are mature labor papers in their own right, and show a keen perception of the Communist issue. For an analysis of the A.C.T.U. movement, see *Fortune*, November, 1946, p. 188.

recognized by a regular reader of their press. They label their opponents as "Fascist," "reactionary," "imperialist," and similar epithets fashionable in Communist circles.

Once the fact of political influence seems established, it is then important to discover the Communist leaders. It can be taken for granted that their numbers will be insignificantly small. But they will be surrounded by opportunists and dupes whom they are using to consolidate their power. As a rule, the opportunist is an able leader who will play Communist labor politics for personal gain, but who does not use their jargon or share their general political interests. The dupe ordinarily is a weak character with a superficial popularity. Preferably he is from a dominant racial or religious group. He does not use Communist jargon in his ordinary talk, but his speeches, if he makes any, are often written for him by the Communist leaders and may contain words and phrases foreign to his normal expressions. Within the Local, Communists try to keep positions of real power (editor, organizational director, secretary, and business agent) for themselves. They may share some of these jobs with dupes, but prefer to give them positions which are merely honorary (such as president). Opportunists get the remaining jobs, and are permitted to share the shop steward positions with the Communists. In addition, there is likely to be a scattering of American-minded labor leaders who associate with the Communists because there is no other choice at the moment. If such leaders can form a strong group, they can often wean away the opportunists and attain to power.

The Communist at Work

EARLIER the case history of Local 94 was presented. It will be useful now to narrow the focus and see in detail how Communists seize power in a Local. In this connection, it is important to note that their methods are mainly political and only incidentally ideological. They use political machine tactics to gain power, knowing that once they are

in control, they will have ample opportunity for ideological propaganda.

Labor unions offer a perfect arena for the use of all the arts in the game of politics. Their struggles are the most bitter, skillful, and cut-throat of any to be seen in this country. Civic politics reach their peak only at intervals; labor politics continue incessantly.

When the Communists decide to capture a Local, they send a small group of their members to seek employment in a plant represented by that Local. When employed, each of these becomes extremely active in union affairs with the hope that he can attract a following. At the same time, these militant agitators seek to cultivate ambitious union members who aspire to leadership. They build up the ego of these individuals and induce them to seek union office. To achieve such office, these opportunists are encouraged to be active at union meetings. If necessary the Communists will supply them with ideas and issues. At the same time the Red caucus will urge each of the proteges to weld his personal following into a compact voting group.*

The next step is to unite these several proteges into a disciplined caucus. This group meets informally and prepares its program in advance for regular union meetings. The innocents are aided in picking issues, and their speeches are written for them if necessary. If they are timid in gaining the floor, an experienced Communist parliamentarian will gain it for them and turn it over to them. Communists will second the motions and make favorable speeches. The caucus and its followers will be scattered rather widely throughout the hall and upon signal will join in with loud applause and lusty shouting. In no time, the motion is railroaded through against disorganized and unprepared opposition. The fledgling caucus is flushed by its success and anxious for further action.

In these meetings, all the devices and tricks permitted by parliamentary procedure, and many that are not, are used to the fullest. When possible, motions are rushed through without debate. If serious opposition forms, the meeting is

* For a detailed account of an actual case see: COMMUNISM ACROSS THE COUNTER, by Bernard Fielding, *Plain Talk*, January, 1947, p. 19.

delayed or prolonged until opponents tire, give up the fight, leave the hall, and go home. From the beginning of the campaign, character assassination is practiced against the leaders of the opposition. Rumors are spread to undermine their influence with the general membership. Every effort is made to create trouble within the home. Anonymous letters and phone calls reach their wives, hinting that absences from home are not really on matters of union business. Communist women are prepared to seduce any opponent who is weak enough to fall for their wiles. Then blackmail effectively silences opposition from this quarter.

Communist Seizure of Union Offices

WHILE union meetings are being taken over, a quiet campaign is being organized against those shop stewards and committeemen of key crafts or units, who refuse to accept advice and directions from the Communists. The plan is to take from them their union positions, thereby giving the Red group greater strategic power. This is usually done by seeking to prove that the official is ineffective in processing grievances. To do this, the Communist presents a complaint which has no solid foundation. He insists that it be carried through all the steps of the grievance procedure. When it fails, as it must, he is vocal in his criticism of the way it was handled. He joins with other workers who may have lost grievances, and hints that the steward is not a fighter, or that he sold out to the employer. Sooner or later, these tactics get on the nerves of the steward and he challenges the complainant to try to do better himself. The Communist is "invited" to go to the foreman with the steward to present his own case. But this time he has a fool-proof grievance which he has been saving for the occasion. He wins and thus builds up his prestige among the workers.

Often one such display is sufficient to unseat a shop steward. If he still holds on, the Communist insists upon being present for future grievance discussions. This is a trap which will help to oust the steward no matter how he answers.

If he agrees, solid complaints are taken up and usually won. This means further prestige for the Communist. If the steward refuses to accede, he is given weak grievances which he loses. Immediately the rumors are renewed and intensified. The chances are that at the next departmental meeting, the Communist will take over as steward. If the plant is large and members do not know one another, Communists will pack the meeting just to be certain.

With the groundwork laid, concentration shifts to the annual election of local officers. Here the tactics are repeated. The opposition is goaded into sponsoring some impossible demands, in order to outbid the Communists. They are often maneuvered into supporting poorly qualified candidates from minority groups, merely as an evidence of tolerance and sincerity. In the meantime, the Communists are spreading lying rumors about the officers. Simultaneously, they cultivate racial, religious, and national groups. Factions within the opposition are promoted, so that its vote will be scattered. Under these conditions, the compact, solid minority usually rides through without trouble.

Once consolidated into power, the Communists hang on by ruthless and dictatorial methods. If possible, the vocal and consistent opposition is expelled on trumped-up charges. Elections are fraudulent in the extreme. Many jobs are filled at union meetings which are closely controlled. Membership cards are often distributed to outsiders from other Communist controlled unions, so that they can vote in meetings and at elections. Ballot boxes are stolen or stuffed. As a result, the opposition often gives up and a Communist dictatorship is fastened upon the Local. The membership becomes apathetic, but it is constantly being exploited into hatred of the employer and disruptive tactics. Production and morale suffer, and costs mount.*

* HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST, by Karl Baarslag, *The American Legion Magazine*, January 1947, p. 9. WILL THE CIO SHAKE THE COMMUNIST LOOSE? Joseph and Stewart Alsop, *Saturday Evening Post*, February 22 and March 1, 1947. HOW TO SPOT A COMMUNIST, Leo Cherne, *Look*, March 4, 1947. These articles are especially useful to the anti-Communist employee and labor leader.

The Employer Takes Action

UNTIL RECENTLY, it has been widely held that the employer is helpless in such a situation.* Yet, granted that the Wagner Act forbids him to interfere with the organization of his employees, the employer is not completely powerless. Such a feeling of pessimism is extreme. Present interpretations of the Wagner Act permit considerable freedom of speech by the employer.** Furthermore, although an employer may not intervene in union politics he can at least abstain from actions which aid the Communists.

This negative comfort is more substantial than it seems at first glance. In Communist situations it can be taken for granted that the workers themselves will form an opposition group. If the International is clean, it will normally be most anxious to remove a disruptive faction from its midst. Where the employer is wise enough not to interfere with such struggles, the anti-Communist group will often be successful. By contrast, it is not uncommon that industrial relations executives react in blind panic against all union demands by a Communist-controlled Local. This suits the Communists perfectly, since they can rally middle-of-the-roaders against the employer and divert attention from the factional struggle against them. An anti-Communist union group cannot successfully argue the union's cause with the employers and fight the Communists within the union simultaneously.

As a first step in the counter-attack industrial relations directors should familiarize themselves with the Communist problem nationally and locally, as indicated earlier. Then it is important that such executives consult among themselves locally and within each industry where a Communist problem is indicated. The Communists themselves are organized along such lines, and it would be a mistake if the employers

* Communists in the labor movement have been aided and abetted by the Communist influences within the National Labor Relations Board from time to time.

** The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals (Dec. 5, 1946), held that the employer has the right to indicate his preference and opinion on labor union matters and even to endeavor to persuade his employees, provided such persuasion does not take the form of coercion. (NLRB v. KOPMAN WORACEK SHOE MFG. CO.)

were divided and defeated singly. In such meetings, much can be learned of Communist tactics in making and administering union contracts. Naturally information gained from such sources must be used with caution until each individual has gained much experience. Many executives still do not distinguish hard-bargaining and sincere union officials, or even trouble makers, from actual Communists. But experience will indicate which individuals at such a meeting, or which of his own company personnel are best-informed and most competent in making such distinctions and in the handling of this problem.

At the beginning, at least, it may be desirable to call in outside consultants who are expert in handling Communism in the labor movement. Unfortunately thus far, none of the national services which are offered to industrial relations directors has concentrated upon this problem. Undoubtedly some individual industrial relations consultants are familiar with it. But the issue has been recognized too recently to permit the building up of specialized competent services in relation to it. At this writing, industrial relations executives must do considerable personal work to familiarize themselves with the background and current trends of Communism in labor unions.

Keeping Out a Communist Union

IF A PLANT is unorganized, the executive who understands how to handle the problem should use every legal means to keep out a Communist-controlled union. Under present rulings, it is permitted for an employer to give out this type of information to his workers. Such an action should be taken, however, only when Communist control is reasonably proved. False use of such charges as an anti-union device actually strengthens the Reds. Furthermore, it is likely to boomerang against the employer when subsequently he may be faced with the real thing.

In a situation of this type, the first step is to consult various listings to find the political connections of the petitioning Inter-

national Union.* The next step is to document the charges made against the union. Often considerable material about its officers can be found in the reports of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Records of the unions' conventions and material from the union paper may show a consistent following of the Communist line. It would be well to have such information prepared by, or at least checked by an expert, so no inaccuracies can creep in. As a further point, it must be remembered that to charge an individual with being a Communist or of harboring Communist sympathies constitutes libel *per se* in several jurisdictions. Evidence of Communistic affiliation which is admissible in court and sufficient to prove such affiliation may be difficult to secure. The present "line" calls for Communist labor officials to go underground and not to admit their affiliations. Hence for individuals, the most that can normally be proved is that they are consorters with Communists and pro-Communist in their views. This, however, is sufficient to show the danger involved in their control of a Local.

The employer can then show the workers that Communism is un-American. He can do this either directly in his own publications or, preferably, by distributing literature prepared by outside groups. (See bibliography). He will also be able to prove that Communists do not seek to improve conditions, nor are their first thoughts the interests of the workers. The employees can be shown that they will be involved in politically directed strikes. Their union funds will be siphoned off to support various Communist front organizations. Their energies will be absorbed by constant bickering and factional disputes. Such internal union disputes are making almost daily headlines in the nation's press. Photostats of these articles or their headlines can be used quite effectively.**

If the employer publishes such statements, he must make it very clear that he is not using this as a form of threat or

* For listings, consult *THE COMMUNIST IN LABOR RELATIONS TODAY* (Research Institute of America, 1946); *THE COMMUNIST FIFTH COLUMN* (Chicago Journal of Commerce, 1946); *COMMUNIST POWER IN INDUSTRY* (Chicago Journal of Commerce, 1947).

** An outstanding illustration of an exposé was the series of sixty articles by John Sentinel in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, Sept. 23-Nov. 21, 1946.

coercion, or to interfere in any way with the freedom of choice by his workers. The law guarantees to them complete freedom in making their own decisions in this matter. He is speaking for their interests in issuing this appeal. He will frankly admit that he does not like to deal with people whose loyalty is to a foreign power. But this is the workers' decision, and they must consider their own interests. (All of this shows the necessity of amending the Wagner Act so as to allow employers full freedom of speech.)

It is likely that if a plant is being organized for the first time, several rival unions will be competing for the votes of the workers. It is not at all improbable that such an appeal by the employer will be further documented and supported by all rivals of the Communist-controlled union. This will naturally strengthen the employer's case.

Working With a Communist Union

IF A Communist-controlled Local is already in a plant, the tactics indicated above should not be used. Under these conditions, any attack is viewed by the workers as an attempt to weaken their union. The result would be to solidify all factions against the employer.* The most that can be done in the way of passing out information is in the treatment of individual issues. Thus, an employer may explain at length the reasons for the position he has taken in collective bargaining. He should do this if he knows that a fair settlement of a problem is being impeded for political reasons. But in regard to the Communist issue in his Local, silence is normally the better rule. If the company paper normally discusses world and domestic events, relevant general material on the subject would be in order. Thus, it may be helpful to discuss Communist tyranny in Yugoslavia or Poland, or the harsh peace treaties which were imposed upon Italy and other nations at Soviet instigation. But the appli-

* An illustration of this point, in 1947, employer and newspaper attacks upon a proven Communist-controlled Local, weakened by a record-breaking strike, were not successful in persuading the majority of the workers to change affiliation to an independent union.

cation of such material to local conditions had best be left to the good judgment of the workers themselves. It might also be possible to mail anti-Communist literature, such as that listed in the bibliography, to the homes of potential leaders of an opposition.

Of course, if some outside group with no economic interest in the company is attacking Communism, this is a piece of good fortune for the employer.* Thus, for example, veterans and church groups have often been concerned with the problem. Activities of this sort cannot be construed as attacks upon unionism. This will be the more constructive if the employer does not attempt to intervene and direct the crusade to his own problem. Such intervention might be resented. He can be well satisfied if the general atmosphere is hostile to Communism. The workers can then take the matter into their own hands in dealing with their union.

Non-interference with union matters does not mean that an employer must be passive in the situation. His first duty is to obtain an informed insight into conditions in the Local. He should try to discover and classify the leaders in the Communist faction. Some of these he will consider as professed Communists, while others will be labeled as opportunists or dupes. He will then catalogue other union leaders in regard to their attitudes and effectiveness. Some may be neutral in the struggle between factions, interested only in a good Local. Others may be strongly anti-Communist and ready to fight the group in control. Still others may be opposed to Communism, but unwilling to fight, or unconvinced that the leadership is really controlled by Reds. Information of this type can be quite useful in the light of subsequent recommendations.

* E.g. *Exposing the Red Threat to Free Enterprise and Individual Liberty*, by Frederick Woltman, New York: *World-Telegram*, 1947.

The Contract With a Red Local

IN NEGOTIATING a contract with a Communist-controlled Local, an employer must go in with his eyes open. He is dealing with persons who are not sincere. They will lie and distort what he says.* They will make impossible demands for the sake of stirring up trouble. They will encumber the contract with ambiguous trick phrases and booby-trap clauses to cause subsequent trouble. Hence the employer must be alert and prepared to meet unscrupulous opposition. But he is by no means helpless. Communists cannot ordinarily call a strike as a matter of whim. They must have some appearance of a case to present to the workers. And, if the employer does not let himself become panicked into rash statements or thoughtless action, the Communists may not succeed in causing trouble at this juncture of the proceedings.

As a matter of general attitude in such negotiations, the employer must avoid two extremes. First, he should beware of being extremely generous, in the hope of appeasing or buying off the opposition. Such tactics are fatal. The employer will not be thanked for his kindness. On the contrary, he will be confronted with new demands which he may find very hard to meet. In this connection it may be well to note the case of a firm which had an unauthorized strike called by a Communist faction. Not all the workers went out on strike. The company unwisely offered to pay wages to the strikers for time not worked, and triple wages to those who remained on the job. The result, as could be guessed, was a bitter attack on the firm by the Communist leaders with an unfair labor practice charge placed in the hands of the State labor relations board.

Secondly, equally dangerous for an employer, is the adoption of the fatalistic attitude that he will get a strike anyway, so he had better not make any concessions at all. Such an approach is a guarantee that he will get his strike, with all the workers solidly united behind the Communist leaders. The

* If this is doubted, see instructions of Lenin and the Comintern on inside cover of this report.

employer would be wiser to be prepared to accept the national pattern in economic clauses, if his competitive position will permit it. Naturally, as a matter of sound collective bargaining tactics, he will not make all his concessions in his first offer. If he is to grant benefits to the workers, he should be ready to ask for guarantees of production increases which will help to offset increased costs. His counter-demands will run largely in terms of security against wildcat strikes, "quickies," and other unauthorized stoppages of production. He can rightly demand no strikes for the duration of the agreement. Furthermore there should be definite penalties against individuals and against the union for violations of the agreement.

Another general point of value is the recording of all discussions, with the minutes of the meeting signed by both sides. Language of the contract should be clear and unequivocal, with a minimum leeway left for good faith or subsequent interpretation. It is well to have experienced talent available for the writing of terms. At the same time, the scope of legal advice should be clearly defined. It must not be forgotten that industrial relations directors have to carry out the contract on the working level. In drawing the contract, they should be given a position at least coordinate with, and preferably superior to, legal counsel. The legal mind is not always trained for the give and take of collective bargaining discussions. Legal talent is best employed for accuracy of phrasing of clauses drawn up by production and industrial relations executives.

Details of the Contract

THE MOST important details in a contract with a Communist-controlled union concern management and union security. Management should be extremely careful in granting any concessions which impede any of its prerogatives. Particular care should be exercised in drawing up the scope of the arbitration clause. Arbitration under a contract is frequently desirable. It provides impartial determination of

disputes in regard to application and interpretation of a contract. If the contract is carefully and accurately drawn, arbitration will prevent the Communists from effectively sabotaging it. Even if they engineer disputes, they will lose them when brought before an impartial party. Thus the onus for the trouble is shifted from the employer to the Local leaders. Yet it would be dangerous to entrust to an arbitrator functions which properly belong to management. Certainly a clause which permits arbitration of *any dispute* between the union and the company is extreme. Management's right to change the scope of its operations, to promote workers to executive positions, to transfer workers, to alter shifts, and the like, should in principle be non-arbitrable. Individual discharges, layoffs, upgrading within the unit of representation, and such may be arbitrable as to fact and within the scope of the contract.

With a Communist-controlled Local, it is a most dangerous principle to admit any action which involves a review of managerial decisions. As noted earlier, many employers favor some type of labor-management cooperation. With the Communists, however, these clauses would be used to enforce labor dictation to management in the latter's field. Communist Locals are often willing to sacrifice economic gains in order to drive a wedge into the field of management prerogatives and responsibilities.

Likewise an employer should be most careful in granting extreme forms of union security when his Local is Communist-dominated. The leaders would make almost any concession to gain a closed shop, a union shop, or maintenance of membership. Such a clause would be invaluable to them in exercising dictatorship over their members. Trumped-up expulsions would give them an opportunity for demanding the discharge of their opponents. If some form of security clause already exists or must be given, it is necessary to insist upon impartial review of all union expulsions, should discharges be involved. The best way is to give union members the same right to appeal discharge cases under union security clauses as they have in other discharge cases. The impartial chairman would have the right and duty to pass upon the adequacy of the trial given to the member in question.

Plant Discipline

THE CONTRACT with a Communist-controlled Local should be clear and strict in defining matters of plant discipline. Naturally Communists will try to do as much political work as possible during working hours and while on the job. Furthermore, they will be away from the plant frequently for political reasons. To prevent this, it is necessary to have a graduated series of penalties for unexcused absences. These can range from a light suspension for a first offense to discharge for a third offense within a reasonable period of time. Such rules are within management's prerogatives and need not be part of the contract. The contract should specify, however, the rights of shop stewards and committeemen to be off the job, with permission and only to settle grievances. The total amount of time permitted should be specified but flexible in its use, so that real grievances can be processed. However, such allowances should be definitely tied up to the settling of grievances, and not available as an excuse for political meddling. Normally shop stewards should be confined to their department, except when their presence is required to settle a grievance on a higher level. There is no objection to the company's paying, at least in part, for time used to settle grievances, providing such a privilege is not abused. The burden of payment should be on the company or the union. If it must be borne by the individual shop steward, the better men will not accept the position and it will fall to the ever-seeking Communists by default.

The company should be reasonable in granting leaves of absence to employees upon union request, but strict in confining them to union matters only. Such leaves are customary for full-time officers. Temporary leaves should be granted for attendance at union conventions and other large-scale meetings. Naturally such leaves are without pay. Full-time officers in mass production unions are not normally permitted to enter the plant and roam at will. They are given every reasonable facility to meet with industrial relations

executives. But their contacts with union members should be after working hours.

Contract clauses should be sought which will provide strict discipline for violations of the agreement. Individuals responsible for unauthorized stoppages or slow-downs should be subject to suspension for a first offense, and expulsion for a second. If an unauthorized strike which ties up the entire plant is sanctioned by the Local officers or connived in by them, the contract might be abrogated and subject to renegotiation.

Caution for the Future

ANY NEGOTIATIONS with a Communist-controlled group should be undertaken with an eye to the future. It is not the reasonableness of the proposition in itself which should be determining, but rather the possible use which the faction in control will make of it. Grants which may be perfectly reasonable in other circumstances may be dangerous under these conditions. Furthermore, in bargaining with such a group, the employer should make crystal-clear the tie-ins which surround a proposal or offer. If he concedes an economic point to avoid an overly strict union security clause, he may find the rejected clause reopened later in the negotiations. Or the Communists may engineer rank-and-file rejection of the entire contract. Their aim is to explore the entire field of labor-management relations and to obtain quickly the maximum employer concessions. These they accept only conditionally. They then use these grants as a foundation for further demands. Unless it is certain that a bargaining committee can and will deliver acceptance of the contract, the conditional nature of the concessions must be insisted upon again and again.

This picture of vicious collective bargaining, without mutual trust, is indeed somber. It would be tragic if such a spirit were to pervade all negotiations between unions and employers. Certainly the suggestions given here are not meant to apply where decent elements have secured control of a Local. But

the question arises: what if their control is insecure? Here the employer must prudently choose between two alternatives. On the one hand, if the decent elements can get a fair contract, with generous concessions, it will strengthen their hand in the factional struggle. On the other hand, if they lose control, such a contract might be badly abused. The employer has to judge probabilities and make a prudent decision. Possibly generous economic concessions, plus a strong stand on management prerogatives and against excessive union security would be the best general answer in most cases.

Concurrent with a fair but strict policy in negotiations should be constant efforts to build up good will among the workers. If the employer removes real causes of grievances, has well-trained supervisory personnel, and a reasonable attitude towards the workers, Communist propaganda against him will eventually boomerang. The union members will become dissatisfied with their leaders, and may ultimately revolt against them. They will realize that the employer is trying to do the right thing, and that their own leaders are hindering the process.

Working Under the Contract

ONCE A CONTRACT is signed with a union, there arises the problem of day-by-day application of this document to the problems in the plant. This is a new phase of contact with the union. Whatever troubles may have arisen during negotiations should, if possible, be a closed book. The signed agreement is the law which should govern labor-management relations during the life of the contract. In theory, at least, both sides should live up to the terms agreed upon, no matter how good or bad they consider them to be. In practice, a Communist-controlled Local is likely to bring up again and again points which it bargained away in negotiations. The employer must be prepared for this and ready to insist upon a scrupulous observance of the agree-

ment. Here is where adequate and impartial arbitration within the contract may prove its worth.

The most important phase of the daily application of the contract is the machinery for handling grievances. The employer must expect grievances no matter how carefully he may strive to be fair to his workers. The sheer size of many modern plants makes some friction and misunderstanding inevitable. This fact should be explained to foremen and other supervisory officials. Their normal reaction is to regard complaints as reflections upon their own ability. Accordingly, they tend to fight complainants in a spirit of resentment. With careful training, however, they can be made to realize that top management expects a certain number of grievances as a routine feature of operations. It is only when the number of complaints is unusually large or small that a problem may exist.

Under normal grievance procedure, the settling of complaints tends to remove irritations and improve morale. Production is benefited by an efficient system for handling grievances. But when there are sharp deviations from average results in a given department, the industrial relations office faces a difficulty. If complaints are below average, this may indicate exceptional tact and ability on the part of the foreman. On the other hand, it may spring from poor work on the part of the union shop steward. Paradoxically, such a situation is not to an employer's advantage. If real grievances are not presented and quickly solved, morale suffers. A foreman who browbeats a timid shop steward is following a short-sighted policy. Also, a subnormal amount of grievances can arise where a foreman is weak and yielding in applying established company policy. Such a situation means trouble, since concessions which deviate from the contract create annoying precedents which will be used by an alert Local. Uniform interpretation of the contract is essential for harmonious industrial relations.

Where grievances in a department tend consistently to exceed the average, a different set of problems arises. Such a situation could be caused by a foreman who is either excessively harsh or unduly fearful. The one tends to belittle grievances and must be forced into acting upon them. The

other is afraid to make mistakes and hence tries to pass all but the simplest problems to higher levels. Both these types are undesirable, the former because he damages morale and the latter because he tends to clog up the grievance machinery. On the other hand, the fault may lie with the union shop steward. He may be aggressive or quarrelsome by nature, or he may be following Communist tactics. Earlier we noted how Communists try to capitalize upon the grievance machinery to win a following. Here is a real test of the skill possessed by industrial relations executives.

Communists and the Grievance Procedure

WHERE an abnormal grievance situation exists, and the fault cannot properly be laid at the door of the foreman, a careful diagnosis will reveal how to catalogue the shop steward who is provoking trouble. The isolated rebel and the malcontent are usually easy to spot. Neither has close relationship with the Communist faction and they are generally independent in union politics. The Communists may try to use them in order to capture their following, but the relationship tends to be unstable at best. Even when they may work with Communists for a while, they do not follow Communist ideology nor do they espouse their political ends. Such individuals, while a problem, do not work in an organized and planned manner to bedevil the employer. Good foremanship and sound industrial relations normally tend to eliminate this type. The men soon realize that such trouble-makers do their cause more harm than good.

The situation is altered where grievances are being manufactured for political and factional purposes. Even here normal grievance policy must prevail, but it must be applied with special intelligence and discretion. Normal policy may be defined as an eager willingness to settle at the first step all reasonable grievances. Such a policy would discourage, through courteous explanation, carrying completely unreasonable complaints to higher steps. The good foreman seeks to

develop such an understanding with the shop steward that each can completely trust the other's word and sound judgment. Under such conditions, a foreman may be willing frequently to stretch a point in favor of the shop steward, since he realizes that his good will is not likely to be abused. Where these conditions obtain, settlement at the lowest level is the normal result.

As has been said even with a Communist shop steward, the basic elements of normal procedure must still be retained. Just grievances should be settled expeditiously. The difficulty arises, however, through the lack of mutual trust between the shop steward and the foreman. The foreman under such circumstances cannot ordinarily trust either the word or the judgment of the steward. He may legitimately suspect ulterior designs and well-concealed traps. As a result, he is usually forced to perform as exhaustive an investigation as is permitted within the time limit set by the agreement. Where there is reasonable doubt, he normally refers grievances to higher levels, since any concession by one foreman will be used as a plant-wide precedent. For the same reason he cannot stretch a point or grant the benefit of the doubt to the shop steward. To preserve morale, he is on the alert for direct, on-the-spot settlements of problems with the individual worker, avoiding the grievance machinery where possible. He may find the workers themselves anxious to by-pass the normal processes, since they realize that their real complaints are thrown into the same hopper with manufactured political grievances. If identical policy is followed towards all employees and no discrimination tolerated, political grievances often can be left to die with the arbitrator and real problems settled directly. Formal complaints must, under ruling of the National Labor Relations Board, be handled in the presence of the union representative, but informal settlements can be made and in most instances lead to smooth relationships even under a Communist shop steward.

Where a Communist is trying to win the post of shop steward, the foreman must avoid the trap described earlier. He should never permit the Communist as an individual to bring complaints to him, but should insist upon dealing with the legitimate shop steward. In dealing with the latter,

he must be fair and even generous, as was described in connection with normal grievance policy. If the foreman knows that the steward is being badgered by a Communist into submitting poor grievances, he should cooperate with the steward by explaining, in the presence of the complaining employee if necessary, why the grievance cannot be settled in his favor. Such a careful explanation can serve to discredit the Communist and shift the burden of rejection from the shoulders of the decent and honest shop steward.

The effect of such a policy should be great. It should serve to educate the rank and file members on the basic elements of a fair labor policy. They will realize that the aggressive, belligerent tactics of the Communist do not produce lasting results. Rather they will note that such an approach tends mostly to slow down and interfere with legitimate bargaining. It will soon be evident to them that decent union stewards are producing better results because of their policy of honesty and mutual trust. The result will be a definite if gradual swing in favor of such competent and successful officials. Since grievances are to a union what patronage is to a political machine, it will not be long before the Communists are bereft of power.

The Industrial Relations Director

THE PROBLEM of applying the contract so as to minimize Communist difficulties provides real obstacles for the industrial relations executive. That he may do this well, top management must give him adequate authority to act and repose confidence in his judgment. If they cannot do this, he should be replaced.

The first step in the industrial relations department is to explain the contract thoroughly and carefully to the entire supervisory personnel. A good practice is to mimeograph a detailed explanation of each clause and to give the foremen a bound copy. Pertinent provisions of the Wagner Act and other applicable state and federal laws can be included in this volume. Meetings should be held to supplement written

explanation by oral presentation, and to encourage the asking of questions. The general outlines of the Communist problem should also be presented in these meetings.

Foremen should be instructed to bring doubtful situations to the industrial relations department. They should regularly report on their personal relations with shop stewards. Any traces of factionalism or efforts at political activity within departments should be reported at once. This will give the industrial relations director a chance to review the situation and to give more detailed advice to the foreman in question. In this way, foremen will not become unconscious accessories to the Communists' plans to take over shop steward positions. Foremen should cooperate likewise with the existing non-Communist stewards and not permit outside interference from agitators. It must be remembered that the best place to choke off Communist-inspired grievances is at the first step.

If the shop steward of a department is a Communist, it is likely that the burden of his activity will be shifted to higher grievance steps. He will present so many nuisance grievances that refusals and appeals will be normal procedure. At the higher level, the industrial relations executive will be meeting with the union grievance committee or business agent. The executive's problem is to prevent the Communists from capitalizing upon the situation for political purposes. He knows that he must grant reasonable grievances at this step, or lose them at a higher step. But with care, he can see that Communists do not get too much credit for winning good cases. Thus, in most situations a grievance committee is not politically uniform. Some members at least will be non-Communist. Their word and judgment can be trusted. If a case, on the surface, looks good to the industrial relations director, he can direct the conversation to a decent union official, asking for his comment or opinion. When the latter favors the granting of the grievance, the executive can answer "yes," thus disposing of the case. On the other hand, when Communist-inspired and unreasonable grievances come up, they should be given the burden of defending them. When the answer from management is "no," they bear the onus of the defeat. Such methods will cause Communist tactics

to boomerang, and build up the prestige of the American-minded union officials.

The industrial relations director should expect personal insult and vituperation from Communists on grievance committees. Under such attacks, he should remain completely calm and retain absolute self-control. Anger clouds sound judgment, and leads to hasty and ill-considered decisions. If the executive keeps calm, even though he may appear to be affected, he will frequently find that the Communists have baited themselves into frenzied loss of control. He can then call the meeting sharply to order and bring them back to the business at hand. Such tactics will hurt their prestige and often goad them into compromising revelations.

The executive can keep control of meetings only if he has effective power to make decisions. He cannot be expected to produce results if he is nothing more than an "office boy" who must report above for every decision. On the other hand, he has nothing to gain by pretending to have absolute power. Difficult problems will require delay and consultation, and the wise executive will state the situation frankly.

At times it is possible to handle "hot" or "loaded" grievances at a still higher level, if the industrial relations director feels that the complaint is sound, but has been presented at the meeting with the grievance committee primarily for political purposes. Thus, he can defer a favorable decision until after the meeting when the atmosphere is less charged. This may be at the arbitration level, or it may be in direct dealings with Local or International union officials. Such may be advisable even if the officials in question are Communists. The executive thus demonstrates his fairness, once he sees the facts, and at the same time prevents the grievance meeting from being used for political purposes. Furthermore, if management loses a fair share of arbitration cases, it is spared the necessity of constantly changing arbitrators. Arbitrators who predominantly rule for one side will be accused of bias, even though in fact they were completely objective and used sound judgment.

In all the situations outlined here, it must be noted that the grievances themselves must be decided upon their merits. It would be unjust, and tactically dangerous, to treat com-

plaints on the basis of the politics of the official who presents them. But the manner in which they are handled can have deep political implications. The unwary executive will find himself maneuvered into giving support to a Communist faction. If he uses discrimination and intelligence, however, he will outwit the disruptive elements within the union.

Dealing with Union Officials

THE REFLECTIONS on contacts with shop stewards lead naturally to the broader subject of relations with union officials. In this regard, an employer faced with a Communist problem must avoid two mistakes above all. The first is the development of a general resentment against all union officials because of his sour experiences with the Communists. Such a reaction tends to strengthen the hands of the radical group, since the moderates are thrown in with them whether they like it or not. A much more sensible policy is to treat each official on his own merits. If his character and actions are such as to merit confidence and trust, he should be handled accordingly. The effect of such discrimination is to strengthen the hands of the anti-Communist faction. They do not want special favors from the employer; indeed, the open granting of such favors would boomerang into charges that they were "Company men." But at the same time they cannot carry on a two-front strategy, caught between the company and the Reds at the same time.

A second error to be avoided is the identifying of a *fair* union official with a *docile* union officer. The adjectives are by no means synonymous. Thus, some industrial relations executives complain when a non-Communist official proves to be an aggressive bargainer at the conference table. Some have even been quoted as saying that they would prefer to deal with a Communist rather than with such an officer. It is true that at times individual Communists may be more pleasant personalities than occasional opponents. Yet, it must be remembered that Communist control means an organized and continual assault upon employers' rights. Communists set

up standards which at times their opponents must imitate through the sheer necessity of self-preservation within the union's political structure. Often the employer himself is at fault through the failure to grant opportune and face-saving concessions to opponents of the Communist faction. It is not unheard-of that employers will win small battles at the conference table, costing American-minded officers their union jobs, and then lose major wars when their radical successors give employers a taste of real demands.

Even under the Wagner Act, the employer often has real, if thoroughly unconscious, influence in naming of union officers. Small but gracious concessions, frequent consultations, and recognition can often build up the stature of a union official. Likewise, the thoughtless by-passing of the same man, the announcement of concessions through the plant bulletin board rather than through the union paper, and similar oversights can lower his prestige to an alarming degree. The NLRB does not allow direct intervention in union affairs. But if the employer is not free to pick the officers he likes, the least he can do is abstain from actions which hurt them. He does not need to embarrass and punish the decent element just to prove that he is impartial.*

A word might be said about direct dealings with union officials in an informal manner. It is occasionally possible to sit down to dinner with an international officer, the local president or business agent. Such informal meetings can be productive of real candor. Both sides can talk freely without worrying about a reaction from those to whom they must report. Such conferences need not have the slightest element of the dishonest about them. In fact, if such should be even hinted, the employer should drop them at once, and this from a purely selfish point of view, as well as from an ethical consideration. An official who would betray the men who elected him would betray the executive who confided in him. The only reason for off-the-record meetings is that collective bargaining, like the fashioning of peace treaties,

* It is probable that the 80th Congress will modify the Wagner Act so that employers can work more effectively, and without fear of law violation, with American-minded employees in opposing Communists within the labor movement.

requires a certain public attitude that does not make compromise and adjustment easy. Privately, an executive may admit that a contract clause is too severe; publicly he may feel compelled to defend it. The same might be true of the local president in regard to certain demands made by the union.

Where collective bargaining is not new, informal meetings as described are frequent enough to be commonplace. Thus, in a by no means hypothetical case, an international officer used to have dinner weekly with an industrial relations executive. They would go over outstanding problems and grievances. But each kept his freedom of action. The employer's representative was unable to grant certain concessions strongly desired by the union official. The latter in turn did not hesitate to call strikes when he felt that the issues warranted them. Consultation did not bring a millenium. But it did narrow sharply the area of conflict. Furthermore, in this particular case, it served to hinder effectively the workings of a highly skilled Communist faction operating in the plant under discussion. This union official was decent, but not docile. He worked hard and intelligently for his men, but he was experienced and reasonable enough to see the employer's problems as well. Such a man is far better, even from the employer's viewpoint, than a docile company tool who will soon be outmaneuvered and ousted by his own people or by the Communists.

A Summary

TO HANDLE Communism in labor relations, certain steps are essential. They may be briefly recapitulated here.

- 1) The employer must realize that this is a specialized and serious problem. He must be prepared to recognize with accuracy the Communist line and tactics. He must consult with others so as to facilitate the spotting of Communists in action.

2) If he has no union, he should use every legitimate step to keep a Communist-controlled group from taking over his plant.

3) Where he faces the problem of Communism within a local, he should recognize this fact in contract negotiations. If Communists are not already in power, inept handling of negotiations might bring them in. Should they be in power, the contract must be drawn with great exactness. As little as possible should be left to good will or the application of common sense. Management prerogative and arbitration provisions must be tight and clear.

4) The problem of Communism will affect grievance procedure. Ordinarily grievances should be handled in an atmosphere of generosity and trust. With Communists, such an attitude would be abused. Careful and exhaustive investigation to avoid fraud and trickery is called for.

5) When the employer is confronted with American-minded union officials, he should treat them with friendliness and trust. They should not be compelled to fight both him and the Communists. Decent officials are not of necessity docile or pliant to every company wish.

The Worker Fights Communism

THUS FAR, the consideration has been exclusively in terms of the employer's interest in fighting Communism. It has been mentioned incidentally that workers too are in the struggle.

Actually such a presentation is so specialized as to be almost misleading. The real struggle against the Reds in labor must be carried out by the union members themselves. As a rule, the best the employer can do is to protect his own interests and try not to interfere with the decent element in the union. Such action by the employer is important, but it would not be very effective if the workers themselves were not vitally interested and active.

Workers who fight Communism are usually influenced by one or more of three motives: patriotism, religion or desire

for sound unionism. Many realize that the Communist is essentially a foreign agent. Whether he realizes it or not, he takes orders from New York which are directed by Moscow through Paris. Non-Communists know that his power in labor will be used against the best interests of the country. Others may be impressed by the low-level ethics and the anti-religious nature of Communism. Whatever be their faith, they know that the totalitarian State does not leave the conscience free. In this regard, members of minority groups especially cultivated by the Communists often become their most aggressive opponents, this in order to save the good name of their group. Finally, most union members soon discover that a Communist cannot be a good union member. He will invariably seek to use the union in the interests of an outside political party. Furthermore, his disruptive factional tactics hurt the legitimate interests of labor.

The effectiveness of the opposition is not necessarily proportional to the strength of motivation. To fight Communists in labor, interest is not enough. Interest must flame into zeal, and be tempered by intelligence and experience. Communist control of unions is achieved by political-machine tactics. It can be countered only by a better machine which organizes the majority against a skilled and unscrupulous minority. Accordingly, the best fighters against Reds in labor are experienced unionists. In this category would be included craftsmen, miners, and railroad workers with a long history of unionism. As their allies they may have some proletarian groups such as Socialists and Social Democrats, and non-Stalinist Communist groups. The last-named Communists may be as bad as their enemies, from whom they do not differ in ideology, but only in loyalty to the Soviet Union leadership. In practice, they are rarely numerous enough to take over a Local. Normally, they merely add experience and militancy to the anti-Communist faction. In union struggles, such experienced leaders contribute organizing ability and generalship, although their diverse ideologies may add confusion. Those who have patriotic or religious motivation, but lack experience, at first can offer only zeal and numbers, the while acquiring experience.

There has been no mention of the employer's part in pro-

moting anti-Communist activity within the union itself. The reason is simple: he has no part. Much as he may be tempted to join in, he must remain on the sidelines. Intervention on his part would only damage the cause which he hopes will win. Nothing is more fatal for a union group than to be labeled "company tools." Of course the Communists will use such ammunition anyway, but the employer does not need to furnish them with it. Two temptations in particular must be avoided. The first is the providing of the anti-Communist faction with funds. They will need money badly. Literature must be paid for. Time will be lost from work. It will be a hard struggle, but the employer must not assist. Possibly the International may help, or some other Local which has won its struggle, or some patriotic or religious group. Outside aid in a factional struggle is always dangerous, but sometimes necessary. But when it comes from the employer, it is fatal.

In the second place, the employer may not aid through the relaxation of plant discipline. He cannot openly countenance factional activity by anti-Communist groups during working time. Well-meaning individuals should be warned when an infraction is noticed. Repeated offenses must be punished by suspension or similar penalties. The employer can take for granted that the Communists will make complaints against such violations. If he fails to act on such charges, he will label the opposition as company-dominated and probably face Wagner Act charges. By taking the initiative himself in warning the opposing faction, he can avoid such trouble. He is then in a much better position rigidly to enforce similar rules against the Communist group.

Tactics in the Struggle

THE WORKER fights Communism primarily through building a better political machine than does the Red faction. As an illustration of such tactics, we may take the case of Local 23. Here a Communist group gained power largely through surprise at the previous election. However they

were not given time to consolidate their strength. Their opponent, a trained union leader, gathered around him a small faction of loyal union members. They met quietly in one another's houses, while holding the Communists in check from meeting to meeting, and worked out a slate for the next election. Each member canvassed throughout the entire plant and built up strength for a particular candidate, but no indication was given that these candidates were part of a unified slate. At the last minute, a merger was effected and the strength controlled by each member of the caucus was thrown to all the candidates in the group. The Communists were caught off guard and soundly defeated.

A situation such as the one just described will not be repeated often. But it does teach certain lessons which have universal application. The first is that the issue of Communism was not raised in the whole election campaign. Of course, the problem of Communism versus sound unionism was the cement which bound together the initial caucus. But the men campaigned for support on the basis of union issues and the ability of candidates they had selected. This was not a negative approach; it was a positive program. They did not seek merely to *displace* Communists as such; they *replaced* them with candidates who were better timber for union officers. The result was that they won support from all sides.

Union elections do not precisely parallel civic elections. In the latter case, a sound attack upon the "ins" often brings a large protest vote to the polls. With labor, the attacking of officers as Communists is more likely to produce confusion and lethargy. The Communists themselves will not normally admit the charge. They will smear and discredit the opposition. The average worker becomes so puzzled that his reaction is: "A plague on both your houses." Of course if, in an exceptional case, it can be proved that most of the officers are really Communists, such an attack will be effective. But it is one thing to be certain of a fact, and another and different thing to be prepared to prove it in public controversy and to an untrained audience. Ordinarily Communist charges are best reserved for the inner caucus and for word-of-mouth reports spread through the plant by the anti-Communist opposition.

The best political opposition to a Communist group is a well-rounded, truly representative, and able group of prospective officers on an election slate. If each of these men has a sizable following, he will be able to add it to the common pool on election day. The campaign issues raised by such a group should be both positive and negative. Positively, they should advocate measures which will improve the well-being of the Local. These are usually constructive, commonsense ideas which are likely to prevail in collective bargaining. Negatively, they should attack the Communist officers on *union* rather than political issues. They will have ample reasons to point to neglect of duty, misuse of funds,* wasting of time in union meetings discussing purely political problems, and related abuses. The Communist issue as such should not be raised by the group; rather as individuals they should circulate such information by word of mouth.

A union slate which is likely to defeat a Communist group of officers must be both competent and representative of the membership. The old axiom "You cannot beat somebody with nobody" is true in union politics. The fact that a member is strongly opposed to Communism is not in itself an indication that he will make a successful union officer. Among competent candidates, choices should be made with a view to balanced representation. Departmental, shift, racial, national, and religious factors are normally considered in picking a good slate. In principle, all major departments, all fully staffed shifts, and each sizable minority group should have a candidate on the ticket. This will prevent splinter slates which divide the anti-Communist opposition and permit the Communists to exercise the balance of power. Every reasonable compromise should be made in order to avoid the situation of too many candidates for a given office. Communists try to provoke such splits so that they can more easily defeat a divided opposition.

Once a pro-American group of officers is elected, they should contact similar groups in their union and also non-Communist Locals of other unions in their region. They

* Many millions of dollars have been drained from Communist controlled union treasuries for the support of their political mass meetings and front organizations.

can thus pool information on Communist personnel and tactics. From others they can receive advice on policies and programs. At times such friendly neighbors can assist in passing out literature, organizing demonstrations, and exposing local Communist concentrations.

Consolidation of Power

COMMUNISTS, once they have gained power, do not as a rule yield readily. When they are ousted from office, they scheme to promote factions, discredit the new officers, and try to return to power. Hence alertness upon the part of the decent new officers is vital. Being men of principle, they will not use the Communist tactics of trying to expel their opposition from the Local. On the other hand, in attempting to be fair, they should not lean over backwards and tolerate tactics which they would not countenance from others. Open disruption in union meetings, gross violations of plant discipline, and departmental strife should not be defended or condoned. Disruptive tactics should be met by expulsion after a fair trial. If the employer penalizes a Communist for flagrant violations of plant rules, the officers should not allow themselves to be pressured into defending the culprit.

The new officers will meet their greatest problems in handling grievance procedures and in running union meetings. In regard to grievances, the Communists will use the tactics noted earlier in the attempt to undermine shop stewards. They will also appeal hopeless cases in order to discredit the union grievance committee, the business agents, and the arbitration procedure. Against such tactics, the officers should present a united front. Shop stewards should reject obviously unsound and political complaints. The business agent and the grievance committee should stand by the shop stewards. If some of the stewards are Communist and do send poor grievances to the higher steps, the poor ones should in general be weeded out ruthlessly. Occasionally some which are obviously weak might be presented, with the results and the

reasons for rejection written up in the Local paper. The common sense of the members will do the rest, and the whole proceeding will serve to discredit Communist leadership and tactics. But under no conditions should the Communists be allowed to clog up the grievance machinery. Nor should they be permitted direct access to management to present complaints, unless they are entitled to do so because of a union office they hold.

Union meetings should be run with the same care and firmness. The officers should master parliamentary procedure and not tolerate disruptive or delaying tactics. Free and fair discussion of issues must be encouraged, but the officers should be alert to Communist attempts to prolong meetings or to inject extraneous problems. In this regard, it would be a fatal mistake to disband the caucus which originally won the election. The caucus can ensure attendance of meetings, enter into preliminary discussion of important points, and arrange disciplined voting to table Communist-inspired nuisance or political motions.

Building from the Bottom

THE PRECEDING SECTION envisioned conditions where a non-Communist group was able to capture power in a single attempt. Frequently, however, such immediate success is not to be had. The American-minded faction must work step by step to gain control. In general, their approach will be political, but minus the Communist unscrupulous and unethical aspects. The three main steps are: discrediting of the Communist officers; capturing of shop steward and committeemen positions; and control of union meetings.

To discredit Communist officers, it is not necessary to follow their method of a slanderous whispering campaign. In most cases, telling the truth about their activities is sufficiently damning and, of course, much harder to deny. Their main weakness will be neglect of the Local in the interest of Communist activities. The Party is so exacting in regard to its

members that they are likely to spend a great deal of time in doing work ordered by it. The result is poor service at the Local office, neglect of grievances, at least when the Communists feel entrenched, and the cancellation of regular union meetings. As a smokescreen, the Communists will try to organize strikes, stoppages, "quickies," and protest meetings, but this type of action soon loses its effectiveness and increases unrest among the members. In addition, close scrutiny of the Local's financial matters will often furnish much damaging material. The condition of the Local's treasury should be contrasted to that of a well-run non-Communist Local of the same union or within the same locality. Moreover, Communists will make many mistakes in running the union. They are not supermen. Finally, the easily proved charges of Communist affiliation should be circulated widely. If the affiliation is known, but cannot be established in a manner easily recognized by the general membership, such information should be aired only to those discriminating enough to weigh the evidence.

Shop stewards stand or fall in direct relation to their success in winning grievances. The normal Communist steward is not too successful, since he aims to create disruption rather than harmony. The result is that even sound complaints are often not adjusted, since the foreman has learned to distrust both the word and the judgment of such a steward. These failures can be capitalized upon by an alert union member in the department. He may insinuate that better results could be obtained if the workers handled their own grievances directly with the foreman. Or they may be able to get a non-Communist in the grievance committee to handle them upon appeal. Or, finally, the non-Communist in the department may be able to goad the shop steward into letting him take up cases with the foreman. He should have witnesses for any such permission, however, lest he be charged with violating the union constitution or by-laws by dealing directly with management in such matters.

Control of union meetings usually involves a caucus to prepare issues and the bringing of sufficient members to meetings. The caucus should be well versed in parliamentary law and the various tactics used by the Communists to run meet-

ings. Such a caucus prepares issues in detail before meetings, outlining who is to make and who is to second motions, give speeches, and call for the vote. Above all this caucus must be ready to handle delaying tactics, so that meetings will not be prolonged unduly. They must appoint alert floor leaders who are prepared to meet emergency situations and who will be followed intelligently by other members of the group. Techniques of this sort can scarcely be learned from books, although excellent literature is available.* The best method is to obtain the guidance of a trained non-Communist union leader. Labor schools are available in many communities where such fundamentals can be learned.

Special Difficulties

THE DIFFICULTIES of the struggle against Communist control vary with localities and the size of the plant. The problem is most severe where the plant is large and its workers diverse in regard to race, religion, and national origin. Under such conditions, workers do not often have personal knowledge of their officers, and factions are easily formed. In smaller plants, with a uniform working force, personal contacts are more frequent and Communist infiltration correspondingly more difficult. The mechanical skill and general intelligence of workers also enter into the situation. This is particularly true in the matter of organizing a caucus for union meetings. On the other hand, intelligent workers are often unwilling to enter into the bitter struggle involved in ousting a Communist group. Partly for this reason, Communism is strongly entrenched in the United Electrical

* A brief study of parliamentary law has been prepared by A. Claessens for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. (*The A.B.C. of Parliamentary Law*, I.L.G.W.U., 3 West 16th St., New York City.) The same union publishes a *Handbook of Trade Union Methods*. (Each 25c). The United Automobile Workers (411 West Milwaukee, Detroit, Mich.) has a pamphlet on shop steward duties. No complete list of union pamphlets exists today, but the Labor Education Service, Division of Labor Standards, U. S. Dept. of Labor, is understood to be preparing such a list. In addition, it is publishing its own literature in the field. *Democracy in Trade Unions: A Survey with a Program of Action*, and supplement published by the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Ave., New York 10.

Workers, the United Public Workers of America, and in the New York and Los Angeles locals of the American Newspaper Guild. This situation is due more to a lack of interest than a lack of ability to oust bad leadership.*

Another special difficulty in ousting Communists arises from their control of the election machinery. It can be taken for granted that they will conduct a dishonest election to maintain their power. If the national union is controlled by non-Communists, it is frequently possible for members to appeal to it so that the election may be supervised. In other situations, the election committee is picked by the membership. If the opposition to Communists is well organized, it is often able to control this committee. On the other hand, it is possible that Communists control both the national union and the Local. In such a case, the only remedy presently available in most cases is secession of a large group and the petition for the National Labor Relations Board election for new representation. Such a drastic remedy is often unsatisfactory, however, and a better solution, some urge, would be outside supervision of elections.

CONCLUSION

The Communist-controlled union is basically different from any other labor union. The handling of it requires fundamentally distinct attitudes and techniques.

In dealing with such groups the following underlying points must be remembered:

I. That such a union is primarily a bridgehead of a foreign power, Soviet Union leaders. When a conflict arises between Soviet aims and American ideals, the Communist union will support the former and criticize American foreign and domestic policies. A union of this type is a pliable instrument, when needed, for military espionage and sabotage. It will fit into

* To illustrate this point, a newspaper reporter quotes one of the best-known writers for the *Philadelphia Record* to the effect that indifference on the part of the high-salaried reporters was largely responsible for the Guild action which put three newspapers out of business in 1947. They rarely attended union meetings. "If there is any moral in this, it is to keep an eye on the Guild to see that there is always a healthy opposition to any steam roller." *Washington Post*, February 3, 1947, p. 6.

the general Communist propaganda machine, which aims to further the Soviet Union and deride the United States. If a military conflict were to arise, it will be a fifth column, attacking its own people from within. This is why, as was noted earlier, Communist labor leaders concentrate first on strategic industries and occupations.

II. The labor movement under Communism is an instrument for dislocating our economic and social structure. Communists do not seek genuine betterment of conditions. Rather they thrive upon strife for its own sake. They would rather have strikes than peaceful and generous settlement of industrial disputes. They would prefer agitation to the removal of grievances or social ills which afford the excuse for agitation. Reasonable appeals or sensible compromises mean nothing to them. They seek a war to the finish with the business community and our way of life.

III. The labor movement is to Communists a broad foundation for all their other activities, whether propaganda and "education", agitation among minority groups, or infiltration of government. From the labor movement, they hope to gain militant members. Its treasuries are drained of funds for various Party-controlled organizations and programs. This is the mass which is to be guided and deceived into ultimate revolution and immediate disruption of the present economic system.

In the light of these facts the employer cannot be complacent about the problem of Communism in labor. It would be fatal short-sightedness if he were so preoccupied with immediate problems that he overlooked the master strategy and the underlying motivation. And it would be quite unfortunate if he were to feel that normal techniques and usual procedures in industrial relations would be adequate to meet problems of this nature.

The analysis given here leads to one primary conclusion, that the ousting of Communists from labor unions is a highly complex problem. It is mainly a task for the workers themselves. With them, good will is essential but not enough. Skill, experience, and intelligence are required to perfect the organization needed to beat a Communist political machine. In this struggle, the employer can help substantially, even

though indirectly. If he is alert to Communist tactics, vigilant in avoiding their traps, and careful not to give them help, he will encourage the decent element in the union to remove subversive leaders. The fact that his aid is indirect and often of the negative type does not make it the less important or essential. On the contrary, an intelligent application of the principles outlined here would contribute tremendously to the task. But, if the employer is not awake, the burden of the non-Communist opposition is increased manifold.

The difficulties to be found and overcome should not be exaggerated. *The underlying realities of the situation all favor the non-Communist opposition.* The majority of the workers oppose Communism and wish honest union leadership. The Communists can usually be relied upon to be their own best enemies, through their neglect of duty and intense interest in outside matters. A well-informed employer can do much, without interfering with union activities or otherwise running afoul of the Wagner Act. General public sentiment today runs against Communists, their goals, and their methods. Accordingly, patience, skill and diligence will produce results which should be most gratifying.

From the larger point of view, the cleansing of the labor movement of Communism will have important results for the entire country. It will lead to sounder, more peaceful, and more reasonable labor-management relations. Furthermore, it will hurt the Communists badly in their fifth column work for the Soviet Union. Of their four main types of activity—labor, minority groups, government, and propaganda—labor is considered basic. The removal of this support will cripple their work in other fields, especially if direct attacks along all these lines are made simultaneously. Counter-measures are apt to be ineffective unless such simultaneous efforts are made on all fronts.

Communism and Communists have nothing to offer to the American people. Machiavelli pointed out four hundred years ago that, in the beginning, a disease is hard to diagnose and easy to cure; but if neglected it becomes easy to diagnose and hard to cure. It is in this spirit that the Chamber of Commerce submits this report to the American people.

Dr. SCHMIDT. An action program:

The committee is so familiar with the nature of the problems that I will not take time to discuss them. The question now is what shall be done? Broadly, there are two approaches:

1. Education and exposure.
2. Legislation.

We are inclined to view that the primary emphasis must be on education and exposure without, however, ignoring certain legal corrections. In our first report (pp. 36-37) we made the following specific recommendations:

1. Since communism thrives upon deceit, exposure of the facts would be a potent counter weapon. We propose more fact-gathering, competent, impartial, and patriotic. Both private groups and the Government have a responsibility here.

2. In the labor field, communism thrives primarily through organization and discipline. Labor unions and noneconomic groups, not directly interested in labor's relation with capital, should encourage labor education. This would give the non-Communist majority the training needed to fight their disciplined opponents.

3. The businessman, heavily preoccupied with business problems, should concern himself more with the problems of government and should make certain that he learns to detect Communist influence in his labor relations, his business, and other contacts.

4. Because Communist loyalty is primarily given to a foreign power, Communists and their followers should be excluded from Government services. Congress should appropriate adequate funds for a stringent but fair loyalty test.

5. As an agent of a foreign power, the Communist Party should be forced by law to reveal its membership, funds, and activities.

6. In view of the revelation of Comintern activities throughout the world, the United States should enforce strict reciprocity with the Soviet Union in regard to the number and freedom of movement of nationals of either country within the other.

7. Our Government should follow a policy of frankness with its citizens in regard to the major facts which enter into the making of our foreign policy.

You will note that points 4, 5, and 6 involve legislation and the other four deal with the educational approach.

COMMUNISM CANNOT STAND EXPOSURE

We diagnose the main danger of communism as springing from the secret penetration into areas where it is not recognized. In this way Communist ideology and programs are foisted upon unsuspecting persons in other guises. As illustrations, we have pointed out the innumerable "front" organizations; the use of propaganda devices such as the radio, motion pictures, the press, the lecture platform, magazine and books. Congressman Mundt made an excellent exposure of the "leak and scandal" sheet, In Fact, on the floor of the House on March 10, 1947 (Congressional Record, p. A1004), showing how this secret penetration works. We have likewise noted the substantial infiltration into Government especially during and shortly after the war. Likewise, Communists have penetrated certain parts of the labor movement.

In all of these ways, a secret, undercover spreading of Communist ideas and programs is achieved.

If such is the evil, then the main remedy would seem to be exposure by governmental bodies such as your committee, the FBI, and other governmental agencies, and by private groups. Accurate identifica-

tion of Communists, their dupes, and their transmission belts would prevent much of the deception currently practiced.

The Daily Worker (Communist), February 23, 1947, in a calculated analysis of the chamber's second report *Communists Within the Government*, states:

First, there is under way a skillful campaign to make communism * * * the major issue before the Nation.

Second, the campaign unfortunately is rather effective * * *. To recognize how effective the Red scare campaign has been is not defeatism * * * it is sober realism.

When we published our third report, *Communists Within the Labor Movement*, the Daily Worker (March 13, 1947) with a screaming headline, *Big Business Sparks Anti-Red Campaign*, states:

The United States Chamber of Commerce today showed its hand as the real instigator of the movement to outlaw the Communist Party. * * * Release of the printed booklet was timed to reach newsmen a few hours after Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach's suggestion before the House Labor Committee for a ban on the Communist Party * * *

These points are mentioned to demonstrate the importance of public education, of exposure of Communists and their transmission belts, of exposure of Communist ideology, of their anti-religious work and attitudes, of their stirring up and thriving on unrest and chaos, and their efforts to exploit actual or alleged racial discrimination.

The campaign against Red-fascism is beginning to hurt the comrades. We must keep it up and intensify it. A flood of solid, factual reports from your committee can help greatly.

OUTLAWING THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The proposal has been made that the Communist Party be outlawed as an agent of a foreign power and as an organization urging undemocratic, violent and revolutionary methods from time to time.

A number of countries have taken this step and in no case, to our knowledge, has this step prevented Communist activities and propaganda. In Canada it was during the period when the party was illegal that the fabulous espionage took place. The American people and the United States Constitution are devoted to the principles of freedom of speech, of the press, and of assembly. We are strong believers in individualism. Democracy does not mean merely majority rule; it means certain rights for the minorities. The outlawing of such a party, at least in some degree, runs counter to our traditions and philosophy. Possibly such a step would require a constitutional amendment.

Outlawing the party and similar organizations as does Mr. Shepard's bill (H. R. 2122) might call for a vast counterespionage staff to enforce the law. There is reason to believe that the outlawing of the party would drive under ground still further many of the Communist activities. It would make the party functionaries more subtle, more discreet and conceivably even more effective. It might give them a rallying cry, and further solidify and cement them. It might make martyrs of the Communists and might cause many persons to come to their rescue. The outlawing of the party might conceivably give us a false sense of complacency knowing that we have passed a law.

If the party is not outlawed it will operate in the open, at least in part, where its offices, its officers, its literature, and its meetings are known. Then it can be identified and combated.

For these reasons, the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce of the U. S. A. questions the wisdom of outlawing the party at this time.

Some possible legal steps: There is reason to believe, however, that various governmental agencies including the Department of Justice, the State Department, the War and Navy Departments have now on hand sufficient evidence and material to establish beyond any reasonable doubt that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is an agent of a foreign power. Even a casual glance at the appendices of the *Great Globe Itself* by William C. Bullitt, our former Ambassador to the U. S. S. R., will convince any open-minded person of such principal-agency relationship. We are told that even inside the Communist Party, U. S. A., this is a common joke: "Why is the American Communist Party like the Brooklyn Bridge?" Answer: "It is kept in suspension by cables."

In our second report (Communists within the Government, p. 7) we noted that at various times in the history of the Communist Party, U. S. A., it has openly disclosed what is implied in party membership. In 1935 in New York City, 2,000 new Communists took the following pledge:

I pledge myself to rally the masses to defend the Soviet Union, the land of victorious socialism. I pledge myself to remain at all times a vigilant and firm defender of the Leninist line of the party, the only line that insures the triumph of Soviet power in the United States.

Each Communist Party application carries the following declaration:

The undersigned declares his adherence to the program and statutes of the C. I. (Communist International) and the Communist Party of the U. S. A. and agrees to submit to the discipline of the Party and to engage actively in its work.

Such pledges are not openly publicized during the present period but they are implicit in the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, to which the Communist Party, U. S. A., fully subscribes at the present time.

In this report we recommended as a legal step (p. 29):

The Department of Justice should rule officially that the Communist Party, U. S. A., is an agency of a foreign power and subject to the provisions of the Voorhis Act and the Logan Act.

The Voorhis Act requires the registration of proved foreign agents with the United States Government, with a full statement of their activities, revenues, expenditures, membership lists and the like. This requirement could be extended to the party's affiliates, fronts, transmission belts, printing and mimeographing "businesses," and other apparatus owned or controlled by the party.

The Logan Act prohibits, and provides punishment for, conspiracy by American citizens and foreign agents, helping foreign agents to influence relations between the United States and any foreign Government, and the attempt to defeat measures taken by the United States in the course of such relations. The law also applies to those who counsel, advise or assist in such operations. Actually the top officials of the American Communist Party have consistently engaged in activities which are forbidden by this law. The Department of Justice

can compile evidence to show such violations. Prosecutions under this act would unmask the party and show it in its real light; an instrument whereby American citizens have become agents of a foreign power and traitors to their own Government.

Whether H. R. 478, introduced by Mr. Dondero and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary is necessary to strengthen the hand of the Department of Justice, with respect to the principles of these two laws, should be determined by your counsel.

If under these laws, in addition, the Department of Justice, perhaps with the aid of this committee, would publish semiannual lists of fronts and their members, transmission belts, and other apparatus under the control of the Communist Party (however its name may be changed), this would go a long way to smoke out the comrades; then few decent self-respecting American citizens would have anything to do with them.

It may be argued in some left-wing and pink circles that such steps would interfere with our international relations with the U. S. S. R. When once the U. S. S. R. officialdom permits the Democrat or Republican Party to carry on missionary work among the exploited and downtrodden Russian people who have no quarrel with our people, then it will be time enough to raise the question whether we are deteriorating international relations with the Soviet officials by enforcing these two acts. Furthermore, the official policy of the United States Government against totalitarianism has within this month been extended to include that of the Soviet Union. Without expressing any opinion on this new policy, this extension now at least makes our foreign policy consistent: Opposing all forms of totalitarianism whether fascism, nazism, or communism. For these reasons, the United States has no responsibility to continue a negative policy which would allow foreign agents to undermine our institutions and our economic system.

When we recognized Russia in 1933, did the Russian officials not agree to withdraw propaganda and conspiratorial activities in our midst? Is there any way of holding the Soviet Union responsible for the acts of its agents? Are all agreements with U. S. S. R. mere scraps of paper? This might be worth looking into by your committee.

Creating a semilegal status for Communists: For the sake of the record we would like to bring before you a number of other legal steps which have been proposed and some of which may merit consideration. Broadly these steps would limit the Communist Party, its fronts and its members to a semilegal status.

Under this proposal all Communist aliens would be invited to leave the country. They would not be eligible for citizenship just as we already deny citizenship to polygamists and anarchists.

How can a member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., honestly subscribe to the oath of citizenship? Evidently, from experience before this committee, the granting of visas and passports also could be greatly tightened.

Communists, being agents of a foreign power, could be legally barred from representing clients or any group before official labor and other boards where their primary interest is trouble making. All Communists could be required to register with a central agency, including

all their aliases. They could be barred from belonging to two or more political parties—a source of constant confusion and infiltration. Communist parties, their fronts and transmission belts could be refused exemption from income and other taxation, on the ground that they are not typical nonprofit, education or charitable organizations engaged in public welfare work, the usual and legitimate ground for tax exemption. All Communist literature (including films, radio broadcasts, and bookshops) as well as those of Communist fronts, could be required to be clearly labeled as “Communist” just as businessmen are required to properly label foods, drugs, and other products. Second-class mailing privileges, or all mailing privileges, could be withdrawn unless such identification appears on the outside of the wrapper or envelope as well as on all contents. (See Mr. Dirksen’s bill (H. R. 2540), for a proposal along this line.) All Communist writers could be required to disclose their original names on every signed article.

No doubt there are other steps which the Federal, State, and local governments could take. We submit for your consideration the suggestions made in this section without endorsing them at this time. If all these steps were taken, the life of the Communist zealot would not be pleasant; for this very reason the argument against complete outlawing of the party may also apply to these steps. At least this should be given careful consideration before action is taken.

Further exposure: Communists and their sympathizers have penetrated many sectors of American life. Your committee would be well advised to consult with your staff, and possibly outside groups, as to the wisdom of publishing studies on Communist activities in the entire field of education, propaganda, and entertainment including: Certain sections of the left-wing press, book publishing, radio, the labor movement, the motion-picture industry, youth organizations, other front groups and organizations.

We are also of the view that the House or Senate Foreign Relations Committee or a joint committee should make a broad investigation of foreign-relations policies which have appeared to be more pro-Soviet than pro-American. This has particular reference to the Potsdam agreement which we have been forced to reject, our shifting policies in China, in Argentina, and the administration of UNRRA. There is reason to believe that persons within our Government who owed allegiance to a foreign power and others who were duped into advocating policies against our interests, were instrumental in shaping these fateful policies and which are now costing our taxpayers billions of dollars. Such a broad investigation, not primarily for the purpose of finding out who was to blame, could have a very salutary effect on the future shaping of our foreign policy.

Communists within the Government: The chamber’s second report, Communists within the Government, furnished considerable detail on Communist penetration within the Government service.

First, it should be pointed out that no person has a right to a job on the Federal pay roll. The Government, as an employer, has a right to establish its own standards and conditions of employment, just as it establishes employment conditions of private employers who furnish the Government with supplies and who do construction work for it (Walsh-Healey Act and Davis-Bacon Act). In the Morton Friedman

case the Supreme Court by refusing to interfere with a lower court decision upholding the right of the Civil Service Commission to discharge an employee on grounds of sympathy with communism, appears to have settled the question of the right of the Government to establish its own standards of employment in the Government service (New York Times—March 18, 1947, p. 1).

Second, since our report was published, President Truman has issued a comprehensive Executive order (March 22, 1947) prescribing procedures for the administration of an employees' loyalty program in the executive branch of the Government. In the light of our second report and the disclosures by ex-Senator Robert M. La Follette (Collier's—February 8, 1947, p. 22) similar action appears to be called for in the legislative branch of the Government.

Congressman Thomas, chairman of this committee, on February 27, 1947, introduced H. R. 2275, a bill which would create a Federal Loyalty Commission to be vigilant and alert to discover those Government employees whose loyalty to the United States is in doubt. In our report we said: "Congress should see that some central agency is responsible for security and loyalty supervision." We also urged that Congress itself should legislate clear and definite standards for employment: our 17-point program (pp. 27-37) was offered as a preliminary guide for the establishment of such standards.

Certainly standards for employment should be definitely concrete and should be known to the people. Arbitrary decisions on dismissal or on the rejection of applicants would not be in the interests of proper loyalty safeguards.

Therefore, it would seem that either your committee or perhaps the Civil Service Committee should examine President Truman's Executive order to determine its adequacy and the need of legislative standards which could apply to all branches of Government service.

President Truman's order includes many but not all of the 17-point program which we suggested. There is no provision for general fingerprinting and photographing of all Government employees. The chamber's suggestion of an advisory board consisting of responsible and loyal representatives of labor, business, and the legal profession was omitted.

There is no clear recognition of the indispensable need for adequate training of security officials themselves. Not every agency head is so constituted as to be capable of profiting by or understanding what is involved in such training. Numerous security agencies, committees, and other groups are mentioned, but there is a certain diffusion of responsibility indicated in the President's order, which may need tightening up. It is not clear that detailed, definite, centrally determined and publicly announced loyalty standards will be set up. There does not appear to be any central supervision provided over the creation, application, and execution of loyalty standards. Our report recommended a central security agency responsible to a subcommittee of the Congress. It is not clear that the vast amount of information in the FBI files will be available to such an agency.

Perhaps the central investigative function in regard to personnel and loyalty questions should be in the hands of an agency which is relatively autonomous but for purposes of administration could be in the Civil Service Commission. This agency should select investi-

gators and train them; it could set standards and serve as an appeals board and should initiate cases on its own. We recognized in our report that responsibility for loyalty of employees must extend to all agency heads, but we also urged strongly the importance of some central agency whose sole responsibility is this question of loyalty. The Civil Service Commission has many responsibilities and duties; for this reason a semiautonomous agency within the Commission is suggested.

It must also be recognized that today few Communists openly advocate the violent overthrow of government by force. They have learned that this is not wise strategy. President Truman's order makes several references to employees who so advocate. Emphasis, at this stage, should be on employees or applicants who have a presumptive loyalty to a foreign power, rather than upon their promotion of revolutionary activities.

One further point in this connection: Our second report stated that many Communists entered the public service through a highly organized patronage machine. Perhaps it would be possible for your committee to investigate and disclose the nature of this machine with a view to preventing similar results in the future.

Communists within the labor movement: Your committee has already published a number of reports on Communist activities in organized labor. More needs to be done. In the master strategy of the Communist movement organized labor is of central importance. It is there that the greatest amount of unrest and chaos is stirred up. If no trouble exists, the Communists will create it.

The Communists stir up and thrive on unrest. Their leaders are trained at the Lenin Institute, and here in our own midst, in these tactics. Their literature and speeches constantly attack our institutions, our Government and our economic system. This attack and these lies are then repeated in the regular labor union periodicals and pamphlets. This has been especially true in some of the literature of the CIO and the CIO member unions. Perhaps your committee could find out just what other connections these CIO writers have.

Our society is not perfect; there is still room for progress ahead. No one would want to discourage honest criticism and suggestions for improving our way of life. But if your committee could make a study of this literature setting up on the left sides the falsehoods, errors and distortions with the corrections directly opposite on the right, this would have an excellent effect on better understanding and would greatly improve industrial relations in our country. The following showing the falsehoods as of the time that the CIO publications were released, is an example of what could be done.

Case No. 1: When a worker needs a friend: The CIO states:

Herbert Hoover, then still President, was still opposed to any social-security program. The help to, what he called, "people in honest distress," had to come from a few charitable old ladies who had some extra moth-eaten clothes to give away and a few crumbs of bread to spare.

Correction: That a few old ladies were the only source of aid to people in distress is so absurd that it needs little correction. Every state, every city, every county, many townships, plus innumerable private charitable organizations, including Community Chests, provided help. This is so well known that no further argument needs to be advanced.

The CIO states: Speaking of unemployment compensation:

In most States, he [the unemployed worker] can expect anywhere from \$8 to \$16 a week, for a period of 16 weeks in any one year—and he can get that after waiting anywhere from one to six weeks for it (p. 10).

Correction: At the present time, 27 States—over 50 percent—pay a maximum of \$20 a week or more; 11 States pay \$18; 3 States pay \$16; and 10 States pay \$15.

Today, 33 States pay for a duration of at least 20 weeks; 1 State pays for 17 weeks; 12 States pay for 16 weeks and 2 States pay for 14 weeks. Today no State has a waiting period longer than 2 weeks, with a great majority of States having only 1 week.

The CIO states: Speaking of old-age assistance:

This means that few people ever receive more than \$40 a month. Very few receive even that little (p. 11).

Correction: This program is administered on a "needs" basis. Many of the recipients have some other income; children may support parents voluntarily or otherwise. Thus the amount received is no proof of "inadequacy." Furthermore, in 1946, the average payment exceeded \$40 per month in Alaska, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Washington.

The CIO states:

Under the unemployment compensation program, only employers who employ eight or more workers must pay the unemployment taxes (p. 12).

Correction: At least 28 States cover employers with fewer workers than 8.

Case No. 2: The road to freedom:

The CIO states:

According to the War Production Board, four workers can now produce the same amount of goods that required the labor of five before the war (p. 12).

Correction: A check by the War Production Board fails to disclose any evidence that this statement is true and, even more important, the WPB declares it never made the statement.

Day by day, week in and week out, year after year, this type of literature is poured forth by the millions of copies into the homes, the schools and to the desks of writers, commentators and preachers. Little wonder that they are restless, turn to other untried economic systems and are willing to sell their souls for a mess of pottage. Little wonder that communism, as an alternative to our way of life, gets support from neointellectuals and frustrated, spiritually homeless movie actors and writers.

It might be wise to investigate the origin of these distortions. A good case should not have to rest on falsehood and misrepresentation. Freedom of the press implies some sense of responsibility for honesty and integrity.

Master-strategy in labor movement: Also this committee should make the country aware of what is known as the master-strategy of the communists. At the Lenin Institute, the students, of whom there are said to be about 800 roaming our country, are taught the techniques of train and building wrecking, how to destroy whole cities, how to penetrate key industries and other sectors of the country, and how to create and capitalize upon unrest.

For purpose of sabotage in case we get into a war not to the Soviet Union's liking, the Communists are already trained, and geared to

call strikes in the key industries including steel, chemicals and other war industries, in communications including telephone, telegraph, cable and transportation, or engage in sabotage and even complete destruction. Because of the crucial character of these industries the Communists are trained to penetrate them at all costs. Office and professional workers unions are organized and penetrated for purposes of espionage with respect to patents, blueprints, industrial know-how, and industrial plans. They penetrate government for purposes of espionage and to help shape policy. Elsewhere, the Communists penetrate for purposes of propaganda, recruits, and funds.

Our report, Communists within the labor movement, tells the story in part. But if staff aid is available, your committee could render a distinct service to smoother industrial relations and to the security of the Nation by further disclosures along these lines.

Reciprocity: So long as the Soviet Union engages in imperialist expansion, and revolutionary tactics outside of its borders, and continues to be an international trouble maker, the United States should enforce strict reciprocity with the Soviet Union in regard to the number and freedom of movement of nationals of either country within the other. (See point 7, of Chamber's first report, p. 37.) Your committee should draw this matter to the attention of other congressional committees, if the subject does not come within your purview. (See H. R. 478, sec. 7, for a suggestion along this line.)

United States Supreme Court: If well-advised legal steps are taken which are under consideration by your committee, these will in time come before the judiciary of this Nation. A number of judicial decisions have indicated a shocking and abysmal ignorance of the nature of communism and Communist ideology. Thus the United States Supreme Court stated:

Under our traditions beliefs are personal and not a matter of mere association, and that men in adhering to a political party or other organization notoriously do not subscribe unqualifiedly to all of its platforms and assorted principles.

The above excerpt from the Supreme Court opinion remains in force to hamstring effective action by all Federal agencies.

The Court here fails to differentiate between a monolithic, disciplined, political group like the Communist Party, from which all dissidents are expelled (witness the case of Earl Browder, Ruth McKinney, and others) and the traditional American political party which may include innumerable shades of clashing opinions.

The Court further leaves it as a matter of doubt that the petitioner, an avowed Communist "was not in fact attached to the principles of the Constitution and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the United States." Belief in the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Court finds not "necessarily incompatible with the 'general political philosophy' of the Constitution." The Court holds that it is possible to advocate the fundamental teachings of the Communist Party "and still be attached to the Constitution." Further to confuse the entire picture, the Court declares that it has never passed upon the question whether the party does so advocate (governmental overthrow by force and violence.)

This matter is mentioned here only so that the Department of Justice and others concerned with this matter, will see that the judiciary is provided with the necessary information when a case comes up so that

the will of Congress is carried out within the meaning of the Constitution and our traditions.

Communism and poverty: There is a disposition in some quarters to argue that if only injustices and poverty are eliminated communism would disappear. No doubt communism will flourish better in the midst of hardships and injustices than in their absence. But the notion that this is the cause of communism is largely a delusion. Today communism is stronger than ever; yet our standard of living has doubled about every generation. If this poverty theory of communism were valid, communism long ago should have captured the entire world.

Communism is a materialistic religion; it is a search for power over people. It is based on a low-grade conception of the human being. It denies individuality and individual self-determination. It is based on careful indoctrination, on the exclusion of contrary views and on organizational methods, discipline, and drilling which are foreign to our conception of the voluntary way of life and the dignity of man. It is an organized technique and a philosophy designed to rule, not to lead, man. It is directed by a foreign power for a specific end to serve that foreign power. The abolition of poverty and injustice may slow down the spread of communism but it will not quench this thirst for power over people and for global domination.

Conclusion: The substantial infiltration of Communists and their sympathizers is now beyond any doubt. Our devotion to the traditions of freedom and personal liberty have not equipped us by emotion, education, or strategy as to how to deal with this type of problem. We are confronted with a wholly new kind of problem for which we have to build the necessary know-how, without at the same time resorting to the tactics and strategy used by the enemies within our gates.

America has never yet failed to meet a challenge. These remarks are given to you in the hope that, in some small measure, they may help you to solve this problem.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Dr. Schmidt. Doctor, if you don't object, the committee members will ask some questions now. I would like to ask you this question: Would you say that communism was the greatest menace to the world today?

Dr. SCHMIDT. I am not sure whether I would be prepared to say so. I think, certainly, the Soviet Union, in its program of imperialistic expansion, is the primary trouble maker and its penetration of practically every country in the world is causing plenty of trouble, although we have other problems and even if we solved this one we wouldn't be free of all problems.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say that communism was causing trouble to American industry?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. If there is any doubt about that I would suggest an examination of the articles written in the Chicago Journal of Commerce by Andrew Avery beginning last January, now published in a little pamphlet called Communist Power in Industry, an excellent authentic first-hand study.

The CHAIRMAN. What is industry itself doing about this problem?

Dr. SCHMIDT. It is very difficult for industry to do very much about it, partly because of the Wagner Act. Under the Wagner Act freedom of speech is very seriously restricted. And there are no completely

Communist unions, where the members are all Communist. Therefore, if the employer take a hand in interfering in union affairs very frequently it happens that even the non-Communist groups side with the Communist group on the ground that it is an attack on the union.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not talking about unions. I cite, for instance, the American industrial plant where there are individual Communists, we will say, in key positions. Would the employer do anything about it?

Dr. SCHMIDT. I think he ought to notify your committee, and he ought to notify the labor leaders, if they are non-Communists.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think they have done anything about it?

Dr. SCHMIDT. I don't think they have done too much about it.

The CHAIRMAN. They ought to wake up, don't you think, the same as everybody else?

Dr. SCHMIDT. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peterson.

Mr. PETERSON. In your mind, there is a studied effort to try to infiltrate into the labor unions by the Communists?

Dr. SCHMIDT. No doubt.

Mr. PETERSON. You testified the labor unions are trying to purge them?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes, sir.

Mr. PETERSON. The suggestion was made by the chairman that if the head of industrial groups would tell the labor unions of those they suspect, that that might be an approach to the situation.

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. It is a very difficult problem. We have cases on record where the employer did that and the Communist leadership interpreted that as an attack on unionism per se, and it solidified the Communist position. So it has to be handled very skillfully.

Mr. PETERSON. From your testimony, you are convinced that an effort would be made to take key positions in the event there should be war, communication systems and industrial plants, to tie up those particular plants in time of emergency?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. They have a master strategy, as they call it—which, incidentally, is outlined in "Nation's Business" for April.

Mr. PETERSON. With reference to a type of provisional citizenship: First he comes in, he swears that he is not a member of an organization seeking to overthrow the Government by force, but shortly thereafter he pops up as a member of the Communist Party, and then there is some difficulty in revoking that citizenship. What would be your idea with reference to a provisional citizenship? In other words, we take him on probation for a period of time in our citizenship law and make it easier to cancel that citizenship.

Dr. SCHMIDT. I am not an expert in such matters, but I think if a man under our gift tax—we have certain rules that if a gift is made a few months before a death there is a presumption that it was an attempt to evade the inheritance tax. I think some such principle might apply.

Mr. PETERSON. We should be selective of who become citizens?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. If we are opposed to polygamists and anarchists, I think we might include the Communists.

Mr. PETERSON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. You have indicated that in the various studies you have made there is Communist infiltration in labor unions, in Government, and in other institutions in this country. Can you say from the studies that you have made whether any one institution should deserve the attention of this committee and of the American public more than another at the present time because it is most susceptible to Communist infiltration and therefore needs attention?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Well, I think that, as I said in my remarks, the labor movement has always been regarded as a key point for penetration, partly because there is a certain amount of natural unrest and dissatisfaction on the part of workers—and I think we all like to see a certain amount of dissatisfaction. Progress depends on our being dissatisfied with our present income—so the Communists move into that situation and stir it up and capitalize upon it. You can quote Lenin and Stalin themselves, in which they say that the “Labor movement must be captured at all costs.”

We have on the inside cover page some very interesting quotations from these high authorities in the Communist movement in which they say that it is particularly important for the purpose of winning over the majority of the proletariat to capture the trade-unions. That is from the official literature of the Communist Party, the Comintern. Lenin has made a marvelous statement; he says they must be penetrated at all costs, not only in old ways, but in new ways, by evasion and subterfuge, to remain in them and to work within them at all costs. That was Mr. Lenin.

I would think that if you had to make a choice, and certainly Mr. William Green agrees with that, and I believe that probably 80 or 90 percent of all labor leaders agree with the idea, the Communists ought to be extricated from the labor movement.

Mr. McDOWELL. You said Lenin made a marvelous statement. Are you admiring the statement?

Dr. SCHMIDT. In these terms: He disclosed his hand.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. The problem isn't that there are so many Communists in the labor movement in point of numbers, but those who are in it occupy strategic positions in certain unions?

Dr. SCHMIDT. According to Andrew Avery, that is correct.

Mr. NIXON. At the present time what key unions in the United States does your study show the Communists dominate?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Of course, even the word “dominate” does not give a true picture, because you have had a considerable number of disaffections.

Mr. NIXON. Which have been infiltrated?

Dr. SCHMIDT. The Electrical Workers Union is probably one of the clearest cases. Certain of the maritime unions. They have, according to Mr. Avery, 500 members in the trainmen's union, an old, well-established, conservative union. But transportation is very important in terms of a possible future war. They have penetrated even the furniture workers union and, as a matter of fact, the president of that union resigned, giving as his reason, this penetration. I should be glad to furnish you with a copy of Mr. Avery's recent listing which, so far as I know, has not been challenged.

Mr. NIXON. Also, I recall in your statement, you indicated that the Communists either controlled or dominated the union of public workers, which has 17,000 members in the Panama Canal.

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. We have an appendix in our second report on this union which quotes Congressmen, writers, and union members themselves, on that point. I think there could be no serious doubt. As a matter of fact, I think there is a reference in the President's Executive order to this union. Not by name, but by inference.

Mr. NIXON. And what is the danger then of having Communists control labor unions? Are you concerned because you fear that if they control the unions they will be able to sell communism to the members, or are you fearful that that control might be exerted against this country in the event of a conflict?

Dr. SCHMIDT. The strategy, I think, of the Communists, is to disorganize society, to promote and foster hatreds and chaos, that will weaken the United States potential and force us, perhaps to withdraw from Europe and Asia, in terms of the postwar reconstruction job that we are trying to carry on over there. It will weaken our potential, our economic potential. I suspect that is the strategy. Then if at some future date we should get into trouble with the Soviet Union, probably strikes would be called, sabotage would be carried on. That seems to be indicated—more than indicated; it is part of the grand strategy, which you can read in the official Communist literature put out by Moscow.

Mr. NIXON. You mean that where a union is Communist dominated that the leaders of that union would, in your opinion, call strikes which might not be in the interest of the members or—of the members of the union—but which might be called because of orders received from outside the United States?

Dr. SCHMIDT. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And that the first consideration, then, of a Communist dominated labor union is not the welfare of the members but the welfare of communism throughout the world?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes. And you don't have to accept my word for that; Mr. William Green will tell you that, and document it over and over again.

Mr. NIXON. Yet, in view of your obvious opposition to communism, you feel that legislation should not be adopted to outlaw the party, as I gather, on the ground that we might hurt the cause that you are interested in more than we would help it?

Dr. SCHMIDT. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. PETERSON. But you would make it decidedly uncomfortable for them?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Let's harass them.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Will you describe briefly for the record, Mr. Schmidt, the activities, objectives, of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the type of membership, numerical strength, and so forth?

Dr. SCHMIDT. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America was organized in 1912 at the request of the United States Government. The then Secretary of Commerce and Labor—I believe it was—said he never knew what business needed, what was required,

why isn't there some kind of a voice of business, and President Taft participated in the founding, or at least in the ceremonies, and the purposes to carry on informational services for American business and education in terms of the American way of life. It is a federation. We have some 2,000 local chambers, five or six hundred trade associations federated with us, and a lot of individual members. We carry on this educational work in behalf of the American way of life and in behalf of American business. We publish the largest business journal in the world, I guess, over half a million circulation. We carry on a very considerable activity in various fields, distribution, manufacturing, and so on. I happen to be concerned with economic problems, economic research.

Mr. VAIL. I take it that your membership is composed almost entirely of people associated with business management?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes, although some 90 percent of our members are what we call small business. We have many professional people, doctors and lawyers—and universities are members, mostly to get our publications, many of which are strictly academic and educational in character.

Mr. VAIL. In response to a question yesterday, Mr. Green stated that in his opinion he did not believe that the infiltration of Communists into labor organizations would impede production in the event of war. I would judge from your statement a few moments ago that you do not concur with that opinion.

Dr. SCHMIDT. Well, as a matter of fact, if our third report is an honest, factual report, then I would have to disagree with Mr. Green, because we quote cases where the reverse was true. That would depend on how effective our work, how effective the FBI was. I think it is a great credit to this country and the FBI that there was no sabotage during this last war. If we could have similar cooperation and advance notice of trouble spots maybe Mr. Green would turn out to be right, that there would be no massive destruction, but certainly it is implicit in the teachings of the Communist literature and plans, that if we ever get into a war with the Soviet Union on the wrong side, our economy is to be interfered with at all costs.

Mr. VAIL. In your treatment of this question, Mr. Schmidt, I don't recall your having made reference to the use of our educational institutions as vehicles of communistic propaganda.

Dr. SCHMIDT. We did not make any special investigation. My general impression is that outside of certain areas the educational institutions have not been substantially infiltrated. Not as substantially as the labor movement. Yet, I dare say that investigation would disclose some trouble spots.

Mr. VAIL. You made reference to the Lenin School. Did your investigation disclose that we had similar schools in this country?

Dr. SCHMIDT. We didn't go into the schools, but I am told that there are a number of such schools in this country. As a matter of fact, there is a member or two of Congress that have some very first-hand information about these schools. But we did not make a particular investigation.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. NIXON. One question. You made a considerable study of infiltration of communism in the various institutions. Have you noted any attempts of the Communists to infiltrate the membership of the United States Chamber of Commerce?

Dr. SCHMIDT. We get some very, very odd letters on business letterheads sometimes.

Mr. NIXON. Which follow the Communist line?

Dr. SCHMIDT. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Thank you very much, Dr. Schmidt.

The committee calls as its next witness Mr. Eugene Dennis.

Mr. Dennis, will you stand, please, and be sworn?

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

TESTIMONY OF EUGENE DENNIS, GENERAL SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Dennis, will you state your full name for the record, please?

Mr. DENNIS. I am Eugene Dennis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you state your full name for the record?

Mr. DENNIS. I am Eugene Dennis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that your real name, Mr. Dennis, or your party name?

Mr. DENNIS. Whether my name is Smith or Jones or Cohen, the testimony I am about to give here is valid and the truth.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, we must know who the witness is. I ask him again to state his real name for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dennis, the question previous to this was whether that was your name or whether that was your party name.

Mr. DENNIS. I repeat—

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is a fair question.

Mr. DENNIS. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, I am known as Eugene Dennis, and under that name I am now giving testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you gone under any other name besides Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. That is quite irrelevant and incompetent.

The CHAIRMAN. Except that we would like to identify you.

Mr. DENNIS. You can identify me as Eugene Dennis. I have paid taxes under that name. I am known under that name and I repeat, whatever name I am known by, I have never sullied the honor of the American people.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, it is necessary that the witness state his real name.

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, the underling, this secretary, does not dictate what I say or don't say. I am under oath and I am going to give the truth. The truth will answer, give full answers to all questions.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to observe that the witness is not qualified to outline the procedure.

Mr. DENNIS. What is your name, please?

Mr. McDOWELL. We will be the judge of the procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dennis—

Mr. DENNIS. Yes, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. We are attempting to identify you, the same as we have identified other witnesses. The Chair must insist that you be frank and respond to these questions.

Mr. DENNIS. Correct. I would say, Mr. Thomas, that under the law of the State in which I live, New York, under the common law of that State, I am privileged to take unto me any name, and I will be judged not by my given name but by my records, by my deeds, if you please.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, do you have other questions?

Mr. STRIPLING. I contend, Mr. Chairman, that the committee cannot proceed—

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, I object, it is irrelevant—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dennis, you asked to be invited, you asked for 2 hours.

Mr. DENNIS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give you 2 hours.

Mr. DENNIS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. But first we would like to identify you, the same as we have identified other witnesses.

Mr. DENNIS. I may be identified as Eugene Dennis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, first he must state his name, before we can proceed.

Mr. DENNIS. I am Eugene Dennis. I am known as Eugene Dennis. I pay taxes under that name, under the name of Eugene Dennis.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever take out a passport in the name of Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. That question, Mr. Thomas, is quite beside the point.

The CHAIRMAN. No, it is not beside the point. We would like to identify you.

Mr. DENNIS. I came here to present testimony. May I be privileged to present my testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. You will be given every opportunity to testify for 2 hours, even if we have to sit all day, but we would like to identify you first. My question was, Did you ever take out a passport in the name of Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. I may have or may not have taken out a passport under XYZ, but that has no bearing, Mr. Thomas, on my testimony, and on the fact I am known as Eugene Dennis.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not responsive to the question. I asked you whether you had ever taken out a passport in the name of Eugene Dennis.

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Thomas, if I answer that question may I proceed with my prepared testimony?

The CHAIRMAN. As soon as we identify you, you can proceed for those 2 hours, even if we have to go without our lunch.

Mr. DENNIS. May I proceed if I answer that question, Mr. Thomas?

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I don't think the witness' testimony should be predicated upon whether he answers that question. He must first identify himself.

Mr. DENNIS. Who are you?

Mr. STRIPLING. I am the chief investigator of the committee, Robert E. Stripling.

Mr. DENNIS. I see. You are a member of the old Dies Committee?

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your name?

Mr. DENNIS. I am Eugene Dennis.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, the committee has considerable testimony before it concerning the name under which Mr. Dennis was born, and we would therefore request that he give his right name. Eugene Dennis is not his proper name. It is the practice of officials of the Communist Party to use fictitious or party names. I see no reason why a committee of Congress should permit him to come and testify under a phony name.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope that the witness will be responsive to these questions, because it will become very evident in a few minutes why Mr. Stripling is asking the question.

Mr. DENNIS. I see.

Mr. PETERSON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peterson.

Mr. PETERSON. How long have you been known by the name of Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. Your name, please?

Mr. PETERSON. I am asking the question.

Mr. DENNIS. Are you a member of the committee?

Mr. PETERSON. Yes; I am. You came here as a witness voluntarily. I am asking questions.

Mr. DENNIS. That is right.

Mr. PETERSON. And you should answer them.

Mr. DENNIS. I requested voluntarily to appear before the committee to give testimony as general secretary to the Communist Party, as Eugene Dennis, and I am prepared and I propose to testify.

Mr. PETERSON. How long have you been known as Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. For a great, great many years.

Mr. PETERSON. How many years?

Mr. DENNIS. For a great, great many years.

Mr. PETERSON. What was your name before it was Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. That is quite irrelevant and incompetent, Mr. Wood.

Mr. PETERSON. You are a witness. I am determining what I shall ask.

Mr. DENNIS. You see, whatever my given name is, is one thing, the name which I am known by, the name which I work by, the name which I serve the interests of the American people, is what is important.

Mr. PETERSON. I am asking these questions for the record.

Mr. DENNIS. For the record I am here to present testimony.

Mr. PETERSON. The question——

Mr. DENNIS. For myself as Eugene Dennis, and for my party, the Communist Party.

Mr. PETERSON. I want to know how long you have been known as Eugene Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. For a great, great many years.

Mr. PETERSON. How many years?

Mr. DENNIS. For a great many.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to be more responsive. We will ask the questions, and you will answer. If you don't care to answer them, we will have to serve a subpoena on you and you will come back at a

later date and answer them and then you will be given an opportunity to make your statement of 2 hours. Please be responsive.

MR. DENNIS. I am responsive on the basis of the telegram that you sent me that I would be allowed to present the 2 hours of testimony as Eugene Dennis, the name which I am known by, the name which I pay taxes by, the name which I have the honor to uphold before the committee.

MR. PETERSON. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peterson.

MR. PETERSON. My first question is, I want to know how long, in years, not just "a long time," you have been known as Eugene Dennis.

MR. DENNIS. I told you, Mr. Wood, for a great many years.

MR. PETERSON. The name is Peterson. I happen to be using Mr. Wood's place.

MR. DENNIS. Mr. Peterson.

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question. Never mind making comments.

MR. PETERSON. What was your name before it was Eugene Dennis?

MR. DENNIS. Mr. Committee Member, that is quite irrelevant and immaterial. According to the Constitution of the United States a man may change his name, he may change his given name, he may change it under the law, under oath of law, or he may change it under common law.

MR. PETERSON. That may have something to do, however, with the credence that you might give a man's testimony.

MR. DENNIS. I don't think so. I am swearing under oath.

MR. PETERSON. But you are under oath to tell the whole truth, and you are under oath to answer questions. The next question, Under what name were you born?

MR. DENNIS. That is quite irrelevant.

MR. PETERSON. You are not telling under what name you were born, not telling what your name was before Dennis, not telling how long you used the name Dennis; thus far you have not.

MR. DENNIS. I came here to present testimony. I insist that I be allowed to give this testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to ask any more questions, Mr. Strippling?

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I would like to point out to the committee that there is considerable evidence to the effect that Mr. Dennis has used a number of names, both in the procurement of fraudulent passports and in his party activities, and I feel that the committee should know who is testifying here if he is going to present the case of the Communist Party. In other words, he may appear here today as Eugene Dennis. Who will he be tomorrow? The next day?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dennis——

MR. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would be more considerate and please answer these questions. Otherwise you may not have that opportunity to make this 2-hour statement.

MR. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, I am presenting testimony under oath, and under oath I am prepared and I pledge that everything I say here is the truth and nothing but the truth, and whether I use my

given name or whether I use any other name, sir, what I present here are the facts, are the truth.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all very true, but we want to identify you and we are going to identify you before you make any statement.

Mr. DENNIS. I see, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We have identified all the other witnesses. There is no reason why the general secretary of the Communist Party should not be identified. You have no express privilege in that regard, because you are a Communist.

Mr. Stripling, ask the questions and we will see whether the witness answers.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born, Mr. Dennis?

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to answer that question. When and where were you born?

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Chairman, did you ask that question of any other witness?

The CHAIRMAN. We are asking it of you. Never mind whether we asked it of the other witnesses.

Mr. DENNIS. Let me answer: The color of my hair is gray; the color of my eyes are blue—

The CHAIRMAN. Never mind about the color of your eyes being blue; you are out of order.

Mr. DENNIS. I am in my early forties, and the color of—

The CHAIRMAN. Serve a subpoena on this man and he is through for the day.

Mr. DENNIS. I insist on submitting this [indicating statement] into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

Mr. DENNIS. Do you accept this as the testimony before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

Mr. DENNIS. Mr. Thomas, in behalf of the American people I hold this committee in contempt.

Mr. STRIPLING. Let the record show that he is being served with a subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show he was served with a subpoena.

The committee will stand in recess.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 2:30 p. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. Karl E. Mundt, Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, Hon. J. Hardin Peterson, and Hon. Herbert C. Bonner.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The first witness this afternoon will be Senator Jack B. Tenney, State senator of California.

Senator Tenney, would you mind being sworn, please?

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, will you identify the senator?

**TESTIMONY OF JACK B. TENNEY, STATE SENATOR,
SACRAMENTO, CALIF.**

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Tenney, will you state your full name for the record, please?

Senator TENNEY. Jack B. Tenney.

Mr. STRIPLING. Your present address, Senator?

Senator TENNEY. 441 Avenue 28, Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. STRIPLING. You are now a member of the State Senate of California?

Senator TENNEY. That is correct; State Senate of California.

Mr. STRIPLING. How long have you been a member of the State Senate of California?

Senator TENNEY. This is my fifth year in the State Senate and my eleventh year in the California Legislature.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you the chairman of a State committee investigating Un-American Activities?

Senator TENNEY. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tenney, do you have a statement, a prepared statement, that you would like to present?

Senator TENNEY. No, Mr. Thomas; I didn't bring a prepared statement. I had thought that I had sent copies of our report which went over the desk in the Senate Monday, the 24th, but, unfortunately, I see that the secretary sent the 1945 report instead of the 1947 report. I do have with me the galley proofs of the 1947 report, which runs 372 pages, and constitutes the findings of the committee over the past 2 years, and I will present this to the committee and will send copies of the 1947 report to you when I get back to Sacramento.

The CHAIRMAN. You will leave that with the committee?

Senator TENNEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. Mundt. Will you give us some of the background of that committee?

Senator TENNEY. Yes. I think that the background would be of interest.

The committee was organized in 1940 as an assembly committee of the Legislature of California. In 1941, the legislature created the joint fact-finding committee composed of members of the senate and members of the assembly. The present committee is composed of four members of the senate and four members of the assembly. Senator Burns, who is here with me today, is a member of the committee, and is, I think, the oldest member now, in point of years; we have Senator Nelson S. Dilworth, of Hemet, Riverside County; Randall F. Dickey, of Alameda County; John F. Thompson, of Santa Clara County; and now Senator Fred H. Craft, former assemblyman, from San Diego, serving on the committee.

I think that your committee would be particularly interested in the findings and recommendations that the committee has made this year. If the chairman so desires I can read to you the findings that we made in California in 1947 and also the recommendations that we have made to the legislature.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator TENNEY. The committee has held hearings throughout California, particularly in Los Angeles and in San Francisco, during the

past 6 or 7 years, but in the last 2 years we have had hearings in other parts of the State, including Los Angeles and San Francisco. These findings are based upon the evidence that we have had before the committee in the last 2 years. We found first—I think this may be of interest to this committee, because I believe that your findings are similar in reference to the philosophy and the economic objectives of communism. We found first that—

Communism may be briefly summarized as an economic system characterized by government ownership of all property used in production and marketing.

We found that—

The government—
under communism—

is a police state, unrestrained and all-powerful, subject to the will of a ruthless dictator. It is distinguished by economic planning, wage and price fixing, forced labor, militarism, and imperialism. It permits but one political party, the Communist Party, to exist. Complete loss of individual liberty goes hand in hand with communism.

We found also that—

Both fascism and communism are distinguished by complete government control over production; the means, quantity, quality, the when and where, of production and distribution. Both types of governments are totalitarian, one-party systems, featuring planned economy under bureaucratic control. The single party creates a preferred elite protected against the regimented and enslaved masses by a brutal secret police. Militarism and imperialism constitute the hard core of both systems of government.

Hence, communism may be properly termed Red fascism.

The committee found that—

Force and violence are inseparable from the Communist program, and, no matter how fervently the Communist attempts to deny this fact during periods of retreat, he knows that the ultimate use of force and violence are inevitable. The announced Communist objective to capture and destroy the state, as now constituted, together with the determination to expropriate private property, cannot be accomplished without the employment of force and violence.

The committee found that—

The Communist Party is a small, compact group of professional revolutionists. It does not seek large membership. Through the instrumentality of psychological agitation it proposes to move the masses of non-Communists toward what it terms a "revolutionary situation."

The Communist Party infiltrates every conceivable mass organization in the country—in trade unions, in farm organizations, in ladies' clubs, in Harlem, in the deep South, among the intellectuals. It inspires the creation of mass organizations, to which non-Communists are attracted because of publicized purported "liberal" objectives. This Communist work is everywhere efficiently centralized, correlated, directed, and organized.

The committee found that—

William Z. Foster, current general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, owes his allegiance to the Soviet Government. He believes, and has so stated, that when a Communist heads the Government of the United States that that Government will be a Soviet Government backed by a Red Army ready to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has stated that his flag, and the flag of his followers, is the Red flag adorned with the hammer and sickle of Soviet Russia.

The committee found that—

All Communists believe themselves to be in a state of perpetual warfare with capitalist governments. The over-all strategy of the Communist Party is designed to bring about the destruction of all democratic governments. The ulti-

mate objective is the establishment of the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat. Every Communist fanatically believes that world capitalism and communism must come to a decisive struggle in which one or the other will conquer. Every Communist is thoroughly convinced that communism will emerge triumphant. Both Lenin and Stalin have declared that a war to the death conflict between capitalism and communism is inevitable.

The committee also found that—

The day to day struggle constitutes part of Communist tactics. It is concerned with sabotaging and weakening the democratic governments in which the Communists work.

The committee found that—

All Communists firmly believe that the Soviet Union is the Red fatherland of the proletariat everywhere, and, as such, it must be protected in its development at any cost because it is the arsenal for world conquest. Meanwhile the Communists in all countries work for revolution, taking Stalin at his word when he said that "In the event of necessity (Soviet Russia will) come out even with armed forces against the exploiting classes in their states." Thus, every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur, and espionage agent of Soviet Russia.

The committee found that—

Communism is a world revolutionary movement. The respective parties in each country are motivated by the political philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, plus directives from the Kremlin itself. The so-called Communist Party line invariably follows Soviet foreign policy. Stalin has sold the Communist parties of the world on the promise that Soviet Russia is "the base of world revolution" and, consequently, every Communist has transferred his sense of loyalty and allegiance from his native land to the Government of Soviet Russia.

The committee found that :

The part played by Earl Browder during the war in apparently "collaborating with capitalism" was a deceptive tactic utilized for the purpose of securing needed aid for Soviet Russia. His ouster from the Communist Party, followed by the restoration of the militant revolutionary character of the party, ended the sixth era of Communist strategy in the United States.

The committee found that—

The American people are now facing the greatest agitational activity on the part of the Communists in the history of the Communist Party in the United States. This activity will be intensified with increasing rapidity as the international situation becomes more acute. Acts of sabotage and violence, terror, and assassination may be expected if diplomatic relations between the United States and Soviet Russia become strained.

The committee is firmly convinced that this current period—the seventh period of Communist strategy in the United States—is the most critical period of all. The American people must be awakened to the fact that every member of the American Communist Party is a potential espionage and sabotage agent for the Soviet Government. Our people must realize now, more than ever before, that it is the admitted and avowed purpose of Moscow to create and fester a Communist revolution in every capitalistic democracy in the world.

We found that—

Mobilization for Democracy and the Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, are two of the key Communist fronts in California.

We experimented in reference to these two organizations and I think the committee would be interested in knowing what the committee did to ascertain the true character of these organizations. We had one of the agents of the committee join the Mobilization for Democracy under an assumed name, and then we had the same agent join the Hollywood Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, under another assumed name. He gave the same address,

but inside of 6 months he had received literally hundred of pieces of literature from every other Communist front in the State of California, including the Communist Party itself, which showed beyond question of doubt the network and the correlation of the front organization of the Communist Party in California.

We found also that these two organizations, Mobilization for Democracy, and the Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, were the two spearheads in organizing a new Communist front now emerging throughout the United States, the so-called Progressive Citizens of America, which we believe, at least in California, will be one of the most important Communist fronts in the political field in the years to come.

We found that the Mobilization for Democracy, which was, as we have said, a Communist front, had as its particular purpose when organized, the stirring up of racial and religious agitation. We found that the organization deliberately went out and manufactured Ku Klux Klan acts of terrorism for political purposes, and did it for the specific purpose of drawing to themselves so-called minority groups in the State of California.

We subpoenaed and took the evidence of the law-enforcing agencies of Los Angeles; the district attorney, the chief of police, the sheriff, and every other group, and they all testified that the acts complained of in most cases were absolutely fabrications, and that the only case that had any truth at all to it was an incident in which a cross was burned in front of a Jewish fraternity house on the University of Southern California campus.

The police found that the perpetrators of this act were two members of the American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League, and that it was done for the particular purpose of at least simulating an act of terrorism on the part of the Ku Klux Klan, which originated with the Communist Party itself.

We found also in California, in the last 2 years, an extension of the Communist educational system. We have traced the growth of the Workers School in San Francisco and the Communist Workers School in Los Angeles to their present organizations, and our committee is very hopeful that this committee, and the Congress, will do something about the school in San Francisco called the California Labor School. The head of that school is a man by the name of David Jenkins. He was a registered member of the Communist Party in New York. The entire organization is shot full of Communists. Its instructors, in many cases, are Communists. And this committee, I know, is familiar with the record of Celeste Strack, a California Communist, who teaches many of the Marxist-Lenin courses in that school.

The pathetic part of it, about the California Labor School, is the fact that under the GI bill of rights, the Communists in San Francisco are securing enough funds to indoctrinate returning veterans with the Communist virus, which will, they hope, eventually destroy our country, and certainly Congress should do something to see that Federal funds, the taxpayer's money, is not utilized to support a Communist school such as we have in the California Labor School in San Francisco.

The counterpart of that school is the Peoples Educational Center in Los Angeles. The organization, again, is headed by Communists. Dorothy Ray, now Dorothy Healy, the secretary of the Communist

Party of Los Angeles County, is a member of the Board of Directors. Of course, these organizations are camouflaged in such a way that in many instances innocent people are drawn in and eventually receive indoctrination in communism.

Of course, we found, and I think your committee has also found, that the American Youth for Democracy is the successor to the Young Communist League. As a matter of fact, I think since this report was written, a month or two ago, that the Communist Party has admitted that that is a fact.

We found some very important things in the universities in California. The finding of the committee, as set forth in our report under this heading, is as follows:

University professors, for the greater part, permitted their names to be used in connection with the above-mentioned institutions, without knowledge of the true character or purpose of the schools. In other cases it appears that the professors involved permitted their names to be used by the institutions with knowledge of their Communist character.

We believe that the majority of them, of course, were innocent and permitted their names to be used without knowledge of the character of the school.

We also found that in many cases, the professors involved did not know what the organization was, and some of them admitted it under oath before our committee.

We found that—

The University of California press is being used to publish a quarterly edited by California's outstanding Communist, John Howard Lawson.

The most outstanding Communist in California is John Howard Lawson. The record of your committee carries his record. He was associate editor of the Daily Worker. He has been connected with nearly every Communist movement in California since 1937.

Incidentally, he has just launched a new quarterly to be known as Main Street. It is openly a Communist publication for the purpose of disseminating Communist dialectic and the other so-called scientific philosophies of Marxism.

We found that—

The Young Women's Christian Association and the Young Men's Christian Association at Berkeley permit Communist meetings and known Communist speakers to use their building facilities.

And knowing that they were Communist Party organizations and Communist Party speakers.

The committee has introduced into the legislature this year some bills to take care of the situation in that regard, particularly in the use of the name of the university, because both the YMCA and the YWCA at Berkeley state on their letterheads that it is the YMCA of the university, which would give the average person the idea that the university had something to do with the organizations, which, of course, is not true.

We found a very grave situation in the school system in California. The finding of the committee in that regard is as follows:

While the great majority of the teachers in the California public-school system are patriotic Americans there are Communists and Communist fellow-travelers teaching in the system. The committee finds that at least two teachers at Canoga Park High School were indoctrinating students with communism. Both teachers are connected with Communist organizations. The committee finds

that Mrs. Frances Eisenberg and Mrs. Blanche Bettington slanted their teachings and discussions at Canoga Park High School for the purpose of indoctrinating the students with communistic philosophy, disrespect for the capitalist system of government of the United States, and for the further purpose of building respect and reverence for the cruel dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

Incidentally, Mrs. Eisenberg, the teacher at Canoga Park High School, is an executive board member of the Peoples Educational Center that I have just referred to, which is an extension of the old Communist Party Workers School in Los Angeles.

We found in San Francisco, in the CIO maritime union, particularly in the Marine Cooks and Stewarts Union in San Francisco, a very terrible situation. Two former members of that organization testified before the committee, Mr. Kaplan and Mr. Harris, that they were expelled from that organization, which is, incidentally, dominated by David Jenkins, of the California Labor School; expelled for the reason that they had contributed \$20 apiece to an anti-Communist publication. That was the charge, and they were expelled for that reason. Anyone in that organization who raises his voice, loses not only membership in the union, but his right to work. These two men have made a heroic fight, and did have a number of the members of the union behind them, who were also expelled when they got into a fight against the Communist domination of the organization. The matter has been through some of our courts, but there is nothing they can do as long as the Communists dominate the organization.

We found, in the Hollywood situation, in the Conference of Studio Unions, headed by Herbert Sorrell, that the entire strike was dominated, inspired, and directed by the Community Party of Los Angeles. I think that probably the committee is aware of the fact that we proved, by evidence that will stand up, that Herbert K. Sorrell is a secret member of the Communist Party. Our agents were able to secure copies of his party book, his application to join the Communist Party, under the name of Herbert Stewart. We submitted those documents, together with known documents of the writings of Herbert Sorrell, to Charles Sellers, who I think you know as one of the outstanding experts on questioned documents. He was the expert in the Lindbergh case. And another expert on questioned documents, Mr. Harris. Both men brought back the unanimous verdict that the man who wrote the original specimens wrote the name Herbert Stewart on the application and upon the party book, which proved, of course, the absolute membership of Herbert Sorrell as a secret member of the Communist Party.

That strike has been of great concern to Los Angeles. The breakdown of law and order there was an amazing thing. At one time there were two or three thousand pickets before the gates of the studio at Burbank. Cars were overturned, missiles were hurled into the studio, and for several days over 50 people were hospitalized inside of the studio as a result of violence. Something has got to be done about that. What the California Legislature can do I do not know, or what it will do I do not know, but it seems to me that Congress should take some cognizance of the fact that some unions are dominated by Communists, directed by them, and for very definite purposes.

We found also, and we have delineated the growth of the movement in Los Angeles County, an effort to capture the radio, or at least a part of the radio, in the city. There have been a number of left-wing

commentators who have been operating on stations there, and they were discharged, for obvious reasons, and ultimately they organized what is now known as the Hollywood Community Radio Group, Inc., and have applied for a license for a radio station. The organization is also dominated by the Communist Party and they are now appearing before the Federal Communications Commission for a license.

One of the very important things that we believe has an international or at least a national scope, is the International Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, which is now merged with another CIO organization. I think the members of your committee, Mr. Chairman, are familiar with the past activities of this group, and our committee in California has found that it is directly dominated by the Communist Party and has as its purpose possible espionage.

We hope that you will read the section in our report in regard to that because we were able to get the minutes of the chapter of Berkeley, which was composed of members working at the university in reference to atomic and radiation research. The meetings were closed; the members discussed means of avoiding detection by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and many times discussed the Soviet Union. We believe that unless something is done in reference to organizations such as that, working in such important things as atomic research and radiation, that whatever we discover will be transmitted to Russia at the first available moment.

We found a book in the public schools in California called Land of the Soviets. The book is prepared for the use of seventh and eighth grade children, and is written by Marguerite N. Stewart and edited by Maxwell S. Stewart. And in your reports, Mr. Chairman, you refer to him on 20 different pages. Both Marguerite Stewart and her husband, Maxwell, taught at the institute at Moscow. Mr. Stewart is a correspondent and has been correspondent for the Moscow News and has been connected with practically every front organization of any consequence on a national scale in the United States for the past 7 or 8 years. Since the committee exposed the background of that book, the book has been banished in some of the districts in California, particularly in Glendale, but we do understand that it is still being used in many schools.

I think, and would suggest to the committee, that in your investigations to come, that you give a good deal of attention to the indoctrination of school children and the type of books that are being injected into the schools, in spite of hell and high water.

We found a very interesting and rather dangerous subject in the Chico High School during February. The committee was petitioned to go there by around 100 citizens of that community, to look into a course called Basic 12. Basic 12 proposed a course in sex education. Of course, the Communist press thought they had something excellent with which to ridicule the committee, and after we held the committee meeting they came out with a banner headline in the People's Daily World and other Communist press, saying that Tenney declares that sex is un-American. The facts of the case, however, were that the textbook and the three supplementary books carried the Communist principle from start to finish. Attacks upon religion, upon the home as a unit, and the commendation of certain practices which I think most people would condemn, run through all of these books. The

doctors and citizens who testified all agreed that the books were unfit for high-school children. As an illustration of the type of book that they were giving these children was a chapter devoted to the six positions in coitus, and similar things—for 13- and 14-year-old children, and I want to say that that is not an isolated case. There are other cases in California in our schools where that is attempted, and I believe that you will find the same thing is being attempted in other parts of the United States.

I believe that covers, Mr. Chairman, the salient findings of the committee. Not all, because the report is rather voluminous and detailed. It is also very well documented, so that you can see for yourself the situation as it exists in California.

I know that you are contemplating studying certain bills here before Congress and I believe that one of those—although I did not receive the bills which you told me you were going to send because we left too soon to receive them—one of those, I believe, is a bill to outlaw the Communist Party. The California Legislature by, I think, one dissenting vote in the Senate and two or three votes, possibly more—I have forgotten—but a few dissenting votes in the assembly, in 1939 voted to outlaw the Communist Party.

The bill was written in two sections, the first of which outlawed the party by name and the second outlawed it by definition. In 1942 the secretary of state of California refused to certify the Communist Party to the ballot. The Communist Party brought a writ of mandamus and that was demurred to by the attorney general. The Supreme Court held that the first section was unconstitutional and remanded the case to the lower court for hearing to determine whether or not it fell within the definition. Before that could be perfected, however, the Communist Party dismissed its action, and the secretary of state certified the party to the ballot. We understand there were some political deals in reference to that matter. That is exactly what happened, and there has never been a determination of that particular point before any of our courts in California.

I think it is significant to point out, though, that the State of California, through its elected representatives in 1939, did attempt to outlaw the Communist Party. Our committee has recommended again, in this report, which went over the desk on the 24th of this month, that we memorialize Congress to outlaw the Communist Party. We know and we have heard a lot of arguments in reference to the advisability of such an action. We think most of the argument is specious in reference to outlawing the Communist Party. They say, "If you do this you merely drive them underground." I submit to you, gentlemen, and I know that those of you who have studied the thing as we have, realize that the Communist Party is underground. Their entire literature points out that the Communist Party is underground. The illegal part of the party is a permanent organization. We know that never more than 20 percent of the Communists remain above ground. We don't believe that there is that many above ground in California. We realize, and we think we have proved from our hearings and the facts before us, that those who do register as Communists are merely a group of dupes and innocents who know little or nothing about Marxism or the objectives of the Communist Party itself. They are sacrificed for the purpose of publicizing the party and perhaps drawing the masses to it.

We believe that while you won't kill the Communist Party you will take away from it the prestige they have now, because the argument is raised over the land, by people who should know better, that the Communist Party is a legal party, there is nothing wrong about it, and therefore, as long as the Government recognizes it, and permits it to exist, there is nothing to be ashamed of in being a Communist, and no reason why you shouldn't join the party.

So, we believe we have got to take strong action now—and believe me, after 7 years of study of this situation in California, I am convinced that if we don't take action now, while we have got a chance, that if everything—if anything should ever happen internationally, that you will have the greatest fifth column, the greatest group of traitors, assassins, terrorists, that the world has ever seen, the greatest and most fantastic group of conspirators, saboteurs, and agents of a foreign government the world has ever seen, and America will collapse like an eggshell unless we start doing something in the schools, digging those people out and exposing them to let the people know exactly who they are.

I could talk on this thing for many hours, but I know you are busy, and I will just say that I sincerely hope you will read our report. It is documented thoroughly: our files back up everything in it. Our conclusions, I think, you will find are properly drawn. Whether our recommendations will meet with the approval of your committee I cannot say, but we feel that we have done a conscientious job in bringing this thing to the attention of the people of the State of California, and we are very happy to have an opportunity to appear here and present it to you for action, where we think action must ultimately be taken, if the thing is to be stopped.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator, you have made a very excellent statement. The Chair wants to not only commend you for the statement, but to commend your committee for the wonderful job they have done out in the State of California. The members of this committee have been familiar with the work of your committee for some time. We want to tell you, and we hope you will tell the members of the committee, that we can do a good job if we cooperate 100 percent in the future as we have done in the past.

Senator TENNEY. Thank you, Mr. Thomas, and I want to say that if there is anything we can do to help you in your job we are at your service. Now, Senator Hugh M. Burns, of Fresno, Calif., is here, and would be glad to answer any questions you might have of him.

The CHAIRMAN. Before Senator Burns makes any statement that he may care to make, do you mind if the members ask questions of you?

Senator TENNEY. I would be very happy to answer any questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. In the course of your investigation, Senator, did you have occasion to investigate the effort on the part of communistic groups to penetrate the ranks of veterans' organizations?

Senator TENNEY. We have just started that, Mr. Vail. We have in our report a reference to that matter, and the only organization we found so far that indicates it is of a Communist character is the American Veterans Committee. We have a great deal of evidence now before the committee. We haven't had public hearings on the matter, but

if the committee is continued, we certainly intend to go into that organization. We do know, and have statements, that a number of members of the AVC have been expelled from their particular chapters in Los Angeles County, on the charges of Red baiting—and I think when you find that you can determine that there must be something wrong with the organization.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Have you conducted any investigations, Senator Tenney, of the maritime unions in the ports of California?

Senator TENNEY. Just the particular ones that I mentioned in the conclusions of the committee, Mr. Nixon. We went into the union of the marine cooks and stewards. We found that organization was completely dominated by the Communist Party. We have the testimony, under oath, of a former member of the Communist Party, also a member of the executive board of that organization. I call your attention particularly to the affidavit you will find in the report from Mr. Brandhove. Mr. Brandhove was in the maritime service: I believe a captain in maritime service, and he joined the Communist Party for the purpose of determining exactly what was going on. You will notice he places all of the characters in San Francisco directly in the Communist Party—including Harry Bridges, and many others whom he testified he met in closed Communist meetings, and took directives from them. He also tells the story of how that organization was taken from the members, and placed in the hands of the Communist Party.

Our committee hasn't had an opportunity to go into that as thoroughly as we want to, but believe that it should be investigated.

Mr. NIXON. Do you intend to go into the situation in San Diego, as well as Los Angeles and San Francisco?

Senator TENNEY. Yes. We find in San Diego a very well organized Communist group which is working in all the fronts that I have mentioned, particularly Mobilization for Democracy, a chapter of the Independent Citizens Committee for the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and now in the so-called Progressive Citizens of America.

Mr. NIXON. Has there been any indication that Communist leaders have been attempting to move in on the southern California tuna fishing fleet in San Diego?

Senator TENNEY. Yes. Jeff Kibre, who came to California at the instance of Roy Hudson of New York, came there for the purpose of destroying the A. F. of L. in Hollywood. He was the forerunner to Herbert Sorrell. In his capacity he organized a group within the IATSE, and out of that came the United Studio Technicians Guild. That organization petitioned the NLRB for an election and went down to defeat. After that Jeff Kibre was expelled from the IATSE and we find him now in the capacity of organizer of the fishermen at San Pedro.

Mr. NIXON. What is the aim of the Communists in attempts to move into the fishing fleets—which are pretty essential to the economy of California—what is the reason for concentrating there?

Senator TENNEY. I think we have to keep in mind that the Communist Party infiltrates everything. We can quote Ruth McKinney, from the Communist, the ideological magazine of the party, where it is said that the Communist Party goes into everything. However, we find on the coast that the maritime unions, shipping, and all that sort

of thing, is infiltrated, and food particularly is of great importance to the Communist Party, and if we should ever go to war with Russia they will be in a very fine position to seize this shipping and see that this fishing is sabotaged, and that those people are utilized for their own sinister purposes. That is the real purpose, in the opinion of the members of our committee, behind the invasion of Hollywood, because if they can control Hollywood and destroy the A. F. of L. unions there, they will be in a very good position from their point of view. You understand that that entire thing is solely a jurisdictional fight, there is not a question of wages, hours, or conditions involved in the conference of studio unions' strike.

Mr. NIXON. Do you know a commentator by the name of Averill Berman?

Senator TENNEY. We subpoenaed him before our committee last November.

Mr. NIXON. Is he a Communist?

Senator TENNEY. In our opinion he is a Communist.

Mr. NIXON. Is he still on the radio in southern California?

Senator TENNEY. The last we heard he was.

Mr. NIXON. Wasn't he removed from one of the stations?

Senator TENNEY. Yes, he was removed. He stated before the committee, however, that his removal had nothing to do with the views he expressed. We don't think that is true, but that is what he said.

Mr. NIXON. What station is he on at the present time?

Senator TENNEY. KXLA, I think. It is in the report. You will find his testimony set forth.

Mr. NIXON. Pasadena?

Senator TENNEY. Yes. You will find his testimony set forth here in the report.

Mr. NIXON. Now, you testified that insofar as the bill which was passed by the California Legislature was concerned, that the State supreme court held unconstitutional the provision which outlawed the Communist Party by name?

Senator TENNEY. That is right. I was aware, or at least I felt at the time the bill was drawn, that it wouldn't hold up. I didn't see where we could outlaw a party by name. That is why I added, after a discussion with the attorneys in the legislative council bureau, I added the second section which outlawed them by definition. It is a matter which I think the committee here should perhaps have in mind, that the language of such a statute must be very carefully drawn.

Mr. NIXON. You mean by defining what the party attempts to accomplish rather than defining it by name?

Senator TENNEY. That is right. The supreme court stated in that case outlawing the party by name was a futile gesture because it could change its name and repeal the law. I think there is quite a bit of legal logic in that.

Mr. NIXON. You have found the Hollywood Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions to be, in your opinion, a Communist front organization?

Senator TENNEY. That is the conclusion of the members of the committee, unanimously, and the documentation and the evidence is in the report, which I believe fully substantiates that conclusion.

Mr. NIXON. I might say for the benefit of the other members of the committee, Mr. Chairman, that I am informed that one of the heavy

contributors to that committee was Barney Josephson, the brother of Leon Josephson, recently subpoenaed by this committee and who refused to testify.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask that if there is no objection the report of the California Un-American Activities Committee, which Mr. Tenney has submitted, be included in the record of these hearings. I don't know what the proper order should be.

The CHAIRMAN. How long is the report?

Senator TENNEY. 372 pages. That is without the index.

The CHAIRMAN. We certainly want to get the report, but I think we had better check up on the size and come to a conclusion as to that.

Mr. NIXON. I will leave it to the chairman's discretion.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Senator Tenney, let me say first that I join with the chairman and congratulate you and the rest of the committee on your fine job. When I was out in California during the war with the subcommittee of the old Dies committee, studying the Japanese relocation centers, we ran into the work of your committee all over the place and found that the patriotic citizens of California were certainly 100 percent behind your enterprise. I think it would be a wonderful thing if every State in the Union had a little Dies committee, as it were, or a little committee on un-American activities, because they have the intimate contacts and knowledge which a national committee such as ours cannot possibly have.

Senator TENNEY. That is true.

Mr. MUNDT. I was interested in your reference to the present phase of the Communist Party in this country as the seventh phase. I wondered if you had broken down the preceding phases and whether you could supply the main target of each of these phases as it operated in this country.

Senator TENNEY. Yes, Mr. Mundt. I believe you do have in your possession, or your staff does, our 1943 report. The 1943 report traced the rise of these various eras, as we call them, or phases of the Communist strategy. I might say that the principle behind that was Soviet foreign policy. I think that you gentlemen can trace that very easily, with your experience, because the Communist Party of America follows meticulously the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. When Soviet Russia advanced the Communist Party advanced, and when they retreated they retreated. The Hitler-Stalin pact gives the clue.

During the time that Russia and Germany were together all the Communists in California were opposing conscription, they were passing out handbills at the University of California to that effect, they were calling Roosevelt a warmonger, and anyone who had anything to say against Hitler was in the same category. That piece of foreign policy on the part of Soviet Russia was as meticulously followed by the Communists in California and I think throughout the Nation as it possibly could be.

You do have in our 1943 report that information. They are out of print, but we may have a few copies and if you don't have it we will try and get it for you.

Mr. MUNDT. If you will just supply it in the transcript of your remarks when you have them for correction it will appear at this point in the permanent record.

Senator DENNEY. It will be done.

(The matter referred to is as follows:)

EXTRACT FROM 1943 REPORT OF THE CALIFORNIA UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
COMMITTEE

SIX PERIODS OF COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN THE UNITED STATES

The average man cannot be blamed for being confused by the Communist conspiracy in America. Distorted news items, lying editorials, and articles profusely and generously scattered through Communist Party organs and the periodicals of front organizations and Innocent Clubs have carefully smudged and obscured the real objectives of these cheap conspirators in the American picture. This program of deceit and hypocrisy is part and parcel of Communist Party tactics. The greater part of the Communist press is disguised and for public consumption purports to be anything but what it really is. Front organizations, periodicals, and magazines do most of the Trojan Horse work. Like its cowardly members, hiding their Communist Party affiliations under fictitious names, many of these disguised Communist periodicals and magazines find their way into the homes of unsuspecting and ordinarily patriotic Americans. There is little wonder that the average citizen is confused when confronted with Communism.

Although it is termed the Third or Communist International, the Communist International has never been international in the generally accepted sense of the term. The Bolshevik revolution which overthrew the Kerensky government under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky culminated in what is now known as the Communist International (also known as the Comintern). It was founded in the Kremlin in Moscow in March of 1919 by 35 delegates and 15 guests. It is significant, in considering the international aspects of the so-called Communist International, that all but one of the founders were Russian. From its beginning up to the present time it has been characterized by a greedy and stubborn nationalism. The Communist parties that later developed in the other countries of the world, including the United States, have, in fact, only been branch parties of the Russian Home Office of the Comintern, and these parties scattered throughout the world reflect in every instance, from the very beginning down to the present time, the *foreign policy* and the *interest* of Soviet Russia. Thus it is, that the policies, purges, leadership, and the "party line" of the Communist Party in the United States have always turned on Soviet *events, ambitions, and needs*.

The key to the strange activities, machinations, and twisting policies of the torturous "Party Line" of the American Communist is found in the unchanging Communist slogan "*Defend the Soviet Union*." It explains, also, the pitiful failures of the Communist Party in the United States to capture Yankee interest and support. Because its slogans and its policies were based on conditions existing in Soviet Russia and on the *foreign policy* of that country, the American people failed to respond to the ill-fitting and foreign-sounding slogans of a group of American lunatics concerned only with the protection of a foreign dictatorship. The turn-over of membership in the Communist Party of the United States has been tremendous since its inception in 1919. The mortality rate in membership from year to year is significant of its failure to capture the American mind. Yankee practicality blinks unresponsively at slogans such as "Defend the Soviet Union" and "The Americanism of Lenin and Lincoln." But, year after year, many a tricked and duped American has become in actuality the agent-stooge of the foreign, totalitarian, dictatorship of Soviet Russia.

To understand clearly so-called American Communism, it is necessary to examine its history since its inception in Chicago in 1919. This can only be intelligently done by a parallel examination of the history of the Soviet Union for the same period. Eugene Lyons has roughly divided Communist development in the United States into five ages, each period turning on events in Soviet Russia and reflecting in each period the *needs, ambition and foreign policy, NOT* of the United States, its workers or its people, but of Soviet Russia. To the five ages of Eugene Lyons your committee has added a sixth, and prognosticates a seventh.

In order better to clarify the findings of your committee in the field of Communism, we briefly outline these six periods of Communist conspiracy in the United States.

FIRST PERIOD (1919 TO 1921)

The Bolsheviek Government found its territory invaded and besieged by foreign armies and effectually blockaded in 1919. It needed a militant internationalism in non-Bolsheviek countries to break the strangle hold of the economic blockade and it sorely needed a pro-Bolsheviek sentiment in non-Bolsheviek countries to bring about the withdrawal of the armies that were invading its boundaries. Consequently the Communist parties throughout the world were ordered to be militantly revoluntary, and to work in their respective countries for the succor of the Soviet Union. Hence, in the United States, the Communist Party, emerging from its Chicago convention in 1919, was fanatically revolutionary and conspiratorial and openly rebellious, calling for the immediate overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. It likewise propagandized for the Soviet Union and attempted to create pro-Bolsheviek sympathies in America.

SECOND PERIOD (1921 TO 1928)

This period saw the launching of the New Economic Policy (NEP) in Russia. The new economic policy was, in fact, a compromise between state and private economy. The Soviet Union found itself in many economic difficulties and began to feel the need for exchange and traffic with other governments. To effectuate this it created the fiction of a separation between the Soviet Government and the Communist Party of Russia. This fiction was embellished and carried further by apparently effecting a separation between the Communist International and the Russian Communist Party. These fictions, it was believed, would soften the attitude of capitalistic governments and permit the Soviet Union to deal with them. As a result of this desperate need for exchange and traffic with other governments, the Communist Parties scattered throughout the world were ordered to retreat from their plotting and to soft-pedal their demand for open revolt and to do their propagandizing within the laws of their respective countries. A lull in word-wide revolutionary propaganda ensued and the comrades in the United States busied themselves with trapping and exploiting sympathetic liberals and progressives and in creating friends for Soviet Russia. The key phrases of this period were "United Front" and "Boring from Within."

THIRD PERIOD (1928 TO 1935)

This period saw the launching of the first "five-year plan" in Russia and the exiling of the so-called Communist Party "leftist," Leon Trotsky. NEP, the new economic policy, was violently wiped out. Private farming came to an end and the forcible socialization of farming began. The most brutal "speed-up" in the world's history began in Russian industry. Soviet Russia more and more turned to greedy nationalism. Workers' control in industry was completely abolished and Soviet Bureaucracy took over. History will undoubtedly reveal that the Fascization of Soviet Russia began in this era. Purges and official mass murders terrorized the entire country. The old Bolsheviks and the heroes of the revolution were slaughtered without compunction, sympathy, or trial. Soviet Russia began to look for military alliances and started to woo Germany and Italy. A new revolutionary upsurge was ordained for the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world—a new revolutionary upsurge, not so much against capitalism, but more against socialists, conservative labor leaders and trade unionists, liberals and progressives—all lumped in one terrible category—"Social Fascists." This period of Soviet *need* and *ambition* undoubtedly cleared the way for Hitler and Mussolini.

FOURTH PERIOD (1935 TO 1939)

Soviet Russia's unsuccessful wooing of Hitler and Mussolini led to the change of policy introduced to the world in 1935. The Seventh World Congress, held in Moscow in 1935, gave birth to the new Trojan Horse policy of Dimitrov and the subsequent creation of "Peoples" and "Popular" fronts. The fear of a German and Japanese invasion of Soviet Russia gave rise to a "collective security" policy and the Communist Parties in the United States and throughout the world

were ordered to carry these new policies into effect. Despairing of any alliance with Germany or Italy, Soviet Russia decided to appear to be "democratic" and "anti-Fascist" and ordered the branches of the party throughout the world to propagandize and advertise Soviet Russia on this basis. The Communist Party in the United States became "Twentieth Century Americanism"—the real "friend" of democracy and the "guardian" of every tradition of freedom and civil liberty. The Communist Party of the United States went to great lengths to advertise Soviet Russia in this new "democratic" light. Soviet Russia, meanwhile, subscribed to the Kellogg Pact and made nonaggression pacts with her neighbors. Although Lenin had called the League of Nations the "League of Robber Nations," Stalin now entered the league. A phoney constitution for the Soviet Union was drawn but never put into effect and a short time later Stalin physically liquidated two-thirds of the members of the committee who drew the constitution. The threat of world-wide Communist revolution was laughed away and Stalin later lightly described it all as a "comic misunderstanding."

Anti-Nazi leagues flourished in the United States and the Anti-Nazi League of Hollywood grew to considerable proportions. The comrades in America and California exploited to the fullest the growing horror in the minds of all Americans of the brutality rampant in Hitler's Third Reich. The ruthless and barbarous persecution of the Jews by Hitler and his bloody minions, the unspeakable and unbelievable tortures inflicted on the innocent scapegoats of "Fuehrer Aryanism," stirred up a righteous indignation in the hearts of every liberty-loving American citizen. V. J. Jerome (whose true name is Isaac Romaine), personally supervised the organization of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League. Mr. Jerome had been sent to Hollywood some time before by the Communist Party Central Committee to take over the duties of Stanley Lawrence in "improving cultural work" in California. It was V. J. Jerome who brought John Howard Lawson to Hollywood. He helped organize study clubs and coordinated Communist Party work between Hollywood groups and downtown Los Angeles sections. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States and coeditor of its magazine, *The Communist*, as well as being Chairman of the Cultural Commission of the Communist Party of the United States. The Anti-Nazi League banked some \$89,892.51 between May 14, 1935, and August 16, 1939.

In spite of this exploitation by the Communist Party of the emotional upsurge against Hitler and his regime, the American Communists regarded the war in Europe as purely an imperialistic struggle. The *party line* during this period was to heap abuse and vilification upon, not only Nazi Germany and its Axis partners, but upon the victims of its aggression. Some 30 days before the amazing and abrupt termination of this fourth period of Communist strategy, Foreign Commissar V. M. Molotov stated:

"* * * there is nothing surprising in the fact that at the end of April the head of the German state in one speech scrapped two important international treaties—the naval agreement with Great Britain and the nonaggression pact between Germany and Poland. There was a time when great international significance was attached to these treaties. But Germany made short work of them, disregarding all formalities. Such was Germany's reply to the proposal of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States—a proposal permeated with the peace-loving spirit." (*Soviet Union and the Peace Front*, by V. M. Molotov, International Publishers, Inc., page 5.)

FIFTH PERIOD (1939 TO JUNE 22, 1941)

The Soviet Union amazed the world and many of its deluded Communist members in the United States, by signing a pact with Nazi Germany, August 23, 1939. The Comintern immediately ordered its parties in the United States and throughout the world to renew their revolutionary character. "Collective Security" was immediately scuttled and the Communist parties everywhere became isolationists and belabored Great Britain and the "British Imperialist War." In the United States, the Communists launched the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and attacked President Roosevelt viciously as a "warmonger." Strikes in war and defense industries were fomented and viciously carried on by Communists throughout the United States. Meanwhile, Soviet Russia attacked Finland and partitioned Poland with her Nazi comrade-in-arms. Nazi Bundsters and American Communists joined hands in sabotaging United States aid to Great Britain. Members of both organizations began a penetration of the America First Com-

mittee. Conscription and lend-lease proposals were viciously and bitterly opposed. Anti-Nazi leagues in America were quickly abandoned for American Peace Mobilization fronts and new name-calling including "warmonger" and "imperialist," were shouted at anyone who decried Nazi brutality and aggression. The fifth period of Communist development in the United States will always be remembered for its sharp curve in 1939 with the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and its breath-taking flip-flop June 22, 1941 when Hitler's hordes swept into the Ukraine.

About a week after the signing of the Stalin-Hitler nonaggression pact, Foreign Commissar Molotov wrote in *The Meaning of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact*, Workers' Library Publishers, August 31, 1939, page 3:

"* * * the conclusion of a pact of nonaggression between the U. S. S. R. and Germany is of tremendous positive value, eliminating the danger of war between Germany and the Soviet Union."

(Commissar Molotov continued in the same article (page 8) :

"As you see, Stalin hit the nail on the head when he exposed the machinations of the Western Europe politicians who were trying to set Germany and the Soviet Union at loggerheads. It must be confessed that there were some short-sighted people in our own country who, carried away by over-simplified anti-fascist propaganda, forgot about this provocative work of our enemies. Mindful of this, Stalin even then suggested the possibility of other unhostile, good-neighborly relations between Germany and the U. S. S. R. It can now be seen that on the whole Germany correctly understood these statements of Stalin and drew practical conclusions from them. The conclusion of the Soviet-German Nonaggression Pact shows that *Stalin's historic prevision has been brilliantly confirmed.*" [Committee's italics.]

In *Molotov's report to the Supreme Soviet, October 31, 1939, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., page 5, the foreign commissar further solidified Soviet Russia's new policy toward Germany, in the following language:*

"* * * Germany is in a position of a state which is striving for the earliest termination of war and for peace, while Britain and France, which only yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed to the conclusion of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing."

And further in the same report, page 8, Molotov continues:

"The relations between Germany and the other Western European Bourgeois states have in the past two decades been determined primarily by Germany's efforts to break the fetters of the Versailles Treaty, whose authors were Great Britain and France, with the active collaboration of the United States. This, in the long run, led to the present war in Europe * * *. The relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have been based on a different foundation, which involved no interest whatever in perpetuating the postwar Versailles system. *We have always held that a strong Germany is an indispensable condition for a durable peace in Europe.*" [Committee's italics.]

On page 23 of his report to the Supreme Soviet, Foreign Commissar Molotov asks some questions about the United States:

"In any event, our country, as a neutral country, which is not interested in the spread of war, will take every measure to render this war less devastating, to weaken it and hasten its termination in the interests of peace. From this standpoint, the decision of the American Government to lift the embargo on the export of arms to belligerent countries raises just misgivings. It can scarcely be doubted that the effect of this decision will not be to weaken the war and hasten its termination, but, on the contrary, to intensify, aggravate and protract it. Of course, the decision may insure big profits for American war industries. But, one asks, can this serve as any justification for lifting the embargo on the export of arms from America? Clearly, it can not."

Thus it was, in compliance with Soviet foreign policy, that the Communists in the United States and in California launched a campaign for isolation and non-intervention, joining hands with the America First Committee, The German-American Bund and many other antiwar, isolationist organizations. Harry Bridges' Union, the *Maritime Federation of the Pacific*, originated the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" and this defiant expression of nonintervention became the password in every Communist front organization. *Labor's Non-Partisan League* of California circulated thousands of paper bookmatches bearing this slogan. It was heard from the rostrum of every Communist front organization, such as the *American Peace Mobilization* and the *American Student Union*.

So that no doubt be left in the minds of anyone, the Committee quotes the above-mentioned V. J. Jerome, the American Communists' bellwether of the fellow-

traveling cultural clique, in *Social Democracy and the War*. Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., 1940 (pages 45-46) :

"Since the warmongering campaign opened, innumerable trade unions and other mass organizations have adopted resolutions against this country's involvement. A. F. of L. and C. I. O. State labor bodies and city councils, national unions and locals, the unemployed, church bodies, and the vital youth movement are saying, with the national convention of the C. I. O.: Labor wants no war or any part of it. * * * The voice of militant labor rings forth in ever-swelling volume in the slogan first sounded by the Maritime Federation of the Pacific: 'The Yanks Are Not Coming!' The Communist Party of the United States declares: '* * * we Communists will continue the broadest collaboration with all elements in the labor movement to advance the struggle for working class unity by educating, rallying, and unifying the workers against capitalist reaction and exploitation and to keep America out of the imperialistic war.'"

In April of 1941 circulars were being generously and copiously circulated throughout California, carrying to the uninformed and the innocent, the Americanized version of the foreign policy of Soviet Russia. Pamphlets demanding and proclaiming: "Get Out and Stay Out of the Imperialist War! No Convoys! No A. E. F.! The Yanks Art Not Coming! Friendship With the Soviet Union!" were distributed at the University of California at Berkeley and throughout the United States.

Your committee finds that the Communist Party in California, acting through unions which it dominated and controlled, launched an amazing epidemic of strikes in key defense industries and were successful in many cases in tying up production of armament, die-casting, steel, planes and ships.

Mr. Hugh Ben Inzer, who was president of Local 216 of the United Automobile Workers Union, C. I. O., testified under oath before your committee, October 16, 1941. Mr. Inzer stated that he had been an assemblyman for General Motors in South Gate since November 16, 1936. He stated that he was acquainted with Lew Michener, Wyndham Mortimer, Philip M. (Slim) Connelly and other leaders of the C. I. O. We quote Mr. Inzer's testimony verbatim from Volume IV of the committee's transcript, beginning at page 1215:

"A. (Inzer.) When I was elected to the presidency of Local 216, I was asked by the Regional Director to take time off and come down to the Regional Office for a couple of days at the expense of the International. In other words, the International would pay my expenses. So that was around the 8th of May 1940, and at that time I took this time off and went down and I reached the office about 9:30 in the morning and from that time until noon I was introduced to different people in the CIO Building, who worked in the offices and he stated those were the people I would now have to cooperate with—I was the new president of Local 216, and they were all in the CIO movement. So, then, we proceeded to go out for luncheon.

"Q. Now, where are the headquarters you spoke of?

"A. (Inzer.) That's the Currier Building at Spring and Third, I believe.

"Q. In this city?

"A. (Inzer.) In Los Angeles; yes, sir.

"Q. All right, Mr. Inzer.

"A. (Inzer.) About twelve we went out to lunch and I went out to lunch with Michener and a person known as Slim Connelly.

"Q. Now, is that Philip M. Connelly?

"A. (Inzer.) That's Philip M. Connelly.

"Q. What position, if any, did he occupy in the C. I. O.?

"A. (Inzer.) He holds a position as President of State C. I. O.

"Q. He is still?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes; he is—

"Q. And—pardon me.

"A. (Inzer.)—He was also Secretary to the Council here in Los Angeles.

"Q. Now, while you were there, did you have a conversation with Mr. Michener and Mr. Connelly relative to the general situation among the automobile workers?

"A. (Inzer.) I did; yes, sir.

"Q. And the Union situation in the vicinity of Los Angeles in that industry?

"A. (Inzer.) That's right.

"Q. And did that conversation occur while you were at lunch?

"A. (Inzer.) No; after lunch we went into the Regional Office and he said there were some more people coming in and we were going to get together on a program to follow for the next year and it took place after lunch in the Regional Office.

"Q. And after you went back to the Currier Building, following your luncheon, did you go upstairs in the building or were you on the ground floor?

"A. (Inzer.) We went upstairs in the building, I believe the Regional Office at that time was on the fourth floor—I know it was on one of the floors above the first floor.

"Q. Yes.

"A. (Inzer.) So we went up to the Regional Office and went into the Regional Director's Office and we were seated there.

"Q. Did some other people come in?

"A. (Inzer.) Two men came in, other than Connelly, Mortimer, and Michener and myself, two other men. One came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Diebel; another man came in and was introduced to me as Mr. Perry.

"Q. Now, were you present here when Mr. Diebel testified before this Committee?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes, sir; I was.

"Q. Did you have an opportunity to observe him?

"A. (Inzer.) No; other than his back walking up and from the witness stand.

"Q. Were you able to tell whether or not that is the same Mr. Diebel you met at the Currier Building?

"A. (Inzer.) I am positive of it.

"Q. You are sure it was?

"A. (Inzer.) I am sure it was.

"Q. I hand you a photograph and ask you if that is a photograph of Mr. Diebel? [Handing to witness.]

"A. (Inzer.) That is.

"Q. You recognize him as the same person who was present at the meeting you are now testifying about?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes, sir.

"Q. Are you sure of that?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes, sir, I am positive.

"Q. Who else came in?

"A. (Inzer.) There was a colored fellow came by the name of Perry. They introduced him as Mr. Perry.

"Q. Was that Mr. Pettis Perry?

"A. (Inzer.) I found out later it was, I found out later it was Pettis Perry.

"Chairman TENNEY. He is a Negro, is he not?

"A. (Inzer.) He is a Negro, yes, sir.

"Mr. COMBS. Go ahead.

"A. (Inzer.) These men came in and sat in. I didn't know who these people were any more than I know the people out in the audience, all I thought was they are some part of the Labor Movement. So Mr. Connelly and Mr. Michener began to tell me that we would have to set up an organization among all the Locals, that is, to have the Presidents of the Locals and the Executive Board of each Local to be ready to cooperate with the Regional Office at any time in case of an emergency, and what I gathered from the conversation of the meeting, the emergency was this: Any time they wanted to call a strike at any plant that has a CIO contract that they could put so much pressure on the management by calling the other plants in Los Angeles out in sympathetic strike with the plant trying to get a contract, by so doing they could force the management of that company to sign the contract that the Union wanted. So they also stated that this man who they introduced as Mr. Diebel had cooperated with them in the past in putting out literature. They went ahead to state they cooperated in literature known as "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and he said also any time we needed any literature printed that this man had a print shop and would be glad to cooperate in putting out any literature that we needed.

"Q. That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel?

"A. (Inzer.) That was said in the presence of Mr. Diebel and the rest of the men in the meeting.

"Q. When that portion of the conversation occurred, Mr. Inzer, were you seated any place in the room?

"A. (Inzer.) We were seated in the room in chairs (indicating).

"Q. Around a table?

"A. (Inzer.) No, the chairs were just pulled out and seated in the room (indicating).

"Q. The conversation was perfectly audible to all persons present?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes.

"Q. All right, go ahead, and give us the substance of what occurred.

"A. (Inzer.) This statement in regards to putting out the literature and he agreed he would do that. Then they stated Mr. Perry was the head of an organization who could furnish us with men, with a lot of man power, and also furnish us with pickets, men to put out literature and men to do any kind of a job that we needed so long as our men were tied up on the picket line and by so getting that cooperation we would be able to force the management of the plants to sign an agreeable contract with the Union.

"Q. Well, now,—

"A. (Inzer.) Mr. Perry agreed he was at the head of an organization and could supply any amount of men that were needed.

"Q. Was that organization identified at that time or subsequently?

"A. (Inzer.) No, it was not.

"Q. All right.

"A. (Inzer.) No, it was not.

"Q. You did not know the organization they were referring to?

"A. (Inzer.) I did not know the organization, no, sir.

"Q. Had you ever seen either Mr. Diebel or Mr. Perry before, to your knowledge?

"A. (Inzer.) No, sir, I had never seen them before in my life.

"Q. All right, go ahead.

"A. (Inzer.) So after these two points were brought up these men disappeared, they got up and left the room.

"Q. Did they leave the room together?

"A. (Inzer.) No, they didn't.

"Q. Who left first?

"A. (Inzer.) I believe Mr. Diebel, and in five or ten minutes Mr. Perry followed out.

"Q. All right.

"A. (Inzer.) So, then, we continued with our conversation and in the meantime, though, I had been used to running into the Communist activities in the CIO before that time, and I could see that this program was leading right up to the same thing, Communist CIO on the Coast. So the next day, after these fellows left we talked about ten or fifteen minutes, and I went back to my office. The next day I was supposed to go down again but I went back to my own office and called up the Regional Office and told them I was there in case they needed me. Mr. Michener wanted to know what was wrong and I told him I had investigated and found out who these men were and I, as President of Local 216, I would not be connected by the Regional Office, my rank and file would not cooperate—by the way, our Local consists of 1,800.

"Q. They didn't approve of it?

"A. (Inzer.) They don't approve of that influence in the Union.

"Q. They are aware the influence is there?

"A. (Inzer.) Absolutely; yes, sir.

"Q. Now, Mr. Inzer, you say you did make an investigation following this meeting which you have testified about?

"A. (Inzer.) That's right.

"Q. Did you find out what organization Mr. Perry spoke of when he mentioned that he had an organization through which he could furnish pickets, and so forth?

"A. (Inzer.) Yes; I went back to the Union and asked some of my Executive Board if they had heard of these men and they said they had heard of them and they believed one was on the German-American Bund and the other the Communist Party. I had a friend who was very active in different work in Los Angeles and I knew he was well acquainted or would know of them, so I asked him and he was quite shocked to know that I had been to such a meeting, and he readily told me that this one, Hans Diebel, was at the head or active in the German-American Bund in Los Angeles and he did have a book store on 15th Street and also Perry was the head of the Communist Party and he took me down to the places and I looked in and satisfied myself as to who they were—they were there.

"Q. You went to both addresses?

"A. (Inzer.) I saw both persons.

"Q. You conducted an investigation that satisfied you that the statements you had obtained concerning their activities were correct?

"A. (Inzer.) Absolutely; yes, sir.

"Q. What happened to you then in your Local 216?

"A. (Inzer.) Well, as soon—

"Q. Of course, there was the declaration of war between Russia and Germany?"

"A. (Inzer.) That's right. As soon as the Regional Director mentioned or found out I was not going to cooperate with him and the reason he wanted me to cooperate with him was the Communist Party here in Los Angeles controls the CIO, and I don't mean partly. I mean they control it, they do what they want to with it. Any time they send a Communist out to my Local to sell the rank and file that all he wants to do is to have them work with him and help put it over, and after I would refuse any issue he'd attack me for not cooperating with the Regional Office and he also brought Mortimer out to do the same thing, and try to poison the minds of the rank and file, who I represented, so they'd not pay any attention to me and be against my act."

The committee has included the above excerpt from the testimony of Hugh Ben Inzer as proof the collaboration and cooperation of the Communist Party and the German-American Bund with such Communist-dominated union organizations as the CIO under the leadership of Philip M. Connelly and Lew Michener during the fifth period of Communist strategy. The identity and affiliation of Pettis Perry, then the Secretary of the Communist Party of Los Angeles County, and Hans Diebel, of the German-American Bund, in the City of Los Angeles, are well known.

SIXTH PERIOD (JUNE 22, 1941, TO ?)

The Sixth Period of Communism in the United States began with Hitler's invasion of Soviet Russia. The Communist press in the United States up to this event was still attacking President Roosevelt as a "warmonger" and belaboring the "British Imperialist War." Strikes all over the country were instituted by Communist dominated unions. With the startling news that the "Fatherland" had been attacked by Hitler's hordes, the strikes stopped in defense and war industries throughout the United States. Peace mobilization fronts and leagues evaporated into thin air. "All Out Aid to Soviet Russia, Great Britain and China" replaced the former slogans of "Stop the British Imperialist War" and "The Yanks Are Not Coming." This latter slogan was soon considerably amended to read "The Yanks Are Not Coming *Too Late*." President Roosevelt became an overnight hero instead of being a "warmonger." Every Communist in California and throughout the United States became a chauvinistic patriot and "Unity Leagues" of this and that for "Victory" mushroomed throughout California and the United States. Although the anti-religious campaign of Soviet Russia was flourishing up to the violation of the Soviet-Nazi Pact and Soviet Russia's *League of the Militant Godless* was still vigorously functioning, the Communist Party of America began, in this period, to extol the religious tolerance of Communism. The American Communists were ordered to emphasize the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and its fervent championship of civil liberty.

Dictator Stalin's "historic prevision," as Foreign Commissar Molotov had hailed it, was thrown in the ash can as Hitler's panzer divisions went crashing over the Soviet frontiers and the non-aggression pact simultaneously. New slogans and proclamations appeared on the familiar mimeographed circulars and pamphlets of the Communist Party pamphleteers as soon as the comrades had caught their breath and determined the new foreign policy of the "Fatherland." On September 16, 1941, another circular appeared at the University of California at Berkeley, this time urging the students to: "Unite the campus to defeat Hitler and Hitlerism! Defend America by full and immediate aid to Great Britain and the Soviet Union! Aid China! Embargo Japan! Make the campus a fortress of Democracy for unity and victory—Join the American Student Union!

Your committee here wishes to point out that on June 22, 1941, it was Russia, and *NOT* the United States that was invaded by Germany. The news of this event, however, was attended with repercussions in the United States and in California which were immediate and profound. A strange and significant quiet prevailed over America's labor front. Overnight the *Imperialist War* of June 21, 1941, was changed by some strange, international magic, into a *people's war* which involved the Soviet Union. The American Communists would now take all the Yanks they could get. American Communists were now declaring that "Now * * * this is *OUR* war * * *," as did Rose Segure and other California Communists and fellow travelers. Foreign Commissar Molotov now ordained that it would be all right for America to lift the embargo on arms to belligerents; particularly to the Soviet Union and Britain.

Your committee wishes to emphasize the significant lesson to be learned from this period of Communist strategy. Americans everywhere should concern

themselves seriously with the changes which came to California and the United States; changes which effected the release of defense industries from the strangle hold of Communist-dominated unions, the sudden change in propagandizing in our State educational institutions. It should carefully be noted by all students of these matters that these changes were caused, not by anything happening directly in or to the United States. Again they turned on the *need* and *foreign policy* of a foreign government thousands of miles away. Your committee wishes to emphasize the fact that there exists in the State of California an organized group of subversive individuals, completely dominated by a foreign power, which has sufficient influence in our American Labor movement to launch a strike epidemic in our defense or war industries when the purposes suits the foreign power, and to turn it off again like water from a tap when the foreign policy of the dominating foreign power commands. While the needs of the foreign power dominating this group in California and the United States may correspond presently with our own needs, it may well be, in the future, that the needs of the dominating force exerted on these American subversives may be detrimental in the extreme to our own needs and purposes. Your committee believes that it is high time for the people of this State thoroughly and completely to understand and realize that the members of the Communist Party are organized into an iron disciplined group and controlled, unquestionably, by a foreign power, Soviet Russia. These people should be regarded for what they actually are—agents of a foreign power, and should not be, in any way, looked upon as super-patriots and saviors of the working class of America and California, as they would like to lead us to believe.

The official mass murders of Soviet Russia's Fifth Period, together with its amazing trials in which every defendant attempted to out-confess the other; literally bubbling over with the admission of treasonable crimes against the Soviet Government, fantastically, eagerly, and enthusiastically inviting the death penalty are now being sold to the American people by the Communists as far-visions statesmanship on the part of Dictator Stalin. Ambassador Joseph E. Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, is now pounced on by the Communists of America as corroborating evidence of the statesmanship of Joseph Stalin in defending the "democracy" of Soviet Russia and the United Nations. This phase of Ambassador Davies' book, *Mission to Moscow*, should be read in conjunction with the report on the trials by Dr. John Dewey, *Men and Politics* by Louis Fisher and writers who were in actual attendance at the trials in Russia and who possessed a knowledge of Communist ideology and tactics.

Hewlett Johnson, the aged Dean of Canterbury, has written a book, *Soviet Power*, and this volume is now being given widespread circulation by the Communist Party of America. Eugene Lyons, who spent considerable time in Soviet Russia, calls this book of the Dean of Canterbury "a topsy-turvy book * * * an Alice-in-Wonderland volume that can only be catalogued as literature of hallucination. * * *"

The members of your committee realized on the morning of June 23, 1941, that an era of Communist strategy had come to an end in California and in the United States. The committee had been preparing a series of hearings connected with the strikes at the North American Aircraft Co., in Inglewood. This plant had been closed June 6, 1941, by the CIO but had been reopened several weeks later by the United States Army acting under the direction of the President of the United States. While the committee did not have an opportunity fully to investigate this strike, it learned that its leaders in the CIO were the same old Communist and fellow-traveling crowd. Wyndham Mortimer, whose Communist Party name was Baker; Lew Michener, Elmer Freitag, who was registered as a Communist in 1938; and lesser lights, such as Jeff Kibre and Don Healy, were the Stalinist leaders of this piece of defense sabotage in America. It was all over, of course, when Hitler's panzer divisions drove into Russia June 22, 1941. Your committee knew that the Communist Party of the United States would receive new instructions; that the revolutionary character of the Communist Party of America would be disguised; that the Communists of California would, as long as it assisted Soviet Russia, be the most enthusiastic patriots for the defeat of Hitler and the enemies of the Red Fatherland. What love of the United States, its Constitution, Flag, traditions, and way of life could not accomplish in its appeal to men like Wyndham Mortimer and Lew Michener, invasion of a foreign totalitarian dictatorship accomplished overnight. The people of California and the United States should never forget that the defense efforts of our great Nation would have been ruthlessly sabotaged by what purported to be an American labor movement—the CIO—had it not been for the *need* of a foreign dictatorship thousands of miles away.

Your committee reports, therefore, that, in this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy in California and the United States, the war efforts of our State and Nation are presently safe from Communist interference and sabotage. Every real Communist in the United States will sacrifice, fight, and die if need be, just so long as the sacrificing, fighting and dying assists the Red Fatherland—Soviet Russia. Meanwhile, Americans should make no mistake about the true situation. The Communist Party of the United States of America is *NOT* willing to sacrifice, to fight, or to die to preserve American Democracy, its Constitution, its Flag, its tradition, or its way of life. The long-range objective has not changed and *will not change*. The revolutionary spirit is temporarily on ice, and the Seventh Period of Communist development in this country may see it in all its grim horror if the *needs, ambitions, and foreign policy* of Soviet Russia so ordain.

Those who have read thus far are well capable of drawing their own conclusions. Your committee's investigators already report plans of the Communist Party in California for the formation of soldiers' and sailors' councils in the Army and the Navy, patterned after similar councils set up in the armies and navies of the Czar and the Kerensky government in Russia in 1917. Reports reaching your committee from closed meetings of Communist groups throughout California tell of plans for soviet governments throughout Europe upon the collapse of Hitlerism and the weakening of the Nazi-yoke. While it is not the province of your committee to prognosticate the future, the committee must, nevertheless, state to you with all the emphasis at its command that this, the Sixth Period of Communist development and strategy, is not the last period. The committee warns the people of California and of the United States that there **WILL BE** a Seventh Period of Communist strategy in America. Only the vigilance of the American people and the devotion to the Constitution and traditions of the United States on the part of public officials can successfully block the Seventh Period of Communism from being the *last* period of the American way of life.

Totalitarian rattlesnakes apparently find satisfaction in warning their prospective victims before striking. The democracies of the world cannot complain that Hitler had not warned them of his world-aggression ambitions in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. The purpose of the Third International, from the beginning and throughout its history, has been boldly stated as world domination and the destruction of all existing forms of government. Even the Japanese Imperialists, while not quite so blatant and open in their avowed objectives, have indicated the course that they would pursue at the proper moment. Similarly the Comintern today indicates the course of its next period of strategy.

Mr. MUNDT. Now, you said the University of California, as I understood, published a quarterly publication edited by a Communist; is that right?

Senator TENNEY. That is right.

Mr. MUNDT. The University of California is a State-supported college?

Senator TENNEY. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. To what extent, if any, has your attorney general, or your legislature, taken steps to prevent that kind of misuse of the public funds?

Senator TENNEY. Well, unfortunately, Mr. Mundt, we had Bob Kenny as attorney general for the past 4 years—Bob Kenny, by the way, was the head of Mobilization for Democracy in California, and also twice national chairman of the National Lawyers' Guild, and I know that I do not have to tell you gentlemen that the National Lawyers' Guild is probably the greatest Communist front of attorneys in America—and we couldn't expect anything there. Whether or not the law is sufficient to do something about it now, I am not prepared to say. We have introduced bills in reference to this matter and believe that perhaps the university may do something about it now that our report is ready for distribution to the public.

It is an amazing thing. Every one of them have been acquainted with the facts; that is, the faculty. Dr. Sprowl knows the facts.

John Howard Lawson—and I don't have to tell you who he is; he is considered the greatest Marxist in the West; there isn't any doubt in anybody's mind who knows the facts that he is the individual who pulls the strings and who tells the Communists when to jump in Hollywood. He is, admittedly, the former associate editor of the *Daily Worker*. He was able to get the university to join with other Communists in Hollywood for the presentation of a so-called Writers' Congress, which originated in 1935, with Earl Browder making the keynote speech, and which closed with the singing of the Internationale, in New York City in 1935.

I think you also have the report of Attorney General Biddle in reference to that. That man is the man who is editing the magazine which is published by the press of the University of California.

MR. MUNDT. I have never heard of Bob Kenny, whoever he is, but if your attorney general has those kind of antecedents I think the State of California needs a new attorney general.

Senator TENNEY. We got one, Mr. Mundt.

MR. MUNDT. Now, you mentioned something about the scientists in the university working on the cyclotron; that you had the minutes.

Senator TENNEY. That is right.

MR. MUNDT. Meetings at which they advocated the Sovietization of this country.

Senator TENNEY. The matter was discussed in their minutes. It is also in this report, Mr. Mundt. The only change that we made in the minutes, Mr. Mundt, is that we have taken out a name which appeared in the minutes and we have substituted for that name an X. The committee knows who the individual is but were asked by certain authorities to delete the name, and if this committee should desire to know who the individual is, we will be glad to supply that name. But the general discussions in those meetings was how to avoid detection by the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the matters they were doing there. How they should distribute certain things in envelopes to make them look like pay rolls, and so on; looking forward to the Sovietization of America.

I submit to you that that is a most important matter, because if the Communists are in control of the unions in atomic research and radiation we are in a bad way.

MR. MUNDT. Those scientists are employed at the university?

Senator TENNEY. That is right.

MR. MUNDT. It seems to me that the secrets of the atomic bomb are not going to be with us very long if we have scientists of that kind.

Senator TENNEY. I am wondering if we are not too late when specimens of uranium 235 were flown by Soviet agents from Canada to Russia.

MR. MUNDT. One other question, Senator. We hear a lot in Washington about communism in Hollywood, and particularly communism in the motion-picture colony in Hollywood. I wonder if you could go into some detail on that. I am sure it would be worth while for us to know the names of some of these actors and actresses who are actually engaged in Communist work and who are disguising themselves as stars of the screen.

Senator TENNEY. Of course, the members of our staff, and ourselves, are convinced of the character of many of these people, as composing a

conspiratorial group and an underground group, but they are always under assumed names. About the only thing we can do, or you can do in a similar situation, is to draw your own conclusions. We are convinced in our minds. We do know that many of the so-called stars in Hollywood permit their names to be used by Communist-front organizations. We have Edward G. Robinson, whom I think your committee has checked up on; I think you have reports showing him as a sponsor or member of this, that, or the other thing in the way of a Communist-front organization. We have Garfield, John Garfield; Charlie Chaplin. Both of those gentlemen attended a party given by a Soviet writer in San Pedro harbor and entertained him, we understand, at their homes, and in every way have given aid and comfort to Communist-front organizations.

I can't think of all the names, but you will find them also in our 1943, 1945, and 1947 reports.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you recall whether Frederick March is a member of those communist-front organizations?

Senator TENNEY. Frederick March recently appeared as sponsor or executive director, I believe, of the Progressive Citizens of America. I think after the old Dies committee talked to Mr. March some years ago he was rather inactive in that respect for some time. We have reason to believe, however, that he has become more active.

Mr. MUNDT. Am I correct in my memory that Frank Sinatra addressed the American Youth for Democracy organization?

Senator TENNEY. That is right. He was a sponsor of that organization; also one of the sponsors at a banquet given by them, at which they presented awards to certain young Communists who were present. Frank Sinatra and many others have supported Youth for American Democracy in California.

Mr. MUNDT. Has he ever repudiated the American Youth for Democracy?

Senator TENNEY. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MUNDT. Which was declared by J. Edgar Hoover to be a Communist-front organization for youth in this country?

Senator TENNEY. Yes. No; I have never heard any repudiation. That is one of the amazing things our committee has found.

I understand that a man by the name of J. Stanley Moffat has asked to appear here. We subpoenaed J. Stanley Moffatt at one of the hearings last year and we have included his testimony in this report. He was one of the sponsors of the American Youth for Democracy; and when you read his testimony you will find that he says it doesn't make any difference to him whether it is the Young Communist League or the Communist party; they all take the same position.

Mr. MUNDT. It is understandable how people in private or public life could be victimized by some smooth-sounding title and join an organization, but when it has been exposed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an outright Communist organization certainly the finger of suspicion should point to that individual who then fails to repudiate it. Will you agree with that statement?

Senator TENNEY. I would agree 100 percent. There was a time when a person could be excused for lending his name to a Communist front organization. The objectives were usually meritorious. Many people were drawn to these organizations because of those advertised purposes. But I think the time of innocence has passed, because

unless a person is completely isolated—insulated—and he doesn't know what he is doing, he should know better. We have got to do something about that. I agree with your statement.

Mr. MUNDT. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Senator, I was interested in your school situation, the California Labor School, that was using GI funds. That school has to be approved by whom in your State?

Senator TENNEY. By the State board of education.

Mr. BONNER. The State board has approved it? Must have.

Senator TENNEY. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. Must have approved it.

Senator TENNEY. Yes. However, the situation there is this, according to them, that they are confined by the provisions of the GI bill to the facilities of the school. They have no jurisdiction or discretion in the determination of philosophy that might be taught at the school. The American Federation of Labor of California has just recently submitted a report to the State board of education unequivocally condemning the organization as a Communist school. We also have a bill pending, which we hope will correct that situation.

Mr. BONNER. Then the other factor in your public schools, I understand that your whole public-school system is permeated with a degree of communistic teachings?

Senator TENNEY. That is correct; which is exemplified by the situation in the Canoga Park High School, in which we found these two teachers members of front organizations, and the situation in the Chico High School, and the situation in the grammar schools, where they were using the booklet, *Land of the Soviets*, by Marguerite N. Stewart. We know that situation exists. Our files are full of letters of complaint from various parts of the State, telling us that the same situations exist in many of the schools there. As an illustration of the brazenness of some of these people, we have a Muriel Kemp, a schoolteacher in San Jacinto, in Riverside County, in California.

In January she sent her entire State warrant that she receives as a teacher to the magazine *Soviet Russia Today*. I know you are aware of the character of that magazine.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt to make this announcement? J. Edgar Hoover's statement will be broadcast over a national hook-up, and it is very necessary for us all to be as quiet as possible during that time.

Mr. BONNER. Now, with the information we have as to the conditions that exist in Russia under the communistic government—and I gather from you that the purpose of the Communist Party in California is to bring the State of California and the whole United States into that system—

Senator TENNEY. That is the ultimate objective of the Communist Party, in our opinion, after our study.

Mr. BONNER. What do they have to offer, what is the attraction that they bring in all these prominent people, leaders in all the sciences, arts, and professions? What do they offer that they can gather in those people that are, so evidently, prominent?

Senator TENNEY. You are Mr. Bonner?

Mr. BONNER. Bonner, that is right, of North Carolina.

Senator TENNEY. I think, Mr. Bonner, that is very easily answered. What did Hitler offer them? After all, we found, before the war we found many, many people, many of them people of some prominence, who were out-and-out Nazis; they saw something in the promises of Hitler. I think we have to seek for that, Mr. Bonner, in the psychological processes of individuals. It is my opinion—and I am speaking now of my own opinion—that most Communists, whether they be movie stars or whether they are just laborers, are suffering from some sense of guilt, a frustration complex. We find in teachers psychologically a certain frustration. They seek some outlet for their ego. There is no greater back-slapping organization in the world than the Communist Party. They carry out assignments and do the things that Mr. Dennis did here this morning. There is a great ego-inflating situation as the result of that sort of thing. These people, of course, are baited with beautiful pictures of a Utopia. They don't read Kravechenko, for instance, and other people who have made a study and have had an opportunity to see Russia under the tyranny of a dictatorship.

Mr. BONNER. Might we have quiet, please? This is a serious matter to me. I think we should have more order in the audience. I don't care about the audience. I want to find out what these people have in mind in joining these organizations. I think you are rendering a great service to your State and your Nation. Some of the questions I might ask might not be so impressive to other people, but they are to me because I have a decision to make.

Senator TENNEY. That is right.

Mr. BONNER. You have made an exhaustive study. What is the best thing that we can do here in Congress to maintain our form of government and to bring certain people into the light and crush down something that is, evidently, and I am convinced, destroying this country—not for me or for you, or for us sitting here, but for our children and grandchildren. I want to perpetuate it for them. What is the best thing we can do?

Senator TENNEY. I believe there are several things we have to do. I don't believe there is any one remedy that will take care of the whole situation. I think first we have got to take a firm stand. I believe there is a time when tolerance becomes treason. I think we have to recognize that and recognize it now. I think we have got the right to say to these people who have as their avowed purpose and objective the destruction of this Government, the Constitution, and everything that we as Americans fight to uphold, and for which many of us were willing to die, we have got to do something about that and do it in a firm and prompt manner, we have got to say that you cannot be a traitor.

Mr. BONNER. The mere fact that they are members of the Communist Party means that they are traitors to this country; isn't that the fact?

Senator TENNEY. In my opinion, yes. They all take an oath of allegiance first to Soviet Russia as the arsenal for the conquest of the world by Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism. That is their avowed objective.

I think, in addition to that, we have got to be very careful not to destroy any of the rights and liberties that our people have under the Constitution. It is a delicate situation. A very difficult thing

to do, but we have got to have courage to do it. I think, too, in addition to that we have got to do everything we can to make our democracy, our own economic position, attractive, to make it work. I think that is a very important part of the job that we have before us.

Mr. BONNER. I realize that time is growing short.

What is the percentage in the population of the State of California, in your opinion, who are Communists?

Senator TENNEY. We believe we probably have in California between nine and eleven thousand Communists. It may be more or it may be less. I don't think, if I may suggest it, that that is important. Bukharin, if you recall, who was very close to Marx until he was expelled from the First International, stated that the Communist Party is a small compact group of revolutionists. He said, "Give me 100 Communist revolutionists and I will take over Europe."

Remember the Communist Party of Russia has held its membership to a small number. There were only 30,000 in Russia when they overthrew the Government. The Communists employ a psychological philosophy moving the masses to their destruction. They moved the Russian people to believe that they had a republic but they ended by having a Soviet dictatorship. They do not attempt to recruit people into the Communist Party. They move them along.

They are doing that in California now by trying to tell the veterans that the legislature and their Government won't do anything about housing. We had a march on the capital Monday by thousands of deluded people from all over the State. There was red bunting tied on the aeriels of cars. Many of these people are innocent of what is happening. The Communist Party believes that when conditions become chaotic they will take the leadership, set up a Red Army, and put into effect the dictatorship of the proletariat, and then it will be too late.

Mr. BONNER. Thank you. I have the highest regard for your patriotism.

Mr. MUNDT. Even today in Russia less than 3 percent of the population belongs to the Communist Party.

Senator TENNEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for coming.

(A short recess.)

(Testimony of J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, will be found in the back of this volume as part 2.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair will announce that tomorrow at 11:30 we will have as the first witness Mr. Louis E. Starr, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

At 2:30 we will have Mr. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Advisory Committee.

At 3:30 p. m., we will have Gov. Kim Sigler, of Michigan.

We now have as our next and last witness today, Mrs. Julius Talmadge, president general of the DAR.

Mrs. Talmadge, do you mind standing and taking the oath?

Mrs. TALMADGE. Thank you.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Mrs. Talmadge, you have a statement. I understand.

Mrs. TALMADGE. Yes. Thank you.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. JULIUS Y. TALMADGE, PRESIDENT GENERAL,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

Mrs. TALMADGE. Chairman Thomas and members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, for many years the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution has advocated, urged, and fought for many things, including:

First. To secure adequate national defense.

Second. To stamp out communism in the United States.

The first objective seeks to protect our country from without. The second objective, of course, is to protect our country from destruction within.

These two defense policies fit in with the Americanization program of the Daughters of the American Revolution. It is a broad program dealing largely with educating youth, helping the underprivileged, and aiding aliens to become true citizens of our country.

We are criticized frequently for our stand on the issues of national defense and communism. We have been called militant trouble-makers because we urge preparedness and adequate defense. We have been pictured as Red baiters and false-alarmists, because we have always warned of the dangers of communism within our borders.

At long last, however, the country has learned, or at least is learning, the value of preparedness. The people of the United States are now aware of the dangers confronting not only our country but all democratic governments because of the encroachment and spread of communistic doctrines.

The infiltration of communism, as we all know, has vastly increased since the end of World War II. Perhaps we have been too concerned about the problem of a lasting peace and have failed to recognize the insidious spread of the poison in our own country.

Now we are confronted with a real menace. We know for a fact that communism is firmly rooted into our labor organizations; into many branches of our Government; into many of our organizations; and even into our schools.

I was impressed by a recent statement of J. Edgar Hoover, and I quote from Mr. Hoover himself, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that Communists have made their greatest advance in America during the past 5 years. Mr. Hoover declares that in our vaunted tolerance for all peoples the Communist has found our "Achilles heel." The head of the FBI, and he should know, flatly declares that—

The "divide and conquer" tactics did not die with Hitler—they are being employed with greater skill today by American Communists with their "boring from within" strategy. Their propaganda, skillfully designed and adroitly executed, has been projected into practically every phase of our national life.

At the present time we are facing a grave crisis and we must determine what our policy shall be in aiding Greece and Turkey and other nations which are threatened with Communist domination. We of the Daughters of the American Revolution therefore note with deep satisfaction that the Congress of the United States and the heads of various Government departments are alert to this crisis and are studying the entire problem in an effort to determine what must be done to protect and preserve our form of government and our institutions.

I have been asked by your chairman to express an opinion upon the various bills now pending before the Congress, which strike at communism and communistic activities.

I have studied three bills and I declare my support of all of them. Moreover, it is my intention as President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution to bring these measures before the members of our resolutions committee at the fifty-sixth Continental Congress of our National Society, which will convene in Constitution Hall in this city on May 19. It is my hope that our organization with over 156,000 members will wholeheartedly indorse this pending legislation and urge passage of the various bills.

The bill of Chairman Thomas, H. R. 2275, as I understand it, would create a Federal Loyalty Commission to ferret out disloyal Government employees and see to it that they are discharged from holding Government employment.

It is my judgment that this legislation is necessary, because, as we all know, it is exceedingly difficult to prove that a person is a Communist. Few indeed will admit their true identity. We all know that Communists work in secret. They are quick to deny their communistic affiliations. It is to their advantage to work under cover. Consequently, a commission set up with the power to investigate and secure proof against suspected Communists is needed if we are to keep Communists or those with Communistic beliefs from spreading their poison as Government workers.

The bill of Representative Rankin of Mississippi, whom I know well, merits solid DAR support. It is H. R. 1884. It is time to stop the spread of communistic propaganda through the mails. It is time to stop the teaching of communistic doctrines no matter how subtle, in our public schools. It is time to prevent election of candidates to Federal or State office who are avowed enemies to our form of government.

Likewise, the measure of Representative Sheppard, of California, H. R. 2122, is in accord with DAR policies. This sweeping measure strikes directly at the Communist Party and the communistic organizations. It also strikes at organizations engaging in political activities which are affiliated with foreign governments or with foreign political parties.

I certainly believe legislation is needed to stop the subversive activities which are going on around us. Communism should be outlawed in the United States wholly and entirely.

We are now faced with the President's proposal to loan \$400,000,000 to Greece and Turkey in an effort to close the front door against totalitarian infiltration. Are we going to leave the back door wide open for Communists and fellow travelers to spread their poisonous work inside our own country?

Communism can be outlawed in the United States, because those preaching communistic doctrines are not merely finding fault with our Government. Their real objective is to undermine and destroy our Government so that a totalitarian government under the Moscow pattern can be substituted.

I realize, of course, that much of the subversive propaganda carried on in the United States is boldly distributed because of the guaranty of free speech. I would like to make it clear that members of the DAR stand firmly behind the Constitution of the United States and the

Bill of Rights. We would be the first to object to any infringement on the right of free speech. It is one of the priceless liberties for which our ancestors fought.

Those who preach communistic doctrines within the United States and who are citizens of our country might argue they have the right under free speech to say what they please. They have the right up to a certain extent.

Americans can criticize their form of government, their public servants, their lawmakers and the laws under which they live. No thinking American fails to appreciate these rights.

However, when Communists and their kind advocate the destruction of our form of government (which provides and guarantees the priceless privilege of free speech), and the substitution of communism it is time to take action. That is why I say legislation is needed to curb the activities of Communists and outlaw communism in the United States.

Many DAR members realize the danger to our country in the spread of communism, not only in governmental circles and in the ranks of labor, but also in our schools and in our patriotic organizations.

Members of the Daughters of the American Revolution oppose the Communist Party and are not identified with any of the Communist fronts now masquerading under high-sounding patriotic names. Our members pledge their allegiance to the American flag. They also subscribe to the American's Creed.

I believe it would be a good thing to require every public school teacher in the United States to swear to the oath of allegiance and also support the American's Creed. Every American should know the American's Creed of which your own William Tyler Page is author.

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign States; a perfect Union, one and inseparable; established under those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes.

I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag; and to defend it against all enemies.

Every American citizen should believe in the Constitution of the United States and in our principles of government. An American citizen should hold no allegiance whatsoever with any foreign political party or with any subversive organization working to destroy our form of government.

I have been told that in many instances there is no check whatsoever on the political beliefs of college professors and teachers or of teachers in our high schools and also those who teach our children in the grade school.

We are face to face with the fact that communism is an organized movement that has pushed its way into our schools. It has reached a place of power in our labor organizations. It not only controls Eastern and most of Western Europe, all of the Balkans except Greece, but it is in control of Manchuria, northern Korea, and northern China. It is ready to engulf Turkey and the Near East. It has gained a strong foothold in Canada and its ramifications within the United States are amazing.

In this country expansion of communism has been helped through various "front organizations." Most of these have patriotic names and are seemingly peace societies or democratic organizations. It is difficult to trace direct communistic connections with some of these organizations, but their activities often betray them.

The DAR has long been an organization singled out for attack by these "fronts." They have sought to ridicule our Society, to obstruct its work, and to destroy it by seeking to spread discord and strife within our ranks. We are a favorite target.

Our organization and similar organizations will continue to be the object of communistic attacks until proper legislation is adopted which will restrict such un-American activities and will unmask the true identity of those behind the attacks and their real motives.

The time has come when the mask must be stripped from these organizations with deceptive names whose real purposes are to promote communism and the spread of subversive propaganda.

We should revise the definition of the word "traitor." Just how far can a person go in seeking to destroy our form of government before he is committing an act of treason? How far can a person go in plotting to overturn our Government before he can be branded a traitor?

Bouvier's Law Dictionary defines treason in criminal law, as "a betraying, treachery, or breach of allegiance." The Constitution of the United States defines treason against our country to consist in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

The Law Dictionary says:

Every person owing allegiance to the United States who levies war against them, or adheres to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort within the United States or elsewhere is guilty of treason.

We are still thinking in terms of Benedict Arnold when we think of traitors and of treason. The terms should be revised.

The United States is the leading nation of the world. It cannot afford to permit communism to flourish within its borders. It is time to clean house.

We must set an example for our good neighbors of the Western Hemisphere. They too are beset with Communists and communistic propaganda.

Legislation to combat communism within the United States will not only protect this country but will also point the way for Canada and to the nations of Central and South America to rid their countries of this menace. We must remain united and strong.

I thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Talmadge, it was very good of you to come here today. I am just sort of a little apologetic for the fact that we weren't able to put you on when you were supposed to go on, but you understand just why that was so.

Mrs. TALMADGE. Oh, indeed I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I know you were certainly interested in the remarks of Mr. Hoover, so you can feel that your time wasn't wasted.

Mrs. TALMADGE. Absolutely. I was delighted to hear his wonderful address.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, there are some questions we would like to ask you, and if you don't mind, we would like to ask those questions now.

Mrs. TALMADGE. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. You say, Mrs. Talmadge, that we should clean house. Of course, it is very easy to say that, and we have been saying it for a long time, but the Communist Party in the past few years, even though we have been saying it, has made progress. They have probably made more progress in the United States in the last five or six years than they ever have in any other period in the history of this country. Just how would you clean house?

Mrs. TALMADGE. I think I would follow what this committee is doing. Right now they have started to clean house. I would start with—

The CHAIRMAN. In other words—

Mrs. TALMADGE. Certain departments of government and go down; or start at the bottom and go up.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you would have an exposure and a continued exposure, day after day and month after month, until such time as the American people woke up to the great dangers that confront them?

Mrs. TALMADGE. Definitely. I am so afraid you will stop before you go far enough.

The CHAIRMAN. We won't stop. I can assure you of that.

Mr. Peterson.

Mr. PETERSON. I was impressed by your statement, particularly by the fact that you didn't mince words when you were dealing with treason. In this country there are many acts that are actually treasonable, but the difficulty has been in proving them. I have been inclined to believe there should be an amendment to the law, and, from Mr. Hoover's statement today, he somewhat agreed with me on that. There were people turned loose that should not have been turned loose, in this critical period of time.

I am deeply appreciative of the support that you and your fine organization have given us, in a period when a lot of other people were throwing rocks at us. This committee hasn't had an easy role, but they are beginning now to develop facts which for some time we were trying to develop.

I think you made a fine contribution today.

Mrs. TALMADGE. Thank you very much. I don't think your committee has had any harder time than we have. In fact, we have worked hand in hand, as you know, with your fine committee and also with the FBI. We stand right back of you, in everything that you are doing. I hope the appropriations will come through, so that you can extend your work. We are back of you always, 100 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much Mrs. Talmadge.

Mrs. TALMADGE. Thank you for allowing me to come. I think it is just about the greatest honor that has come to me since I have been president of the DAR.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting stands in recess until tomorrow.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, and Hon. J. Hardin Peterson.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, chief investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The Chair wishes to announce that tomorrow the first witness will be former Gov. George H. Earle of Pennsylvania, at 11:30 a. m. The next witness will be Peter Cacchione, councilman from Brooklyn, N. Y., who will appear at 2:30 p. m.

This afternoon we will have as witnesses: At 2:30 p. m., Mr. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Advisory Committee. At 3:30 p. m., Gov. Kim Sigler, of Michigan.

We will now have as a witness Mr. Louis E. Starr, commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Mr. Starr, will you please rise and raise your right hand and be sworn?

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starr, the committee appreciates very much your appearance here today, particularly in view of the long trip you had to take, as I understand it, all the way from the Pacific coast, in order to get here this morning. Do you have a statement?

Mr. STARR. I have, Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be pleased to have you read that statement.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS E. STARR, COMMANDER IN CHIEF, VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS OF THE UNITED STATES, ACCOMPANIED BY OMAR B. KETCHUM, LEGISLATIVE COUNSEL; BONNER FELLERS, PUBLIC RELATIONS CONSULTANT; AND JAMES W. CANNON, LEGAL COUNSEL

Mr. STARR. Mr. Thomas and members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, I welcome and appreciate the invitation to appear before you today as commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, an organization of some 2,000,000 combat veterans of

America's wars, fought for the purposes of making this world a better place in which to live. The patriotism and true Americanism of this democratic organization cannot be questioned or challenged and as its spokesman I was glad to interrupt an important tour of the Pacific Northwest to fly to Washington to appear here today.

Also, I appear before you as a part of the Red baiters menace-America brigade, which, according to another witness who appeared yesterday before this committee, includes the Veterans of Foreign Wars, along with the Attorney General of the United States, officials of the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, and the Catholic hierarchy. The witness who so labeled the Veterans of Foreign Wars is Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party of America, and you can read his indictment in pamphlet form for exactly 1 cent. No inflation there.

That the Communist Party and others who adhere to totalitarian dogma look to the millions of veterans as fertile grounds for membership and propaganda fodder is no secret. We are involved every day in these efforts. Recently a member of my staff spent 2 weeks in New York weeding out communism in our local posts. In California, I have the record of one post which harbored 10 card-carrying members of the Communist Party.

Because of the activities in behalf of what's known as Americanism, I am under the well-known smear campaign in certain parts of the Nation. We, in the Veterans of Foreign Wars, are inclined to action in regard to those who deliberately set out to disrupt and confuse. And by action I mean throwing them bodily out of our meeting places and out of our organization.

Let me say at the outset that the time element is not long enough for mere Red baiting. These days of domestic confusion and fear and world conditions of confusion and fear are not long enough for spellbinding, political oratory, headline-grabbing, or selfish fear. Those among you in Congress, in Government, in business and labor who condone traitorous citizens or noncitizens and allow a helping hand to them in the way of employment, position, or power, because of political or any other personal consequences, are not the kind of men and women for whom the members of my organization fought. The time has arrived, and make no mistake about it, when double-dealing, double-talking politics within the Nation and without the Nation, in diplomacy—which is merely a polite word for politics on an international scale—must be at a minimum.

The control of Congress passed from one political party to another last November. And already, despite the great and favorable press enjoyed in the intervening months since that election, great doubts are arising in the minds of the people and fear rears its ugly head again and asks, Is this but another example of politics as usual with all eyes on the political fortunes of tomorrow and all hands carefully sat upon lest one hand be raised in unselfish, determined gestures for the welfare of all America and Americans?

You may aid or stymie efforts to house veterans; repeal laws which have been distasteful; attempt to strengthen the chances of democracy around the globe—and all of that is good or bad according to our own beliefs and experiences—and all within our jealously guarded and hard-won rights through individual enterprise and freedom. And in doing all of these things there remains the

specter of tomorrow when all of America's efforts toward a better life may sum themselves up as our one and great and last individual enterprise. And that could be our security, within and without, and our life expectancy as history's greatest nation.

SIMPLE COMMUNISTIC PRACTICE

Infiltration by the Communists in our midst is an ambiguous statement. Yet, the workings of the party and the party line are as simple as the word carried by innocent campus groups who control class elections by word-of-mouth campaigning. We learned from the master propagandists of the Nazis that the big lie repeated over and over finally becomes the truth to multitudes. One line of propaganda, from a centralized focal point, such as the Communist Party, spread throughout our land through our free institutions and organizations soon becomes a mighty voice among the people. It's the word-of-mouth strategy—more successful than any other promotional or advertising program ever worked out by our own alert, brilliant advertisers or promoters. In fact that word-of-mouth campaign is the goal sought by the super-superexploiters of our colossal motion pictures. Gentlemen, it is a great underground movement at work and it has always worked.

And that is why the Veterans of Foreign Wars is determined that Communists shall be rooted out, the prevailing party line shall be exposed, and the understanding of our members continually increased.

And that is also why, gentlemen, the power of the Communist is present and a growing menace. Surely, it is no secret at this late date that the Communist Party members and their spineless, brainless stooges and fellow travelers have penetrated into our social, educational, religious, industrial, labor, and governmental structures.

Primary responsibility is bringing into the light of day and eliminating these borers from within with these same organizations, schools, churches, industries, labor unions, and local and State and Federal Governments.

VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS NOT RED BAITING

We are not engaged in a postwar Red-baiting campaign. We have, since our founding over 47 years ago, been engaged in a program of Americanism through education and understanding. The true patriotism of 2,000,000 fighting men resents any implication that we are "stooging" for any combine of finance, industry, international bankers, or other "tagged" enemies of the Communists, Fascists, or Nazis.

In the days immediately preceding the war we felt the same. In 1939 our national encampment viewed the situation and agreed that—subversive activities have increased by leaps and bounds. It must be remembered that it is not necessary that a person be an actual member of the Communist Party, or the Facist or Nazi groups which have established themselves in this country, in order to support their cause. * * * While it is evident that a well-directed and well-conceived plot is in progress to destroy our present form of government, both through radical activities and through conquest by immigration, nevertheless the national department of Americanism holds to its policy that the best way to combat subversive activities is not to attempt to suppress them by force contrary to the laws and doctrines of democracy * * * but to bring to the American public the full meaning and intent behind such activities.

The national organization was charged by its forty-seventh annual encampment, in September 1946, with exclusion by law of Communists from the ballot. Our staff has weighed and analyzed this mandate and the implications that it may violate the Constitution or tend to drive the communistic movement underground. Before such a drastic program is adopted, an offensive campaign of public education must be waged to bring a rebirth of the doctrines of true Americanism. If the real Americans in organizations, schools, churches, industry, labor unions, and government were as voluble and active as are the spokesmen for subversive organizations, and as much effort or money spent on real youth programs as in undermining propaganda, the problem would, in my opinion, be largely solved.

Again in 1940, Past Commander in Chief Bernard W. Kearney, currently a Member of Congress from New York State, reported as chairman of our committee on national defense.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Mr. Peterson is present.
Mr. STARR (reading) :

A most important lesson learned from the war in Europe today is the advent of the Trojan horse, the so-called fifth column. Again let me remind you that for years we of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States have called upon those in authority to pass the laws necessary for the abolishment of all Nazi, Fascist, and Communist organizations. We must be immunized against their technique. * * * The above-named organizations are the instruments of revolution. * * *

In 1941, we resolved to outlaw uniforms with foreign insignia used by subversive groups and also urged Congress to further investigations of subversive activities, and expose anti-American elements and individuals within the Federal and municipal governments of our country.

Regardless of the fact that Russia is our military ally—
the Veterans of Foreign Wars 1943 encampment declared—

and regardless of the fact that Russia has ostensibly, through her own statements, thrown overboard that part of her constitution which calls upon the Third International (Russian Communist Party) to overthrow all so-called democratic nations by force and violence, Communists in all countries continue to operate. Communism is more dangerous than ever before. Necessary war-time regimentation provides opportunities for un-American elements which cannot be used by them in time of peace.

And in 1945 it was reported to our national encampment that—
the national department of Americanism has recorded the names and histories of thousands of persons and organizations who are apparently trying to tear down American democracy. * * * Those records reveal Communists, Fascists, Bible-quoting "patriots," seditious flag wavers, and others who specialize in attacking American ideologies, Government, and our future as a peace-loving nation of free peoples.

Just what would the Communists do here?

Carefully analyzed, the program of the Communist Party itself offers no solutions to the imagined and real problems of our Nation and people.

During the heat of the 1936 Presidential campaign, the National Press Club in Washington gave minority party candidates for the Presidency a chance to address the members. Earl Browder, the Communist Party candidate, in answer to a direct question of what he would do should he be successful in his campaign, offered no concrete program.

The American people have never accepted the dogma that "man lives by bread alone." Certainly we are materialistic in our concept of life, but at the same time we, as a nation, have spiritual and humanitarian roots far deeper than the accepted materialistic "on" possessed by Communist fanatics.

Joseph Stalin said this:

The Communist Party of America is one of the few Communist Parties of the world upon which history has placed tasks of decisive importance from the point of view of the international revolutionary movement. The moment is not far off when a revolutionary crisis will be unleashed in America; when that revolutionary crisis comes * * * it will mark the beginning of the end of world capitalism. The Communist Party of the United States must be aimed to be able to meet that historical moment and to head the forthcoming class combats. (Communists Within the Government, published by Chamber of Commerce of the United States, January 1947.)

Let's look at that statement for a moment. Communistic dogma, which is one of the world's worst forms of reaction, because the teachings of Marx are stationary, allows for no change. The United States and people are assumed to remain in a fixed position until the day strikes when communism rushes in and takes over.

The objects of the Communist antagonism also are expected to remain fixed. Monopoly, imperialism, exploitation, big business, and so forth, presumably are holed up fearfully waiting for the day when comes the revolution. The whole ideology assumes that fixed enemies remain stationary. Were all the dogmatic rantings against America true, we would never have a change in politics; never have conservative nor progressive cycles; never see new industries, banks, men, or policies come to the national front.

The Communists never seem to understand that all bankers do not agree on policy, economics, or politics; that children disagree with American fathers; that subsidiaries of our great corporations are at times in a death struggle of competitive effort with other subsidiaries of the same parent corporation. They do not understand that taxes run the Nation rather than outright confiscation or public ownership. Seemingly they do not understand why this Nation can produce an atomic bomb; organize a fighting force the like of which the world has never seen; an industrial effort beyond the wildest dreams of even the strongest proponents of American free-wheeling economy.

We could go on in this manner hour upon hour and get no place, because we learned long ago that a wise man can change his mind, but a fool never does. In their stupidity, ignorance, dogged determination to divide and rule, ruin or rule, suspicions, hatreds, closed minds, and dulled senses, Americans who are members of the Communist Party, groups, fronts, and other affiliates are fools—plain fools. They are unworthy of the heritage of those who built this land as a haven for the oppressed and slave-ridden spots of the world; unworthy of the efforts made in the last war by our millions of decent men and women; unworthy of protection, or any respect, or even our healthy indignation. The spotlight of public opinion should be focused upon them.

That the infiltration of communistic ideology into high places may be brought into the purifying light of public opinion, I offer for your consideration a series of pertinent questions which have been presented to the Veterans of Foreign Wars from various sources and

which we, due to limited resources and lack of investigational facilities, are unable to explore:

1. Are individuals with communistic records, leanings, or sympathies now admitted to assignment at officer candidate schools, aviation cadet training, security and intelligence duties, or other secret or confidential activities within the Army or Navy?

2. Who was responsible for the employment of such notorious pre-Communists as Corliss Lamont; H. W. L. Dana, supporter of Browder for President and American Peace Mobilization which picketed the White House; Sergei Kaurnakoff, military writer on the staff of the Daily Worker; Harriet Moore, director of the pro-Soviet American-Russian Institute; and Joshua Kunitz, writer for the New Masses; Vladimir Kazakevich, lecturer and writer for Communist publications. All were engaged in some phase of training Army officers at Cornell University in Ithaca, N. Y.

3. Charges have been made that Communists are organizing a program of youth subversion with a definite program for infiltration into existing youth organizations and that new organizations of Communistic complexion are being formed, especially among students in schools and colleges. At a meeting of an international Communist organization in Czechoslovakia last summer the youth of many nations, including the United States, was represented. What steps are being taken to halt Communist subversion of youth in the United States?

4. What is being done to expose Communist propaganda aimed against military training and preparedness?

5. Is it not a fact that the new Win the Peace Movement, the Congress of American Women, and the League of Women Shoppers carry on their sponsor lists some identical names as those who endorsed the American Peace Mobilization organization which picketed the White House prior to Hitler's attack on Russia, June 22, 1941? The American Peace Mobilizers have been cited as subversive by the Attorney General, the United States Department of Labor, the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, the California Fact Finding Committee on Un-American Activities, the New York Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods for Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes.

6. What action is contemplated against the United Public Workers Association, which has been repeatedly characterized as Communist controlled by authoritative sources in Government and private enterprise?

7. Why are foreign-born educators and lecturers permitted to enter the United States and influence public opinion without proper screening of their political beliefs and ideologies?

8. Are not certain groups characterized as communistically controlled granted the same tax-exempt privileges as educational and patriotic organizations?

9. In order that steps may be taken to prevent recurrence of apparent mistakes might it not be well to inquire why admitted Communist sympathizers were permitted in places of trust and authority in the armed services? Edward Newhouse, a former member of the staff of the Daily Worker was commissioned a major and placed on the staff of Gen. H. H. Arnold; Lt. Richard L. Criley, at one time head of the Young Communist League of California spoke on an

Army Hour radio program on the handling of labor affairs in Sicily; William Candell, former member of the Spanish International Brigade and former editor of the Transport Bulletin, was in charge of information and education programs at an Air Service Command where he was stationed as a sergeant.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars recommend:

1. That American labor organizations, industry, educational and religious groups, fraternal, and patriotic organizations and local and State governments apply the same loyalty tests to their ranks as the President of the United States has directed be made for Government officials and employees.

2. So amend and strengthen National and State laws applying to elections and party designation to provide close scrutiny and publicity of funds spent to aid the election of candidates for public office, with special prohibition of use of funds supplied directly or indirectly by a foreign government to influence political activity.

3. Strengthen the laws having to do with education to provide for a thorough screening of textbooks and courses used in public education. Strengthen statutes governing boards of education to provide for a screening committee composed of members representing organizations of unquestioned Americanism to recommend curricula and texts, and provide methods for fixing responsibility for dissemination of subversive teachings.

4. A continuing program of public education, formulated by a duly constituted Government authority composed of representatives of patriotic organizations, religious, educational and youth groups, labor, management and agriculture. Such a program should have the dual function of (1) exposing subversive activities wherever they may appear and inquire into all their ramifications and complexities and (2) reinstilling within the breasts of all Americans the burning fervor for the ideals for which every generation has given its finest manhood and shed its best blood. By the process of comparison the blessings and fruits of forthright patriotism and love of country and its institutions will be revived; what these institutions are and the principles they typify; the good life and well-being that have flowed from them—these results of strength and good living will equip our citizens with the stoutest of weapons—truth and fervor—to combat foreign ideologies.

In addition to that, Mr. Chairman, I should like to make one observation in regard to the President's purge of disloyal Government employees.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars is intensely interested in how this purge is to be implemented. We are wondering if the ones who permitted the infiltration will be entrusted with the purge. It appears to us that before the President's policy can be implemented those who permitted the infiltration should be removed from their offices.

Then, Mr. Chairman, in connection with this subject, I should like to present one that is very closely allied. In discussing the threat which unrestrained communism and related "isms" pose against our traditional American concept of democracy and free enterprise I would like to point out that the problem should be considered in two phases—domestic and international.

The former—domestic—relates to internal tranquility with respect to orderly government, maximum production and a high standard of

living while the latter—international—relates to national security and international trade and relations. The domestic problem has been rather generally covered by witnesses before this body, including myself, but the international problem has been either neglected or sketchily touched upon.

I would fall short of the mark and be remiss in my duty if I failed to comment and offer a recommendation with respect to the international angle involving national security and international trade and relations.

We would be attempting a "fool's paradise" if we seek only to establish domestic tranquility and ignore outside pressures which might jeopardize our very existence as a free nation.

If domestic tranquility, orderly government, free enterprise, and individual liberty are desirable, within, they should be worthy of protecting and defending from outside pressure. Therefore, maximum precaution, in view of present world tension, demands immediate consideration by the Congress of the following security recommendation:

Repeal the existing Atomic Energy Control Act and restore control of atomic energy to the military through the President and a joint bipartisan congressional committee.

This proposal to restore control of atomic energy to the military is new and I will attempt to briefly outline my reasons therefor.

The recent proposal by the President to extend financial aid, together with military and technical advisory service, to Greece and Turkey has far-reaching and potential implications. The President and his advisers frankly admit the proposal is intended to halt the rapid encroachment of communism in that area, which threatens the "four freedoms" throughout the world.

The President and his staff are undoubtedly in possession of certain facts and information which has not heretofore been available to the American people. The proposal to extend direct aid to Greece and Turkey is a frank admission that all is not well on the international scene, and that a challenge to democracy and freedom has again reared its ugly head.

In view of this situation and the need for the United States to present a determined front to the world, what better answer could we give to our challengers, wherever they may be, that we are prepared to act if the challenge becomes intolerable. Atomic energy and the atom bomb was developed under military control. To date, atomic energy remains largely an instrument of war in the form of a superexplosive. As such, I can think of no better or safer hands in which to repose it, than those which led us to a great victory, our military leaders, with supervisory control exercised through the President and the Congress.

To those who may view the military with suspicion and distrust, let me say that I have no fear for our Nation, my family and myself, that men like Patterson, Forrestal, Eisenhower, Nimitz, MacArthur, Vandegrift, and Spaatz, would ever abuse the confidence and trust imposed in them by our Nation.

If and when world conditions have become more settled, and our thoughts can turn to the development of peaceful and benign uses for atomic energy, the Congress, by joint concurrent action, may revive the Atomic Energy Commission and relegate the military to an advisory capacity.

Can you think of a better psychological approach in these disturbing times, to warn the challengers of democracy everywhere, that we mean business and are prepared to support our position on the "four freedoms"?

Mr. Chairman, if there are any questions that the committee or yourself would like to ask in connection with this, my staff and myself would be very happy to answer them.

I have just returned from a trip through the three Western States of California, Oregon, and Washington. I had occasion there to discuss with our men in those States the Communist problem on the west coast and I find that it is serious indeed. I find that in my own State of Oregon there are presently two schools of communism operated by Communists for Communists, turning out leaders to go into labor, industry, into our schools as instructors. I charged that when I was there. It was admitted that they did have classes and had just completed a "fine" class of proponents of their philosophy. I find the same thing in the other two States.

In our organization we are rapidly ridding our organization of anyone who carries a Communist card or who is a fellow traveler advocating or acting subversive to our organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Starr, you have made a very forceful presentation. The committee will ask you some questions.

Before we ask those questions, I want the record to show that a quorum is present.

I want to say to you, Mr. Starr, that I am 100 percent with you on the transfer of the atomic bomb development back to the military. If we put the atomic bomb in the hands of a group of "milk toasts" we can be certain that we can just hurry the day when the bomb is going to be used against us.

Now, in your statement you said that communism is more dangerous than ever before. One of the reasons why it is more dangerous than ever before is that we have had a lot of "milk toasts" in this Government who just permitted these Communists to get the foothold that they have gotten over the last few years.

Now, I would like to have you develop a little bit that statement of yours where you say that communism is more dangerous than ever before.

Mr. STARR. Mr. Thomas and gentlemen, I believe that they have not only permitted it to come into our Government, but there has been encouragement, particularly during these war years.

It is my thought that some of these people who have brought into positions in Government service men and women who are known to be Communists or fellow travelers have done so intentionally. Naturally, with one of our allies being Russia, it was thought the patriotic thing to do, perhaps, to bring them in. Many of them, no doubt, were brought in unintentionally, but it is my belief that during these times many of them have been brought in intentionally to spread the propaganda in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't they start to bring them before we went into the war? I can recall the days of the old Dies committee when we were fighting the situation then.

Mr. STARR. They have been coming in for the last 20 or 25 years. In fact, soon after World War I they started coming in.

The CHAIRMAN. Under your recommendations, the fourth one, in which you advocate a continuing program of public education formulated by a duly constituted Government authority—let's look at that in somewhat of a practical light. Supposing we some day should have a President who didn't see eye to eye with you today, didn't see eye to eye with our present President, and he should form an authority and do it with these so-called "milk toasts." What protection have we got? They would educate these people all right. They would educate the people like the people have been educated many times over the past few years. How would you protect us against that?

Mr. STARR. It is very difficult in any period to tie to the individual the tag of communism or any other "ism." Many of these that you term "milk toasts," may not even belong to the organization and it is difficult indeed to ferret them out.

In my opinion our Congress should have that power and authority to control that situation. It should not be left, in my opinion, with one individual.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only questions I have at this point, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I want to be recorded as agreeing with both you and Mr. Starr on the control of the atomic bomb. I think that is a great suggestion.

In your study of these matters have you devoted any time to the history of Karl Marx, the prophet of the Communist Party, to his life?

Mr. STARR. I have read that, Mr. McDowell, I have studied it for some 15 years. I have been active in this work, not alone in veterans work, but in an endeavor to enlighten the public on the dangers of communism. So I have studied his life, I have studied his history, and I cannot see where it can fit in, in any portion, in our American way of life and our thinking in this democracy.

Mr. McDOWELL. Well, Commander, I wonder if you would not agree with me that it should be said in this year of 1947 for the record that Karl Marx was what in modern times, these days, would be known as a "bum," a rather shiftless scoundrel, who would do anything but work, who lived all his life on somebody else, whose family also lived on somebody else, whose family was kept in near starvation most of their life, the ideals that he wrote about died, apparently, with Karl Marx; I think it should be written into the record that although this political crowd is running Russia and spreading this business throughout the world, the only connection they have with Karl Marx is merely to mention his name once in a while, that Marshal Stalin refers frequently to the sayings and the philosophy of Karl Marx, but practices none of them. Would you agree with that?

Mr. STARR. I wouldn't say that he practiced none of it. I think that he in some measure bases his present actions on some of the theories that might have been enunciated at that time; but I do believe with you that he was a renegade, a scapegoat, that he thought very little of home life, of human life.

Mr. McDOWELL. Commander, it is my observation—and I will close with this—that the only modern so-called Communist who attempted to follow the teachings of this—and I repeat—"bum," was Trotsky, and Trotsky was murdered.

That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peterson.

MR. PETERSON. Commander, do you recognize that probably a border line exists in the field near to treason that has not yet been covered by statute? I refer to the particular case in which the court turned loose a man who had made contact with a man who landed in this country for the purpose of espionage and his confederates, and kept his money a while, and the court pointed out in that particular case that the degree of evidence didn't show treason, but there was a border line of treasonable action that had not been covered by congressional legislation. I believe you are somewhat familiar with that particular case.

MR. STARR. I agree with you. I think it is sedition. I think that many of the acts that are perpetrated today by Communists and by many of the so-called fellow travelers are treasonable and seditious, and the only reason, perhaps, that some of the courts have not held them so was because we haven't had some act in our Federal statutes making them a crime; that they are perhaps border-line cases. And being a lawyer myself I know how some lawyers in defense can make it appear as though they are not treasonable or seditious.

MR. PETERSON. Of course, treason is the highest of all crimes, and takes the highest degree of proof, and the proof, the requirements, are set forth in the Constitution.

MR. STARR. That is true. That is one reason why I, and I think my organization, from the many national encampment mandates that have been given us, are in favor of both H. R. 2122 and H. R. 1884.

MR. PETERSON. You feel there is room for legislation in which we can crush activities of that sort and not go to the extent of the old alien and sedition laws?

MR. STARR. Definitely.

MR. PETERSON. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

MR. NIXON. Mr. Starr, you mentioned a couple of examples as to how the VFW has had to weed out Communists out of its organization. Can you describe briefly the methods the Communists use to infiltrate the posts where they obtained positions of power?

MR. STARR. We have found that in many instances they have been encouraged by the Communist Party to affiliate with the posts. They have been servicemen and have the eligibility required by our organization. They have come in unknown as to their Communist tendencies and have taken positions of trust in committees, and have spoken on behalf of the organization in various circles as representing the organization and its views. And when we find them, as we have in recent months, several of them, we have immediately taken steps to expel them from the organization, not because they are Communists, but because they have violated their oath in becoming a member.

An attempt some time ago was made by a veteran organization to expel one of its members who carried a Communist card, a Communist Party card, and the supreme court of the State in its holding said that the man must be reinstated, that merely belonging to a political party known as the Communist Party did not brand him as an undesirable, since the party was recognized by the State as one which might appear on the ballot. They were forced to reinstate him.

We want none of that in our organization. Our application provides that they certify that they do not belong to the Communist Party, nor participate in meetings with any group of a subversive character.

Mr. NIXON. That is stated on the application of membership?

Mr. STARR. It is now. We have recently changed it so that it is in our application. It is in our rules of discipline of the organization, and it is in our bylaws to the extent that it says, "shall not participate in any organization meetings that are subversive."

Mr. NIXON. That is a step which has not yet been taken by the American Legion. I was interested in your comments on that point.

Mr. STARR. I wouldn't know as to what they have.

Mr. NIXON. Then would you say that the Communists who infiltrate into veteran organizations do so not so much because they are attempting to win recruits, but because they like to use the veterans' organizations as a cloak for statements that they make publicly for Communist causes?

Mr. STARR. Not only that, but also for the political preferment and control of the organization. And in two organizations of ours they have come in particularly to divide the organization, stir up discontent and disunity among the members of the organization.

Mr. NIXON. When you have attempted to remove the Communists from the posts, have they resisted those attempts or have they gone willingly?

Mr. STARR. They have resisted, and in one instance, where I just visited and discussed the matter with the officers of one State organization, they were called in and asked, "Are you a member of the Communist Party?" Knowledge of that was known to them before. This one man said, "I won't answer you," and walked out the door. So steps had to be taken to expel him.

But they have resisted it to the greatest degree and have threatened that if they were removed from membership they would bring action in our courts. To date they haven't brought any action against us.

Mr. NIXON. I was interested in your statement on the growth of communism on the west coast. J. Edgar Hoover was a witness before the committee yesterday and he submitted figures showing the number of Communist Party members throughout the United States. The State of New York was first. That would obviously be expected because of the population of New York. But going on down the line in the first five States in the Nation California was second, and Oregon and Washington were among the first five. Now, do you think that there is anything significant in the apparent attempt of the Communist Party to concentrate on the west coast, because, considering the population on the west coast, that is far out of proportion to the number you should expect?

Mr. STARR. Yes; I think it is significant. Much shipping is done from the west coast. Much of our raw materials are on the west coast, particularly in the Northwest. And certainly if this Nation is embroiled in another international situation they in the Northwest, along the Pacific coast, can do much to sabotage our efforts. We find them in the lumbering and logging industry. We find them along our water fronts. We find them in the factories and in the industries that we have there. And they have schools in all three States.

Mr. NIXON. You would say then that the Communists are making a particular effort to concentrate on the west coast area?

Mr. STARR. It is my—I say so; yes—and I feel this, that there is one more reason. Alaska is the key to the peace of the world, and it is only a step from Alaska to our west coast.

Mr. NIXON. During the recent world conflict they used to refer to the section of the Balkans and Italy as the “soft underbelly of Europe.” Is it not also true, geographically speaking, that the west coast, considering the distance from there to Asia and to Alaska, to Siberia, is at the present time the most easily accessible area from a military standpoint to attempted Communist attack?

Mr. STARR. I think perhaps that I might ask one of my staff who is very familiar with the Asiatic situation and the west coast situation to answer that. Bonner Fellers, my public-relations consultant.

Mr. FELLERS. The statement made by Commander Starr that Alaska is the key to the peace of the world is definitely correct. As progress comes in aircraft and the ranges are increased, the peace of the world can be held from Alaska, and I should say that if the Northwest were occupied or its efficiency impaired it would be a serious blow to Alaska, and in that sense I should say strategically an enemy would be tremendously concerned with his strength in the Northwest.

Mr. NIXON. Does the VFW have posts in Alaska?

Mr. STARR. We have.

Mr. NIXON. Have you noticed any communist activity in your Alaskan department?

Mr. STARR. We haven't had any information on it, but I am sending one of my staff members there in a short time.

Mr. NIXON. It would seem that should be investigated.

Mr. STARR. That is right. He is going to investigate it now.

Mr. NIXON. That is all.

Mr. VAIL. Commander Starr, you have made reference to the attempted infiltration of Communists into the ranks of the VFW, and I am wondering if you have noted the effort of the organization to infiltrate the ranks of other veterans' organizations.

Mr. STARR. I have only rumor to that effect. I have been told by members in other organizations that such is the fact, but I have no personal knowledge of it.

I think perhaps that the most outstanding piece of news along that line is when the son of our late President said that his own organization, the American Vets Committee, was filled with Communists, and it was getting beyond the point where he could stand it, and they had to clean their own house, in his organization. That is one of the new organizations that has come up since World War II. He himself made that statement, so it is indicative of what is happening, perhaps, in all others.

Mr. VAIL. Senator Tenney testified yesterday to the effect that the American Veterans Committee on the Pacific coast was being used as a vehicle for the spread of communistic propaganda. Do you concur in that viewpoint?

Mr. STARR. I only know what I hear. I have no personal knowledge of it, not being a member, but there is that talk in California.

Mr. VAIL. In Washington recently the Veterans of Foreign Wars, by resolution, decided to have no association with any patriotic activ-

ity with the American Veterans Committee. Do you know of any reason for that?

Mr. STARR. That came out from my office, and it was on the basis—at least it was placed upon this basis—that we did not recognize the American Veterans Committee as a veterans' organization because they accepted into membership other than servicemen, that in addition to those who had not served in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, they accepted many other classes of people, and even the shipyard workers, upon the payment of \$100 for membership, and since it was not a veterans' organization strictly, we would not participate with them, when the avowed group was veterans, because we would object to such a program, to participate with any other organization that was not all veterans.

Mr. VAIL. Recently, the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House excluded the American Veterans Committee from testifying before that group on the ground that they were not strictly a veterans' organization. You are in accord with the disposition indicated by the House committee, are you?

Mr. STARR. I think that that was within their prerogative, to exclude them. We don't consider them as a veteran organization. I have, I might say, one in my own Northwest, called the Yank Legion, that is composed of almost anyone they want to bring in to the organization. We don't consider that as a veteran organization. There are many of them that have sprung up since the war along that same line, for political and economic reasons, and if we were to accept one, we would have to accept the others as full-fledged veterans' organizations.

I think they were within their rights if they wanted to do that.

Mr. VAIL. You have indicated accord with the two bills that have been presented to this committee to outlaw communism. The other day Ambassador Bullitt and Dr. Schmidt, of the United States Chamber of Commerce, came before this committee and stated that they opposed the passage of legislation outlawing communism for the reason that the effect of such legislation would be to force communistic activities underground. Do you agree with that, that that would be the result of such legislation, or can you enlarge a little bit on your position on that point?

Mr. STARR. Well, may we not say the same thing about some of our felonies? Let us not legislate against robbery or embezzlement; we might drive the criminals underground. We might say the same thing of communism, because I feel that the practice of communism in this country and the activities that they have engaged in are just as surely a crime against this country and against society as some of our felonies are.

Mr. VAIL. Thank you very much. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

The Chair wishes to repeat that we appreciate very much your coming this very long distance to be here as a guest today. You made a very forceful statement. It will be very helpful to the committee in its deliberations.

The Chair also wishes to announce that at 2:30 this afternoon we have Mr. Eric Johnston. His statement may be broadcast so that we will have to start promptly.

We will stand in recess then until 2:30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 2:30 p. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. Karl E. Mundt, Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, and Hon. John E. Rankin.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Before we have our first witness, two of the members have short statements to make. Mr. Nixon?

MR. NIXON. Mr. Chairman, yesterday Eugene Dennis appeared before this committee and refused to give his real name. Upon your direction I have investigated the record of Mr. Dennis and I find that he is the same person as Frank Waldron, one of his numerous aliases, that he is wanted by the Los Angeles police department on a bench warrant issued after he jumped an appeal bond following his conviction of violation of Penal Code section 406—attempt to riot. The charge was filed March 8, 1930, and he was convicted on April 14, 1930. I have been informed by the Los Angeles police department that if Frank Waldron or Eugene Dennis, as he now calls himself, returns to Los Angeles County jurisdiction he will be apprehended and jailed.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. McDowell.

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I listened yesterday to the statements made by Eugene Dennis, and among other things he said that he had never done anything dishonorable. In pursuance of the report just given by my colleague, Mr. Nixon, it is interesting to learn this, that Eugene Dennis was born on August 10, 1905, the son of Francis Xavier Waldron, Sr., and Nora C. Vieg. This couple filed application for a marriage license on April 11, 1904, at Seattle, Wash. Dennis' mother died when he was quite young, and his father, Francis X. Waldron, Sr., died on March 29, 1928, in the Northern State Hospital for Insane, Sedro Woolley, Wash.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I want to call your attention particularly to this: Eugene Dennis registered for selective service under the name of Francis Eugene Waldron with Selective Service Board No. 33, located at 455 Central Park West, New York City. On these records he stated that he was born August 10, 1904, at Seattle, Wash. The records of the Franklin High School reveal that Francis Waldron was born at Seattle on August 10, 1905, 1 year later. The Selective Service Regulation No. 615.1, entitled "Registration," states, "Persons who were born on or after October 17, 1904, and on or before October 16, 1919, group 1, were required to be registered on October 16, 1940."

In view of this information, Mr. Chairman, and I believe the information is true, I think it would be applicable to call this man a draft dodger.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell, do you have any recommendation to make in regard to it or do you want the committee to just take the information under advisement?

Mr. McDOWELL. I bring the matter up for the committee to discuss.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take the matter under advisement and decide what the proper course shall be.

The first witness this afternoon is Mr. Eric Johnston. We are very pleased to have you with us, Mr. Johnston. Do you mind being sworn?

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down, Mr. Johnston. Do you have a prepared statement?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be very glad to hear it.

TESTIMONY OF ERIC JOHNSTON, PRESIDENT, MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Mr. JOHNSTON. One of the intensive issues in America today is whether the Communist Party is an American political party or a fifth column of foreign agents engaged in an undercover conspiracy against the welfare and safety of the United States.

In view of recent developments at home and abroad, I believe it is essential for the Congress to outline a policy definitely fixing the status of Communists and the Communist Party in the United States.

The evidence is conclusive that Communists are a disruptive force in American industry and labor, and that their constant under-cover movements are designed to create chaos and conflict and to cripple our productive system in every way they can.

What most Americans want to know is whether these disruptive tactics are inspired and motivated by Soviet Russia: whether American Communists owe their loyalties and allegiance to Russia.

I think they do. Most Americans think they do. But the Government, based on facts, must determine whether the American Communist is or is not a foreign agent.

When I suggest that course, I am not concerned about the legitimate political activities of Communists or any other minority group. I believe that under the Constitution, an American citizen has a right to advocate a collectivist form of society in this country if he so desires. The Socialists advocate a form of economic collectivism, but no one accuses them of disloyalty or conspiracy. They are loyal Americans who operate within the framework of our constitutional system.

America has never been afraid of new ideas. We welcome them in all fields—political, economic, and social. The free play of ideas is the strength of democracy. It is the competition of ideas which makes America strong. But sedition is not competition. It is conspiracy.

Consequently, I am concerned about the conspiratorial activities of the Communists. I am concerned about the charge that Communists in this country are foreign agents and that the American Communist Party is in fact an arm of an international conspiracy whose purpose is to overthrow this Government by force and violence.

Conspiratorial activities do not constitute legitimate political activities and they should not be tolerated under that guise. There is no constitutional immunity for sedition, subversion, or treason.

But when we consider specific legislation dealing with the Communist Party, we must make sure that we don't chip away our freedoms to get at conspirators. It would be evasive to contend that nothing should be done; it would be folly to do anything which might, in the long run, prove as harmful as the things we seek to correct. By word or deed, we must never give the impression that Communists are outside the pale of the law's protection. There is no legitimate prey for manhunts in the United States; such things are repugnant to the moral sense of the American people. The protection of the innocent is still supreme; there is no higher duty under our American system of jurisprudence.

I would rather have the Communists on the ballot than risk the danger of undermining the right of franchise. I'd prefer to extend the Communists every right to propagate their beliefs by means of the written or spoken word than to risk the danger of undermining the right of free speech. The Bill of Rights is not selective. It is not to be extended or withdrawn by whim, caprice, or arbitrary choice. It is a sacred part of the fundamental law of the land. It expresses the very essence of American belief.

These are some of the dangers we must avoid in dealing with this issue—dangers not to Communists, but dangers to ourselves.

Nevertheless, we are not powerless to do something about the Communist Party.

This committee and this Congress have the responsibility to determine whether the American Communist is a foreign agent owing his loyalty to a foreign power or simply an American who wants to change our economic and social system by constitutional means.

If it is determined and agreed upon by all branches of government that the American Communist Party is in fact a fifth column, disloyal to the United States, then I have these recommendations:

One. I believe that as conspirators, they are no more entitled to immunity from the law than any other conspirators. If their actions are criminal in nature, they should be dealt with as such. If their actions are treasonable in nature, they should be dealt with as such.

If the treason and sedition laws are adequate to deal with their conspirational activities, enforce them.

If these laws are inadequate, strengthen them.

I'm talking about legal processes. In this country, we prosecute and we don't persecute. Here in America, a man is considered innocent until he's proven guilty.

Two. The President has ordered a loyalty check for all employees of the executive departments of the Federal Government. It is implicit in this policy that a Communist is disloyal to the Government.

Equally important to the destiny of America are the actions of our free associations—the corporation, the cooperative, the union. If a Communist cannot be trusted as an employee of Government, he cannot be entrusted with posts of leadership in directing the affairs of those free associations. Can anyone justify a double standard in dealing with Communists in America?

They should not be allowed, by law, to hold office in a corporation, a cooperative, or a union where they are in position to pursue their disruptive tactics. They have no loyalties to these associations just as they have no loyalty to America.

Three. What a Communist most dreads is to be labeled a Communist. Expose a Communist to the pitiless spotlight of publicity and his potential for harm is immediately isolated. But tag him we must. I endorse wholeheartedly the principle of Mr. William Green's recommendation to this committee that management and labor must work together to expose and to eliminate Communists in industry and in unions.

If management and labor don't do this together, then the wrong kind of people will be using the Communist tag to smash unions.

We must be scrupulous to avoid indiscriminate labeling. Every time you tag an innocent person with the red label you play into the hands of the Communists. I'm not interested in the pastel shades—the parlor pinks or the salmon-colored zealots who fall for every fad that comes along. My concern is the red conspirator, the man who uses the freedoms of democracy to destroy democracy.

I wish now to comment on an observation made before this committee yesterday by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. He described how the Communists have reached out to employ the radio and the motion picture in their propaganda activities. Mr. Hoover said that several years ago the Communist underground directed its agents, in effect, to infiltrate Hollywood and do everything possible to poison the screen.

But if the Communists set out to capture Hollywood, they have suffered an overwhelming defeat.

Here is the evidence: American films are the target for bitter, organized attack by Communists all over the world. The Communists hate and fear the American motion picture. It is their No. 1 hate.

Relatively few foreign peoples read American publications or hear American radio programs. But millions of them see American motion pictures daily. They not only see them, they welcome them and love them.

In most countries which are Communist-dominated, there is virtually a complete ban on American films. In other countries our pictures are under constant attack by vigorous Communist minorities.

About a year ago, our Government made a fair and reasonable film accord with France. French Communists made a bitter attack against the accord and they have waged a constant campaign of vituperation against American pictures ever since. In countries behind the iron curtain, Communists resist the showing of American films and use every bait possible to lure the people into houses showing Soviet films. In some cases, they even offer free tickets and free transportation. But the bait is no good—the people still clamor for American films. That story, in one form or another, has been repeated time and time again.

American ambassadors abroad have urged us to do everything we could to hasten the reentry of our pictures into countries from which they were excluded during enemy occupation.

The American motion picture industry at great financial sacrifice is supplying pictures for the occupied countries of Austria, Germany, and Japan to assist in the reorientation of these former enemy peoples. In Germany alone this operation has cost the industry more than \$500,000 so far.

The industry can well be proud of this contribution to our national policy in former enemy countries.

I also want to point out the great service being performed by American newsreels. They are in demand everywhere. They are factual and informational. They tell more graphically than any other medium the day-to-day story of free America.

American films give the lie by visual evidence to totalitarian propaganda. The old tale about the break-down of capitalism in America becomes pretty flimsy stuff after people have had a chance to see our pictures and draw their own conclusions. Pictures which are produced under a democratic form of government inevitably reflect democratic habits of thought and life and action. They are bound to convey some of the virility, the zest, and the joy of living which are characteristic of life in our country. These are qualities which other peoples need most at this time, and these are the qualities which make American films hated and feared by Communists everywhere.

The best evidence that Communists have failed to poison American motion pictures is the campaign they are now carrying on to block these films from the screens of the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Johnston. There are a few questions the committee would like to ask, if you don't mind.

In the first place, in connection with your statement as to whether or not an American Communist is a foreign agent, the Chair wishes to announce that tomorrow this committee will issue a documentary report establishing without a scintilla of doubt that very point—that an American Communist is a foreign agent.

Now, you say if those laws are inadequate, strengthen them. What specific recommendations as to how they could be strengthened could you make?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation do not have sufficient power to prosecute Communists, then they should tell you what they need, what additional laws they need, to expose and prosecute them as aliens and seditionists.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do have confidence in the FBI?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I certainly do.

The CHAIRMAN. Why do you think J. Edgar Hoover made the statement in which he described how the Communists have reached out to employ the radio and the motion pictures in their propaganda?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I think that Mr. Hoover undoubtedly had evidence to that effect, or he wouldn't have made the statement.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't agree with that, though?

Mr. JOHNSTON. No; there are undoubtedly Communists in Hollywood. I am simply saying that propaganda has not reached the screen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you mean to say that none of their propaganda can be found in any of our moving pictures shown in this country?

Mr. JOHNSTON. The best evidence that it isn't there, Mr. Chairman, is the fact that we are so bitterly hated by Communists everywhere; we are bitterly hated by Communists in all lands.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any industry in the United States that isn't hated by the American Communists?

Mr. JOHNSTON. It is a part of our capitalistic economy; I presume that is it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. I will yield to my colleagues.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. NIXON.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Johnston, one statement Mr. Hoover made yesterday was that communism was, in his opinion, very similar to fascism. The statement has been made here several times during these hearings that communism "is red fascism." From what you know of communism, having traveled in Russia to an extent, and having read widely on the subject, would you agree with that observation, that as far as communism and fascism is concerned, there is little difference and a great deal of similarity?

Mr. JOHNSTON. They both believe in totalitarianism; they both freeze the mind.

Mr. NIXON. You believe that we should attempt to avoid the setting up of a Communist government in the United States as well as to avoid the setting up of a Fascist government in the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Why, of course.

Mr. NIXON. I recall that one of the most effective methods of bringing home to the American people the evils of fascism as practiced particularly in Germany was the motion picture. I recall many films which were sent out during the period when Hitler was rising to power and during the period when he had overrun many of the countries of Europe showing the concentration camps, the totalitarian methods, espionage, torture, all the crime that comes whenever you find a totalitarian regime in a country and spread it throughout a continent as Hitler did. I think you probably would recognize many of those films if I called them by name.

Can you tell me today the names of any pictures which Hollywood has made in the last 5 years showing the evils of totalitarian communism in the way that they showed the evils of totalitarian fascism?

Mr. JOHNSTON. There are a number of films which Hollywood is making now to show the advantages of democracy; to show how democracy operates. There are a number of films showing the advantages of living in America; the opportunity afforded in a free economy. It appears to me that the best way to fight any "ism" is to show how our democratic system works so that the people will thoroughly understand it. Hollywood is doing that at the present time.

Mr. NIXON. Isn't it true, though, that Hollywood did find, and the Nation did find, that it was also a very effective way to fight fascism, to show the people that fascism was not simply a glorified capitalism, as Hitler tried to tell the world? I think you would have to agree that those films were particularly effective. By the same token, do you not feel that there are many people in the United States today who believe that communism is simply an advanced form of democracy, and that in addition to selling democracy as we know it in the United States, which I agree with you is most important, that we should also tell the people, through the motion pictures, as well as through committees of Congress, and our other institutions, the evils of totalitarian communism, as the motion picture industry told them the evils of totalitarian fascism?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I think undoubtedly the motion-picture industry will do so.

Mr. NIXON. But they haven't done so in the past; isn't that the case?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is generally correct.

Mr. NIXON. In fact, I don't believe that I can recall a single film of that type which could be compared with the film which came out on

the Fascist question, and that is the reason I have made the observation.

You have said that although there are Communists in Hollywood today that you don't feel that they have infiltrated the movie capital, as evidenced by the fact that the showing of our films is opposed so much in Communist countries.

However, in saying that, obviously, you have admitted that there are Communists there today. Is the motion picture industry doing anything to stop the infiltration of the Communist influence in Hollywood, or to root out any of those who are Communists or Communist sympathizers and who might use their positions in some subtle manner to affect the film or affect a script in some way?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If the Communists are members of labor unions, the labor unions have to handle that matter themselves, because we employ workers through the labor unions in Hollywood. I understand that the unions are effectively attempting to stamp out Communists and communism in their unions in Hollywood. If they are members of the talent guilds, we have contracts with them, and to discharge them, or—to discharge them would mean, of course, that we would be subject to contract liabilities in the courts.

In other words, there is nothing which will enable us to discharge a person in Hollywood because he is a Communist.

But I think that the unions are effectively working on it. I believe that the guilds are effectively working at it.

Mr. NIXON. Don't you also think that a great deal of effective work can be done in the cutting room by management where at least management is supposed to have the say-so?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Management has a good deal of say-so in the cutting room, of course. Others, technicians, who work for unions, are in the cutting rooms also.

Mr. NIXON. And you mean that management couldn't override a technician if they felt the technician—

Mr. JOHNSTON. Of course they could.

Mr. NIXON. Don't you think they should?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Of course they should, and I am sure that they do if they think any communism is going into the films.

Mr. NIXON. In your typewritten statement you have submitted, I noted that you have indicated that Communists should not be allowed to hold office in a corporation, a cooperative or a union where they are in a position to pursue their disruptive tactics.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Right.

Mr. NIXON. Then you added the words "by law", as you made the statement.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Do I understand, then, that it is your position now that the Congress should enact legislation which would provide that Communists should not hold office in corporations, cooperatives, or unions?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes, Mr. Nixon, that is my position.

Mr. NIXON. I see. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. Mr. Johnston, you mentioned a moment ago, in the course of testimony, that you thought that the Federal Bureau of Investigation should make recommendations to the proper authorities with respect to the necessary legislation to properly stem the tide of com-

munism. You are aware, of course, that the Federal Bureau of Investigation essentially is a policing organization and has no power or authority to suggest legislation?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Vail, I said that either the FBI or the Department of Justice.

Mr. VAIL. But you included the FBI?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes; should make recommendations if they haven't sufficient power.

Mr. VAIL. Testimony before this committee in the last few days has indicated that there are several prominent figures in the moving picture industry, prominent actors in particular, who support communistic activities. I have in mind in particular the names that have been mentioned, March, Robinson, and Sinatra and Cagney. In your opinion, are those individuals concerned with the progress of communism in this country?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I have no knowledge to that effect.

Mr. RANKIN. What was that question?

Mr. VAIL. The question concerned the moving-picture actors or actresses who were interested in the promotion of communism in this country; and Mr. Johnston has stated that he knows nothing of such activities.

If those activities became known to you, Mr. Johnston, would you recommend the elimination of those individuals from the moving-picture industry as you have recommended the elimination from union organizations and Government service?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If they hold offices in the unions or in their guilds, yes, I think they should be prohibited by law from doing so if they are Communists and/or proven to be Communists by trial, as we do in the United States. Then, it seems to me, they should be publicized. The very fact that they are exposed to the world as Communists is sufficient to eliminate them, in my opinion.

Mr. VAIL. You are aware of the fact that this committee has before it the problem of considering legislation to outlaw communism. You have taken a definite position, as I understand it, against legislation toward that end?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes, I have, but I don't think it is important. The important thing is: Are the Communists conspirators? If they are, they should be exposed and prosecuted. The important thing isn't whether Communists believe in collectivism as a political belief. The important thing is, in a land of free speech and a democracy, whether they are carrying on conspiratorial activities. If they are, they should be prosecuted and exposed and prevented by law from holding key positions in associations of unions, or of cooperatives, or of management.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Johnston, you say that where Communists conspire to overthrow this Government they should be prosecuted?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Right.

Mr. RANKIN. Are you aware of the fact that communism is a conspiracy against this Government?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I believe that it is; but if it is proven to be so I think they should be prosecuted.

Mr. RANKIN. Have you any doubt?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I personally have not. In our country we do things by law.

Mr. RANKIN. One of the most dangerous influences they can get their hands on is the moving-picture industry. You said a while ago that, as I understood, you would not fire one or prevent them from participating in the movie industry if you knew they were Communists.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I would prevent them from holding offices.

Mr. RANKIN. That is not the thing. The man who makes the picture, to poison the minds of children of this country, through the moving-picture industry, is just as dangerous as the man who plants dynamite under a defense plant in time of war, and it is your duty, it is the duty of every patriotic American, to drive from every position they possibly can those enemies of our country who are conspiring to undermine and destroy it. Unless that is done you are going to have some very drastic legislation with reference to the moving-picture industry from the Congress of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I think they should be exposed; should be prevented from holding office. I think their very exposition would eliminate them. But I don't think, Mr. Rankin, we are ready for concentration camps yet in America. Men have to earn a living. I think this: If they are doing things which are conspiring or treasonable, they should be prosecuted and dealt with as real criminals.

Mr. RANKIN. Yet you say you would not prevent them, try to prevent them, from making pictures or working in the moving-picture industry, even though you knew they were Communists?

Mr. JOHNSTON. A man who works in the moving-picture industry, unless he directs the plot, or cuts the film, hasn't very much to do with Communist propaganda in the films. Mr. Rankin, before you came in I said that unquestionably, in my opinion, there were Communists in Hollywood, but that they had not had an effect upon the American films, because we are hated in every land in the world in which communism holds sway.

Mr. RANKIN. Who is hated?

Mr. JOHNSTON. The American motion-picture industry. We are forbidden in most of the countries behind the iron curtain; we are forbidden and fought by Communist Parties in every land in the world.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Johnston, they don't have to hold office even in a labor union to be effective, but unless your outfit, the moving-picture industry, is willing to purge those subversive influences, it is going to have to be done by the Congress of the United States.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Rankin, we are doing everything in our power to do that legally. We cannot discharge a man from a union because he says he is a Communist.

Mr. RANKIN. All right. Let's see whether you can or not. You mean you can't discharge a man working in your enterprise when you know he has joined a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is different. If that is proven he is in a conspiracy and should be prosecuted by the Department of Justice.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what communism is. It is dedicated to the destruction of this Government. It is dedicated to the destruction of

the American way of life and to every business enterprise in America.

Mr. JOHNSTON. All I say to you is, Mr. Rankin, prove that he is a Communist; if he is engaged in conspiracy he should be prosecuted.

Mr. RANKIN. Yes, but listen: I am surprised at your attitude. I think you are going to have to revise your position and join us in this crusade to save America from its enemies within our gates. And you can't wink at them in the moving picture industry.

Mr. JOHNSTON. We are not winking at them in the motion-picture industry, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. And continue to enjoy the confidence of the American people.

Mr. JOHNSTON. We are not doing that.

Mr. RANKIN. Today we are in a deadly conflict with oriental communism and western civilization. Someone yesterday, or the day before—2 days ago—described Stalin as the Genghis Khan of the twentieth century. I thought that that was putting it rather bluntly. But we are today in deadly conflict between those two ideologies and there can be no compromise.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Rankin—

Mr. RANKIN. In this country.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I hope you are not impugning in any way the American activities of the motion-picture employers in Hollywood.

Mr. RANKIN. I am, some of them, I will say.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I want to tell you right now there is no group of more American people in the country than are those in Hollywood. I want to tell you some of the things they are doing, just for information—

Mr. RANKIN. I know some of the things they are doing, and I know some of the things they are doing that probably you don't know, and I can tell you now, you need a house cleaning, need it very badly, and I think you are the man to start it.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Johnston, on page 3 of your statement you say:

This committee and this Congress have the responsibility to determine whether the American Communist is a foreign agent owing his loyalty to a foreign power or simply an American who wants to change our economic and social system by constitutional means.

The implication of that statement can be taken in one of two ways. One, that you have doubt as to whether or not the American Communist is a foreign agent and I wonder, in view of the testimony of J. Edgar Hoover yesterday, who said flatly that it was, if any such doubt really prevails in your mind.

Mr. JOHNSTON. None at all. In fact, on the first page, if you will read it, I said that I had no doubt that they owed their allegiance to Russia, which means, of course, they are foreign agents. I say I do know. I think most Americans think they are. There is no particular doubt in my mind, but I think it is up to the Government to prove it. We are not engaged in witch hunts in America. This is a free land, and I think we ought to prove whether they have any connection with Russia and certainly the Department of Justice will be able to prove it. I think they probably already have the proof—in my opinion.

Mr. MUNDT. This committee has been endeavoring to prove that for 8 years, and I believe the FBI has. We have had witnesses now,

such as Mr. Bullitt, the former Ambassador to Moscow, who says that the Communist Party is a foreign agent. I wonder, from your standpoint, and you are of better than average intelligence, you are an intelligent American, and one of our distinguished laymen—

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you.

Mr. MUNDT (continuing). Whether any doubt remains in your mind.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I said there was not.

Mr. MUNDT. There was not. Thank you.

Mr. JOHNSTON. But we do not persecute, we prosecute.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right. That is what we are endeavoring to do.

On page 4 you say that they, referring to the Communists, should not be allowed to hold office in a corporation, a cooperative or a union where they are in position to pursue their disruptive tactics. In view of the fact that some of your statements indicate that you do not feel that the Communist Party should be outlawed, I wonder if you could give the committee some constructive tangible specific suggestions as to how we can prevent them from holding offices of the type that you spell out.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I see no reason why you can't pass legislation prohibiting a man who is a member of the Communist party from holding office. He can hold office in the Communist Party, but he should not be allowed to hold office in a corporation, a cooperative, or a union where he is in a position to do a great deal of damage and a great deal of harm.

Mr. MUNDT. You feel we can do that without outlawing the party, which, in the minds of many of these people would be—

Mr. JOHNSTON. Outlawing the party really wouldn't do any good. They tried to outlaw the party in Canada. You know the result. Other witnesses before your committee have testified as to the result. This stuff about driving them underground, that is a lot of hooey. They are underground already. Outlawing the party isn't going to drive them underground because they are already there.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you have something there.

Mr. JOHNSTON. The important thing is: Are they conspirators? I believe they are, but I think it is up to our government to prove that they are by law, as we do all things in a democracy.

Mr. MUNDT. You have one statement here, Mr. Johnston, that disturbed me a little bit—only one—but I am going to read it out of its context to give you a chance to amplify your position a little more fully. You say:

I am not interested in pastel shades—the parlor pinks or the salmon-colored zealots who fall for every fad that comes along.

Let me contrast that with the testimony of Mr. Hoover yesterday, who said that Americans should be warned against joining front organizations which carry out the activities of the Communist Party, and that the burden of proof should be placed on those who consistently follow the ever-changing, twisting Communist Party line.

I don't think that that fully carries out your actual opinion. I think you are concerned about the dupe. I think you are concerned about the so-called intellectual innocent, whether wittingly or unwittingly, carrying out the Communist line.

Mr. JOHNSTON. The dupe quickly gets out of the boat if he understands that it has a false bottom in it. What we should do is to expose

the Communists. These people who have fads of thought and who go for one fad and then another fad, we shouldn't be too worried about, in my opinion, if we will expose those who are the leaders. In every instance where we have exposed the leaders, as the union leaders in those few instances where they have, the rest have fallen away like leaves from an autumn tree. So the important thing, it seems to me, is to expose the leaders, the men who are the conspirators.

Mr. MUNDT. It doesn't always work out that way. We asked Senator Tenney, from your State of California, yesterday, for example, whether or not it was correct that one of your constituents, Mr. Sinatra, had addressed and endorsed the American Youth for Democracy in California, and he said he had. We have exposed the American Youth for Democracy as a Communist organization. J. Edgar Hoover has exposed it as a Communist organization. There is no longer any doubt because the Communist Party admits parent-hood of American Youth for Democracy. But so far as the record reveals Mr. Sinatra has never at any time, dupe though he may be, taken himself away from his endorsement of the movement. It doesn't always work that way, does it?

Mr. JOHNSTON. In most instances that I know of it has.

Mr. MUNDT. And where it has, I agree that we should not be unduly suspicious of the dupe, but where a man, in the position of Mr. Sinatra, fails or declines or refuses to remove his endorsement of the Communist organization, don't you feel that that is inimical to the best interests of America?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I am unfamiliar with the facts.

Mr. MUNDT. Assume that the facts are correct, as Mr. Tenney stated.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I assume that men who are Episcopalians go to the Episcopal church on Sunday, and when you see a man in the Episcopal church every Sunday you assume that he is an Episcopalian.

Mr. MUNDT. I think that is a very apt and completely satisfactory answer.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you.

Mr. MUNDT. The other question I have to ask is concerning the industry which you represent as its official spokesman, and that has to do with the American moving picture industry's responsibility in this whole job of eradicating communism. You have said, as a very able protagonist of the industry, that it has done some great things to help curtail communism, that it has not permitted the infiltration of communism to color its pictures, and have stated that the Communist Parties in foreign countries are adverse to having the admission of American films.

I saw an American picture in Moscow, produced in Hollywood, which I was very ashamed to have seen in the capital city of the Soviet as typifying the American life. It was not a pro-Communist picture, but it certainly was not a pro-American picture. You know and I know—although I might admit it more freely than you—that the film industry has had some pro-Communist pictures, to wit, Warner Bros. Mission to Moscow, which J. Edgar Hoover referred to yesterday as a prostitution of the historical facts.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Mundt, that was a picture based upon a book by a capitalist, Mr. Davies, our Ambassador to Russia.

Mr. MUNDT. I might suggest that most of the Communist branches in this country are supported by American capitalists.

Mr. JOHNSTON. If they are they should be prosecuted, just the same. If you notice, I have included the corporation, as well as the union and the cooperative.

Mr. MUNDT. That is right.

I don't expect to take any action at this late date about the Mission to Moscow, but I wonder whether you could advise the committee, out of your vast experience, of the title of any American picture which is equally pro-American as that picture was pro-Russian.

Mr. JOHNSTON. There are many that are equally pro-American that are being shown abroad. Let me give you an illustration of that.

Mr. MUNDT. That is what I want.

Mr. JOHNSTON. We finally made a deal with Czechoslovakia to sell pictures in Czechoslovakia. I believe the Russians have made an agreement with Czechoslovakia that 60 percent of all films shown in Czechoslovakia must be Russian films. But finally the American industry made an agreement with the Czechoslovakian Government to show films. The first film shown there was a picture called *Wilson*, which is the life of Woodrow Wilson.

Another picture shown there was *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*. We have been told by the American Ambassador to Czechoslovakia that the American pictures have been most helpful in presenting the American point of view in Czechoslovakia. Other illustrations could be given you of a similar nature.

At the present time we are making—I am personally making—a picture in Hollywood on production, the necessity of production in America, how higher standards of living only come from increased productivity per man-hour, how we have raised the standard of living in America in the last 40 years and doubled it, because of increased productivity per man-hour, and how we can double it in the next 25 years by increased productivity per man-hour. There are other pictures being made in Hollywood today showing how democracy works, the advantages of a strong United States. Those pictures will be shown abroad, as well as in the United States.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that a so-called documentary film, or is it interwoven with a story so it will have box-office appeal?

Mr. JOHNSTON. This particular film is a dramatic film which we hope will have a great deal of box-office appeal, and which will be shown not only in this country, but overseas as well. The industry has embarked upon a program of that type. They are short films because we believe it is better to have a number of short, one-reel films, than to have one superfilm. The effect is lost then.

Mr. MUNDT. That is certainly a tremendous step in the right direction, and I congratulate you on it.

Let me ask you if you have produced, that you know of, any films in Hollywood, with general box-office appeal, dramatic films, as you call them, in which there is a definite and determined and intentional anti-Communist slant?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes, I think there have been some produced. I remember a film that was produced to that effect. I can't recall the name of it, but it was a year or two ago. I can get the name and submit it to you. I have forgotten the name.

Mr. MUNDT. It is unnecessary. Let me close by saying that under your able and vigorous direction I hope that those films may become so numerous that the next time you appear before the committee you can recall many of them out of the abundance of your immediate memory.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Johnston, I want to refer again to the film Mission to Moscow, not because you are the head of the great film industry, but because you are a widely traveled man, because you have been to Russia. I saw the film and I thought it had a decided Red color. The interesting thing to me was that many scenes, if you recall many scenes showed an abundance of food in Russia, many kinds of food, all in all a very happy picture was made of Russia. You have been to Russia. Does the film compare with the actual living in Russia?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. McDowell, I have not seen the film, I am sorry to say. It was before I was in the industry.

Mr. McDOWELL. I withdraw—

Mr. JOHNSTON. I will answer your question, because I have understood that it does have a lot of food in the film—food for thought as well as food to eat. No. Except at banquets in Russia, as an official guest, food is not plentiful in the Soviet Union. At banquets it is very plentiful. At official banquets it is very plentiful, more than plentiful.

Mr. McDOWELL. Political banquets?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, I assume that the banquets they gave for me were not political banquets because I was not a politician. One banquet had 62 courses and 32 wines. Those, of course, are unusual. I also want to say this, in defense of Warner Bros., that there has probably been no group in Hollywood that has been more desirous of presenting America in a true light abroad than have Warner Bros. As you know, Mr. Jack Warner, one of the brothers, received a medal from the Air Force, I think just 2 weeks ago, for conspicuous service in the war, and a number of films which they have made and are making to present American life abroad, in my opinion, will be most helpful. I think that the American film industry is a very potent and powerful medium and I believe that the producers of films realize that.

I mentioned in this [indicating statement] that we have spent \$500,000 in Germany alone to show films, at the request of the Army of Occupation. That is to say nothing of what we have done in Japan or in Austria, and have done in other areas. We are also showing films which the State Department wishes to show peoples, not propaganda films, because in our opinion the best propaganda is no propaganda at all, so far as the United States is concerned.

Why did Mussolini and why did Hitler ban the American film before they banned anything else—the American newspaper, the American magazine, or any film from any other land? Why did they do it? I don't know the answer, but I think the answer is that the American film contained within it that element and essence of freedom and liberty which is as unconscious to those who are making the films in Hollywood as the air that they breathe in Hollywood. Undoubtedly that is the reason that Mussolini and Hitler banned the American films. And so that is the reason that I am interested in the industry, this great industry of communications and information. It must be used widely. It is the reason that I have urged the exchange of film from other countries with our own. England, as an

illustration. Because I think we want to know other people, and we can know them better by means of film than by any other means.

Mr. McDowell. Thank you, Mr. Johnston. You have been a very good witness. I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, that we are fortunate to have him back all in one piece if he went to more than one banquet where they served more than 32 different kinds of wines.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Johnston, you say that you would prohibit Communists from holding office—

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. In Federal, State, or county or municipality?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. You would also prohibit them from holding offices in labor unions?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. You would also prohibit them from becoming instructors in our educational institutions, I presume?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If those are deemed of importance; yes. If those are deemed key positions—and in my opinion they would be.

Mr. RANKIN. Don't you think it is a key position when a man has the training of the youth of the country?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If they are teaching conspiratorial or revolutionary ideas, overthrow of the Government by force, in schools, of course, they should be removed.

Mr. RANKIN. Would you want to send your children to a school teacher that you knew was in favor and committed to the overthrow of this Government?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Why, of course not.

Mr. RANKIN. All right. Now, then, don't you think that actors who put on plays should also be, who are Communists, should also be banned?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If you are performing conspiratorial activities; yes. Mr. Rankin, the difficulty is in labeling everyone who doesn't agree with you a Communist—or agree with me—and that is one of the problems. Many of these people have different points of view.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Johnston, you are so busy with your executive duties that I am afraid you don't read some of these films between the lines, read between the lines, but a great many of the people—

Mr. JOHNSTON. I not only read between the lines, but I get under the sheets, too, Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Now, then, I want to ask you about your script writers. Do you permit these fellows to write script, the Communists, to write script for your pictures?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If the scripts that are written are in any way communistic, I have almost complete confidence that the employers would not permit such a script to be used.

Mr. RANKIN. Would you risk having a man write a script or a picture to be shown to the millions of children of this country that you knew was a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If he was using anything communistic in it?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Please bear in mind that after a script is written it is reviewed by a good many people. It is read. It is reviewed by top executives. After it is photographed it is again reviewed and cut.

Mr. RANKIN. And still you can read between the lines in some instances. So I am asking you if you would, if you knew that a man or a woman was a Communist, if you would permit him to write the scripts for the picture shows that you were ending out over the country for the children of this Nation?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If a man is a known Communist, of course, he should not be. I told you a moment ago, as an employer in Hollywood—if we have a contract with a man there is no way by which we can cancel that contract, just because he is a member of the Communist Party, unless he engages in treasonable activity.

Mr. RANKIN. The mere fact that he is a member of the Communist Party, committed to the overthrow of this Government, should justify you in canceling the contract. They threw one great American off the radio there, Cecil DeMille, because he wouldn't contribute to a campaign that he considered corrupt, to which he was opposed. Now, I am going to ask one more question, and then I will close. I note you say that you attended one of these banquets where they had 62 courses and 32 wines. As a matter of fact, that was for the top flight commissars?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Of course.

Mr. RANKIN. You were eating with the commissars. The millions of people who are held in slavery and subjugation in Russia never got into one of those banquets—even with two courses and one wine, did they?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I don't think I was allowed even to see them very much.

Mr. RANKIN. No. If they have their way the same condition will prevail in this country. One of the most potent influences that they could get their hands on—and the reason I am saying this, I have been abused so much that I have become immune to it—but I can tell you now there is a great deal, a rising tide of criticism of the moving picture industry from this standpoint, and the reason I am saying this to you—and I will say, Mr. Johnston, I have known you for a long time, you were head of the Chamber of Commerce, I believe?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I was; yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. And I don't want to see the moving picture industry crippled or discredited, but I think that unless you get busy and clean house and fumigate it—

Mr. JOHNSTON. How would you suggest we do it, Mr. Rankin?

Mr. RANKIN. I suggest that you get as busy as the FBI does. And I am not sure that you couldn't get the assistance of the FBI. And everyone whose loyalty was questioned I would certainly get them out of the moving-picture industry.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Rankin—

Mr. RANKIN. Just as I would get them off of the pay roll of the colleges of the country, just as I would get them off the Federal pay roll, the State pay roll, the county pay roll, and the municipal pay roll. A man who doesn't believe in this form of government, and who is out to destroy or join the conspiracy to destroy it, that man has no right to participate in those activities that control public sentiment or shape the public mind.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Rankin, as I said before, if there is a conspiracy to destroy our Government by force, of course, it should be prosecuted and prohibited.

Mr. RANKIN. It is a conspiracy to destroy it by any method by which it can be destroyed. That has been brought out so forcibly here by Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and others who are familiar with the situation that I don't see how any American can question it.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I do not question Mr. Hoover. I have the greatest confidence in him, Mr. Rankin.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Johnston, I have some other questions.

Mr. JOHNSTON. All right.

Mr. NIXON. There has been a great deal of discussion about the United States going into Greece for the purpose of combating Communist ideas. Recently a comment was made by a person high in public life to the effect that we were just working at the fringes in going into Greece and that where communism has to be stopped is in the United States and in Moscow. For that reason I think this committee was particularly interested in your comments on the effect and power that motion pictures might have for the American form of government and for American ideas when shown in countries which are either at the present time Communist dominated or countries in which there is an ideological battle between democracy and communism as there is at the present time in many of the countries of Europe. So for that reason I think we would be interested in knowing whether or not the motion-picture industry has worked out agreements for the showing of pictures in some of these countries which are either dominated or in which this ideological battle is going on. Can you tell us, very briefly, whether or not you have an agreement in Austria, are American motion pictures shown there?

Mr. JOHNSTON. They are being shown by the army of occupation. There is no recompense to the motion-picture industry. It is a service to the American army of occupation.

Mr. NIXON. You believe the pictures that are being shown are without doubt—

Mr. JOHNSTON. They are double-checked. In the first place we give them a list of what we think are good American pictures and the Army then checks them.

Mr. NIXON. My question was they are without doubt selling America?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. Are they being shown in Poland?

Mr. JOHNSTON. We had an agreement with Poland which was consummated—you know that most of these countries operate as monopolies and we have to deal with the government, not with the private individual—we worked out an agreement with Poland for the showing of a number of films, some 86, I believe, in Poland, in the next year. That agreement was approved by the Minister of Communications and Education, whom I believe is a Communist, a member of the Communist Party in Poland. It has been held up. I believe the agreement has not yet been approved by the cabinet, as I understand it, because of the complaint of our Government against the lack of freedom of elections in Poland.

So pictures are not now being shown in Poland.

Mr. NIXON. Are they being shown in Russia at the present time?

Mr. JOHNSTON. There are occasional films being shown that get into Russia, by some means or other, but in general no films are not being shown in Russia. They are not being shown in Yugoslavia.

Mr. NIXON. Czechoslovakia?

Mr. JOHNSTON. There is a film being shown in Yugoslavia called Grapes of Wrath. I believe you have heard of it. And it is called The Paradise of Democracy—that is the title of the film in Yugoslavia.

Mr. NIXON. You wouldn't say that that one was selling America particularly?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Not at all.

Mr. NIXON. Or California?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Not at all.

Mr. RANKIN. Selling America down the river, isn't it?

Mr. JOHNSTON. In America, of course, the motion-picture industry is an industry of free expression, like the press and radio.

Mr. NIXON. Understand, I am not criticizing the Grapes of Wrath as an un-American film.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I understand that. In Greece—we are showing pictures in Greece, but there is no money coming from Greece, because Greece hasn't any money to pay us. Therefore, it is, again, a matter of love, so far as the industry is concerned, and it is rather expensive, too, you know, because we usually dub the film with the language of the country, that is, we must put the language in the mouths of the actors and actresses, of the country involved, we must make prints of the films. We are showing in Turkey—some money is coming from Turkey. Russia kicks around at every door of every country in the world. If she finds the door open she goes in. The door was slammed in her face in Iran. I hope the American people slam the door on her face in Greece and Turkey.

Mr. NIXON. The American people are going to spend approximately \$100,000,000 for the purpose of selling the United States through radio throughout—through radio broadcasts—throughout the world. In view of that fact, I think that, from comments you have made here today, you would agree that any effort that the motion-picture industry can make to promote these agreements by which American films which sell America, as you have so well described it, with the various nations with are either Communist or Communist dominated, would be helpful.

Mr. JOHNSTON. We have formed an export corporation, Mr. Nixon, which you may know about, under the Webb-Pomerene Act, for the purpose of dealing with a country which is a Communist country, and the industry deals with that country as an industry. I happen to be president of that corporation. Therefore, we are the ones responsible for films, what type and kind of films will be shown in these 13 countries, which are mainly countries behind the so-called iron curtain. We are attempting to do business in Rumania and Bulgaria—not with much success. Our success in Yugoslavia is even less. We are showing films in Austria and Germany. In Russia we have not had much success. In Korea we are showing films, in the American-occupied area, but not in the Russian-occupied area.

We are showing films in Japan, and so forth. If there are any countries you are interested in, I could write and tell you.

I want to say this, this industry is doing this as an American activity. It costs this industry hundreds of thousands of dollars a year

to show films in these areas. We realize that we will never get paid for it. But we think that American films should be shown in these areas. I don't know of any industry—and I say this with complete frankness, because I happen to be in four other businesses on the Pacific coast—and I don't know of any other business that has spent as much time and as much money and as much talent to try to display Americanism as Americanism actually exists in this country, to foreign lands, than has the American motion-picture industry. Actually hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars are spent annually upon that kind of a program which we instituted when I came into the organization 18 months ago.

Mr. NIXON. Thank you, Mr. Johnston.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. You said that Greece didn't have money to buy your film. In view of what we feel is coming, wouldn't it be better said they don't have the money yet?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I doubt if they will have the money even after we loan Greece some money, or make available some money to Greece. We have gotten a few dollars out of Greece—a few drachmas, but very little.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rankin.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Johnston—

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. This hearing is being held on a couple of bills, one of which I introduced to outlaw the Communist conspiracy. There have been a great many who testified who have dwelt on trying to outlaw a political party. Don't you think some law should be passed to punish the participation in a conspiracy against the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, Mr. Rankin, I thought there were laws in existence now which would punish treason, conspiracy against the United States. Our alien and sedition laws.

Mr. RANKIN. I am not sure they do.

Mr. JOHNSTON. If they don't, strengthen them. You are an expert on legislation. I am not.

Mr. RANKIN. I thank you for the compliment, but I am not sure that I could qualify.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Couldn't the Department of Justice tell you whether they are strong enough?

Mr. RANKIN. What I am driving at, and I think what you are driving at, and all other patriotic Americans are, is, putting a stop to these attempts to undermine and destroy this Government, the American way of life.

Now, they keep harping on the capitalistic system. Just offhand you would think they were talking about a few millionaires, but they are talking about everyone who owns a home or who owns a farm or a factory or a store or a shop or a filling station. In other words, it is to destroy the entire economic system of this country. So don't you think some law, if the law is not sufficient now—and if it hasn't been enforced—don't you think we ought to strengthen that law to prohibit and to punish anyone who joins in such a conspiracy here in the United States?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. Rankin, I am not an expert on law or legislation, and, as I said, I think you are. If the laws need to be strengthened, and if the Department of Justice does not have sufficient law to prosecute people who are now committing acts of sedition or treason against our country, then the law should be strengthened, unquestionably. In a free country, such as ours, people can change the form of government by constitutional methods. I do not believe in communism, I do not believe in anything which it stands for. I am unalterably opposed to it; but I also do believe, with the late Oliver Wendell Holmes, that freedom is the right to express the thoughts that are repugnant to ourselves if they want to express them. When you talk about treason, or overthrowing the Government by force, then something should be done about it.

Mr. RANKIN. Treason consists in making war on the country, or aiding or abetting an enemy in time of war. That is roughly the definition of treason in this country. Now, the Communist conspiracy is a conspiracy to destroy this country. Wouldn't you call that a treasonable conspiracy? If it isn't considered treason under the law, don't you think it should?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I believe it is, but I think it should be prosecuted under the law. If the law isn't ample, the law should be extended so that it is ample.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what I am driving at.

Mr. JOHNSTON. It shouldn't be persecuted; it should be prosecuted.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Johnston, I don't want you to go back to Hollywood with the feeling that Members of this Congress will be tremendously happy should the activity of the motion-picture industry in the promotion of the American way of life be limited to making these pictures available, as you have described them so emphatically, to countries all over the world which are presently not able to pay for them. That is commendable, but I know that it is isn't altogether altruistic. I live in a great trout-fishing State. When we have fishermen from the effete East out to fish trout we teach them the fine art of walking up to a pool of still water and throwing in a handful of salmon eggs. In that way they are taught how to catch the trout.

So a part of your activity is a sort of salmon-egging the trade, is it not? That is, you are prospecting the field hoping that some day they will be in a position to buy?

Mr. JOHNSTON. There haven't been any trout in those streams for many years. I don't know whether there will ever be. There has been practically no money taken out of the Balkan countries; so far as the industry is concerned, I think, in two decades.

Mr. MUNDT. Hope is eternal in the piscatorial breast.

Mr. JOHNSTON. As a fisherman, I agree with you; but the only fish I know of in those streams are suckers at the present time.

Mr. MUNDT. Well, we don't want you to go back and limit your fine activities and your great directional influence just to salmon-egging the trade abroad, because there is a job to be done here. You have indicated some of the pictures now being made in harmony with that program.

You asked Mr. Rankin the question, what can we do in Hollywood which we have not done to help tighten the ranks against com-

munism. We in the House of Representatives frequently in passing an appropriations bill have had a clause—before the President's Executive order came into being—roughly to this effect, that no part of this appropriation shall be used to pay the salary of a member of the Communist Party, or any other un-American activity. The people in your industry are largely engaged in contractual work. You contract people for a term of weeks or months or years. I am wondering whether under these contracts as now written the industry has the power to abrogate a contract with a man who is discovered to be a Communist after you have employed him in good faith?

Mr. JOHNSTON. So far as I know, and I do not happen to be a lawyer, but as far as I know there is no phrase or clause of that kind in the contracts, nor do I think any clause of that kind would be legal as the law now stands. I don't think you can prohibit a man, or cancel a man's contract if he is a Methodist, or a Communist, or a Republican, or a Democrat, or anything else. If he does commit acts of sedition or treason against the country, that is something different. I do not believe that any of the employers in Hollywood employ a man whom they know to be a Communist. Many of these men whose names have been mentioned here today have long-term contracts with the industry. To cancel those contracts means lawsuits in civil courts, as you probably know. You have to have some legal reason for canceling them. So far as I know now there is no legal reason for canceling them unless the Department of Justice proves these men are engaged in some treasonable or seditious activity.

Mr. MUNDT. The Department of Justice through its representative, Mr. Hoover, has said that the Communists are engaged in an effort to overthrow the Government. A member of the Communist Party pays a membership fee. So he pays financially to support and aid in the overthrow of the Government—unless Mr. Hoover is way off the beam—which neither you or I believe to be true.

Mr. JOHNSTON. I don't believe Mr. Hoover is off the beam, but I think you ought to read the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Harry Bridges case—

Mr. MUNDT. They made a subsequent ruling.

Mr. RANKIN. They had a change since then.

Mr. MUNDT. There is a new decision. Would it be legal if you were to put in a phrase in your contracts, which you say are long-term, which provided the right to abrogate a contract in the event a man were found to be engaged in an un-American activity. If a man signs that kind of a contract willingly, it seems to me it is a binding contract.

Mr. JOHNSTON. The lawyers of the industry could undoubtedly tell me that, and I will certainly ask that question.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you.

Mr. RANKIN. If we passed a law, if Congress passed a law along the lines I suggested, that would enable you to get rid of them, wouldn't it?

Mr. JOHNSTON. That is correct.

Mr. RANKIN. We will try to help you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Johnston, we thank you very much for your visit here today. We hope that some day we will be able to pay you a return visit.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you, sir. I hope that you can.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Governor Sigler is here. He suggested, however, that if it is agreeable with the committee he would just as soon appear tomorrow at 10 o'clock, but it is up to the committee.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Chairman, I think it would be better. It is now almost 5 o'clock. I think it would be better to have him appear in the morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that agreeable to you, Governor?

GOVERNOR SIGLER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. At 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, then, we will have Governor Sigler before the committee.

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

The committee met at 10 a. m.; Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. Karl E. Mundt, Hon. John McDowell, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, and Hon. John S. Wood.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell, and Donald T. Appell; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

We have with us as the first witness Gov. Kim Sigler of Michigan. Governor, I want to say to you that we are indeed gratified and pleased that you could come here to be with us today. We appreciate the long trip that you had to make; that fact alone gratifies us tremendously; that you felt that you could make that trip in the interest of appearing before this committee. I want to say for all of the members of the committee how pleased we are that you came here. We know of the kind of a job you are doing out there in Michigan, and we hope that it doesn't take too much of your time away from your regular duties to be with us. Governor, if you don't mind, please, will you be sworn?

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, do you have a prepared statement?

Governor SIGLER. I have a few introductory remarks, Mr. Chairman, that I jotted down last evening after I attended the session. If you don't mind, I should like to use those to start with.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will.

TESTIMONY OF HON. KIM SIGLER, GOVERNOR OF MICHIGAN

Governor SIGLER. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Un-American Activities. From the day I was sworn in as Governor of Michigan, I have been striving to combat the evil influences of communism. My activities in that direction are now well known to the people of Michigan. By executive order, in public addresses over the radio and by every other proper and available means I have been attempting to let the people of my State know the goals and purposes of the communists.

On the 14th of this month I received a telegram from your chairman inviting me to appear before your committee and give my views

either on the specific legislation now being considered by you or on the general subject of communism. I accepted your invitation because I have faith in you and the work of your committee. I commend you for the good work you are doing.

I listened by radio with great interest to the testimony of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover before you the day before yesterday. No red-blooded American citizen could but be impressed by that testimony with the serious menace that communism presents to this country. Communism is a menace wherever Communists are active and are carrying on their work of attempting to undermine this Government and develop that revolution for which they are striving in this country.

From our investigations I know that there are upwards of 15,000 Communists in the State of Michigan. They may not be all card-carrying Communists, but they are Communists in aims and motives.

We have compiled the necessary facts to establish conclusively that the Communists are striving to gain control of the labor movement in Michigan, and in some instances have succeeded in the absolute control of certain unions.

To understand their control over labor, it is necessary that we realize how they gained control. If they must start from scratch, so to speak, they generally send in a few key organizers to work in a plant to join a union. These men are fluent speakers and claim to be fighting for the "rights" of workers. They strive to be elected to an office in the union, they cultivate ambitious opportunists and disgruntled minorities. When they are ready to seize control of the union they make impossible demands upon the officials of the union and circulate slanderous statements about them.

They form an election slate consisting of their carefully schooled, ambitious opportunists and attempt to corral representatives of racial and national minorities.

There is testimony before this committee that Gerhart Eisler, the leading agent of communism in America, who has been so well exposed by you, went to Detroit in 1933 to accomplish this very purpose.

There is at the present time and has been for many months a terrific struggle in the UAW-CIO in the city of Detroit by the Communists on one hand and the good loyal American citizens in that organization on the other in an effort to gain control. This struggle has been going on within the locals for a long period of time. R. J. Thomas, former president and now vice president of the UAW-CIO; George Addes, secretary-treasurer of the union, and Richard T. Leonard, national director of the Ford department of the auto union, are captives of the Communist Party of the United States. This in union parlance means that they follow the Communist Party lines in union activities.

We all know the technique of the Communist. He smears anyone who opposes him. He brands as a red-baiter, a witch hunter, as a Fascist, a Hitlerite, anyone who attempts to expose him. Because of my activities against them they are now heaping their abuse in Michigan upon me.

Mr. Thomas has recently attempted to bring about the dismissal of a very prominent CIO labor leader who is a good American citizen and an outspoken, two-fisted opponent of communism. He, Mr. Thomas, has taken this typical communistic course simply because the

labor leader in question happens to be friendly toward my activities against Michigan Communists.

This man is not a member of the Thomas union and I do not care to mention his name at this time because I as the Governor of Michigan wish to help him and his associates loyal to the United States carry on their fight as good American citizens against those who would destroy the labor movement in America.

And further as the Governor of Michigan I wish to commend wholeheartedly those stalwart and fearless labor leaders, who, together with the rank and file members, are carrying on the difficult and strenuous fight against the enemies of labor within their own ranks—who take their orders from Moscow.

These men need help and they need it badly. And I, as the Governor of the State, propose to give it to them. To that end the officials, police officers and all law-enforcing agencies have been called in to assist in determining who is who. I am having compiled a list of a hundred or more of the most notorious Communists in the labor movement in Michigan.

I do not give this list to you now for the reason that I wish to make the investigation with painstaking care to be doubly sure that no one is unjustly accused. If it would be of assistance to your committee, I shall be willing at a later date to furnish you with the names, addresses, and connections of these individuals within the Communist Party who are undermining the labor movement in my State. Not only are they undermining the labor movement in my State, but they carry out the very spirit of communistic gospel by attempting to destroy the industry that has made Michigan great.

The labor union can perform a great function in American society and my reason for exposing Communist leaders who would destroy labor rests in the fact that Communist revolutionary tactics demand that they control the trade-union. The Communist revolution in America cannot succeed unless the Communists control labor. You gentlemen listened to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover state a day or so ago that:

With few exceptions the following admonitions of Lenin have been followed:

It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even, if need be, to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs.

In addition to the foregoing, I have also caused to be obtained the facts concerning the various so-called fronts of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan and I wish to commend our Michigan State Police and Commissioner Donald S. Leonard for the valuable work they have done and are doing in this direction.

A list of these fronts with their nefarious activities is being compiled.

I submit for your information the following:

United Workers Cooperative Association: An investigation by the Michigan State Police shows that this is a Communist front organization. Records show that the heads of this organization are members of the Communist Party.

Lithuanian Workers Literary Club: After an investigation of this club, it is the opinion of the investigators that this is a Communist front organization.

Citizens Committee: Michigan State Police files show copies of Communist literature that was handed out by members of the Citizens Committee.

Progressive Club: We have Communist literature that was handed out in meetings of the Progressive Club.

Lithuanian Farmers Society: Our records show that leaders of the Lithuanian Farmers Society are active in communistic activities and have taught communism in some of their meetings.

League for Peace: Our reports show that Communists, who are also members of this organization, attempted to cause labor trouble in the lumber camps.

International Workers Order: Michigan State police report shows this to be a Communist front organization.

International Foundry Workers Wage and Hour Council: Our report shows this is an organization in Pontiac, Mich., headed by Communists.

Camp Tel-Hai: Our report shows that a school was held in this camp where Communist propaganda was distributed. We have copies of the Communist literature that was handed out in this school by teachers who taught there in 1942.

Gentlemen, before I am through with this testimony I want to give you the benefit of something concerning a Michigan Supreme Court decision, where the evidence was definitely procured, and the highest court in our State passed upon that evidence, as related to a similar situation.

Get Acquainted Club: Information shows this is a Communist front organization.

Fight for Freedom Organization: We have literature and reports that shows this organization is a Communist front.

Finnish International Workers Order: We have reports to show that this organization held Communist meetings throughout the Upper Peninsula.

Finnish Women's Club: We have reports where this organization was run by Communists several years ago in Marquette, also that the organization was active in Ramsey, Mich. and northern Wisconsin in 1941. Members of this organization in Ramsey and northern Wisconsin are all known Communists.

Finnish Workers Federation: We have information that shows this organization received literature directly from William Z. Foster and Earl Browder.

I am going to have something more to say to you gentlemen about Mr. Foster before I get through.

Farm Equipment Workers Organizing Committee: Leader of this organization, at one time, was the editor of the Daily Worker.

Emergency Relief Organization: This office has information that shows some members of the Emergency Relief Organization are also members of the Communist Party.

Fellowship of Reconciliation: We have records that show speakers for the Fellowship of Reconciliation admitted being Trotskyites.

Abraham Lincoln Cooperative Society—think of that kind of a name for a group of individuals that are striving to overthrow this Government.

We have information, definite information, that this society is a branch of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.

Civil Rights Federation: This organization was organized in defense of the Federal prosecution of the Socialist Workers Party. Leaders of the movement are known Communists.

American Youth for Democracy: This organization started when the Young Communist League was dissolved.

You gentleman have done a great deal in exposing this group.

Executive Secretary of the American Youth for Democracy in Michigan, at the present time, is active in the Communist Party and readily admits being a Communist. He also ran for representative in the State legislature on the Communist ticket in the 1946 November election.

I have not given you all of the information at our disposal relating to these fronts and others which are now under investigation. When our investigation in this respect is completed we will give you the benefit of that information.

My purpose in giving you this information at the present time is not only to aid and assist you, but to let self-respecting American citizens know the facts. No one should be duped by the high-sounding purposes and innocent-appearing names of the Communist-front organizations.

Weeks ago I openly exposed the American Youth for Democracy in Michigan. I learned that it was operating on the campuses of our colleges. The presidents of these institutions have wholeheartedly cooperated with me, as I shall more fully explain to you later. When I openly exposed this group over the radio as a Communist-front organization a great howl went up. Every Communist in Michigan started to yelp. I was promptly charged with being a Red baiter, a witch hunter, a Fascist and a Governor who lacked leadership. The smearing Communist charged me with attacking unions. I recognize this, of course, as you have with being typical technique of the Communist. Since then all that I said about the American Youth for Democracy has, I believe, been fully established.

What I say now concerning the "fronts" I have referred to is equally accurate and likewise based upon careful investigation.

There is no question about the fact that the Communist is attempting to raise his ugly head in our educational institutions. Let me tell you of the facts relating to one of our very important colleges. I do not give you the names of the parties involved or the name of the particular college for the reason that our investigations are not yet complete.

Not long ago a Communist organizer appeared at one of our very highly respected colleges and began his pernicious work. He made a very careful survey to find out who were the popular athletes upon the campus, and who were the leaders in various social activities. He finally selected a student well known on the campus because of his athletic attainments. He made it a point to get acquainted with him. After he had cultivated an acquaintance with this fine young man, the son of good American parents, he offered him a rather substantial sum of money to organize students upon the campus in one of these innocent-sounding, yet vicious, un-American, communistic fronts. Can anyone be so gullible as to question where this money was coming from?

Gentlemen, I have come here to be of help to you. I have a tough job as Governor of Michigan. There are many difficult and per-

plexing problems. One of them is the subject upon which you are working. I conceive it to be my duty as the chief executive of a great State to fight with all my strength the activities of those who would undermine and destroy the very thing that thousands of our Michigan boys laid down their lives to preserve. I shall gladly answer, to the best of my humble ability, any questions which may be helpful to your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Governor. The Chair wants to say that that was certainly a fighting statement and in relation to it we would like to ask some questions.

First, in connection with the hundred or more names of Communists that you are going to make public, we would like to have that list.

Governor SIGLER. As soon as it is completed, Mr. Chairman, and we are absolutely sure, I shall be pleased to return and give it to you.

The CHAIRMAN. And the same is true of the Communist front organizations. And I want to say to you that you are one of the first witnesses we have had, if not the first, who has volunteered to give us a list of Communist front organizations.

In connection with one of these organizations, the American Youth for Democracy, you may be interested to know that this committee, naturally, has made a study of that organization since its inception. It is probably one of the leading Communist fronts today. We have just finished a report which covers the organization, and the report will be made public to the Congress next week and then will be given out immediately. We will be pleased to send some of these reports to your commissioner of State police out in Michigan.

How many Communist front organizations do you think there are in Michigan all told?

Governor SIGLER. Well, there are a number of them, Mr. Chairman. I wouldn't want to say at this time the exact number. Our men are working very diligently in an effort to determine accurately the facts.

Perhaps I might illustrate how this thing is working out in one way. Commissioner Leonard, will you give me the record of Fass Baker? It is very short.

The CHAIRMAN. The name is Baker?

Governor SIGLER. Yes. B-a-k-e-r; commonly known as Fass Baker.

Now, he has aliases. But I learned very shortly after I became Governor of Michigan that that individual, posing as a labor leader, was appearing at Lansing, attempting to organize the employees of the State of Michigan. Michigan has about 21,000 or 22,000 employees. This individual was very active up there. He was trying to convince the employees of Michigan that they were not being properly treated. He was using the typical technique of the Communist—trying to create dissatisfaction and discord among these individuals. So I had him looked up. Here is what I find about him.

Baker was born in Nebraska—I am sorry to say. I was born in Nebraska, Mr. Chairman, and I am proud of that fact. I hate to see individuals of this sort come from Nebraska. He attended a school out in Michigan. He was employed by the general hospital in Minneapolis, Minn., and it was then that he became a Communist Party member.

In 1938, in return for the promise of an organizer's job, along with several other Communist members of his union, he agreed to deliver

to the CIO the union of this group, which had been an A. F. of L. affiliate. Shortly thereafter he resigned his job at the hospital and became an organizer for the SCMWA, and moved to Pittsburgh, Pa., later going to Detroit.

Among the various Communist-sponsored projects to which Baker has lent his name was the campaign of certain individuals who were known Communists, the National Free Browder Congress, and the Negro Youth Council for Victory and Democracy, and he was selected to be on the executive board of the Greater Detroit and Wayne County Industrial Union Council, CIO, on the Communist Party supported slate, and so on.

So when I found out that this was the kind of an individual he was, I proceeded promptly to expose him over the radio in Michigan and I gave notice to the director of civil service that I wanted the business of communism investigated fully in our State Government to determine just exactly what the situation is.

Now, that individual was promoting the interests of certain of these fronts in Michigan. We have a lot more of them and we are going to find out exactly what they are. We have some of these individuals right in our legislature at this very moment, who come up there posing under one party's head and yet at the same time they are striving to undermine the very thing for which we are all there.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean they hold seats in the legislature?

Governor SIGLER. We have one individual right now, Mr. Chairman, who is in the Senate of our State. His name is Stanley Novak. Stanley Novak has been a Communist sympathizer and a Communist worker for a considerable period of time. An obstructionist of the first type.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say he was a Communist?

Governor SIGLER. I do not at this time wish to make that statement, Mr. Chairman, because I want to know definitely. I had a grand jury up there representing the State for a considerable period of time. I know quite a bit about this individual, but I want to know definitely that I am right before I make that positive assertion.

The CHAIRMAN. By the way, before I forget it, I would suggest that you and your staff keep in constant touch with our files. For instance, that name is a very familiar name to me and—

Governor SIGLER. You mean the name of Stanley Novak is very familiar to you, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right, and we have got quite a file on him. So not only in this particular case, but on any case that may come up, don't hesitate to get in touch with us so that we may put our files at the disposal of your staff at all times.

Governor SIGLER. I appreciate that, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, will you please identify the members of your staff who are here today?

Governor SIGLER. Mr. Donald S. Leonard, who sits beside me here, is the Commissioner of the Michigan State Police. He is the only member of that office who is with me. My legal adviser, Mr. Anderson, sits here at my right. These men have been working on this subject at my direction.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Anderson's first name?

Governor SIGLER. Victor C. Anderson.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are all the questions I have at the moment. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Governor, I have always thought that if there be such a thing as a typical American State it would be Michigan. It is not one of the original States, but yet it has got everything that America has. All of its great forests, waterways and ports, the great industries. It appears to me that all of America has come to realize in the last year what you are doing, the fight that you are making to preserve those things that Michigan has and is. I think all members of Congress were happy to read of the order of President Truman last week in which he said that the executive branch of the Government would look into the loyalties of all of its members. I presume, sir, that you have made these—laid these findings of yours before the President?

Governor SIGLER. Before the President of the United States?

Mr. McDOWELL. Before the President.

Governor SIGLER. I have not yet, Mr. McDowell. I thought that first of all I should present these matters to your committee, in view of the fact that you were actively working upon the matter. I came here at your invitation. I want to do everything I can to be helpful.

Mr. McDOWELL. You have been helpful and I shall recommend, as one member of the committee, that these matters that you have presented here be laid before the President of the United States.

Governor SIGLER. I shall be very glad to do so, Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions?

Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Governor Sigler, I believe that the American people are becoming more and more conscious daily of the serious threat that is posed by the activities of these various communistic groups.

The question in my mind today—and I would like to have such reaction as you are prepared to give us—is as to what the remedy is from the national, over-all standpoint.

Governor SIGLER. Well, Mr. Wood, that is a very fair and a very sensible question, in my humble opinion. Of course, you have given me quite a lot of latitude; quite a range. I would like to answer it. It might take me a minute or two.

I would like to present as a basis for answering that question something that may not have come to your attention. It seems to me that we must have in mind the human equation in considering matters of this nature. We have always had some kind of a group that would destroy the Government. Anyone who is familiar with history and who has looked at the books is mindful of the fact that there was the anarchist and the syndicalist all down through the ages. There have been individuals and groups of individuals who were opposed to orderly government and orderly processes of government. And the amazing thing to me oftentimes is how quickly citizens and good people overlook those facts.

For instance, as a basis for what I wish to say to you upon that subject now, there was in Michigan as far back as a quarter of a century ago, the very beginning of this thing. The national convention of the Communist Party was held in Michigan on the 20th day of August 1922. I would like to give you the facts of the Supreme Court

decision, reported in the two hundred and twenty-ninth volume of our Michigan Supreme Court Reports, at page 315 [reading]:

A national delegate convention of the Communist Party of America was called by the Central Executive Committee of the party to meet at Bridgman, Berrien County, this State, in August 1922.

Now, that is down in the southwest corner of Michigan, close to the city of Chicago. [Reading:]

Delegates to the convention were not informed of the place of meeting, but under direction proceeded from city to city toward Bridgman and were finally steered there.

Now, gentlemen, I am giving you the facts from this opinion as reported by Mr. Chief Justice Wiest of our Supreme Court, one of the recognized outstanding jurists of that section of America. [Reading:]

Near Bridgman, an isolated hotel and cottages furnished accommodations for the 75 persons attending the convention and a natural amphitheater amid the woods afforded a place for sessions. Every person attending had a party or assumed name.

Now, as I develop these facts, see how completely they coincide with what we know has been going on all over the world today. [Reading:]

No communication with the outside world was permitted. Each participant in the convention was assigned a number and given a large manila portfolio in which to place all papers and documents at the close of each day, to be taken up by the grounds committee for safekeeping. Defendant's party name was Damon and his portfolio was No. 50. These portfolios were deposited each night, by the committee, in two barrels sunk in the ground at a distance from the hotel and covered with sand, leaves, and stocks. Regulations of the grounds committee provided:

"No incriminating literature or document shall be kept in baggage or in rooms. All such matter must be turned over to the committee every evening. The grounds committee must arrange for the safekeeping of this matter."

A central washtub in which to burn incriminating papers was also maintained. Convention sessions were held.

And they gathered there. They discussed ways and means of overthrowing the Government of the United States. Mr. Chief Justice Wiest in his reporting of this case tells of the fact that representatives from Moscow came to this meeting, told these individuals how to carry on their nefarious work of developing revolution in America, what to do with labor unions, how to interfere in the schools, how to approach the churches, and so on and so on.

Now, it happened that in 1919 the Legislature of the State of Michigan passed, as you will recall, at that particular time, a quarter of a century ago, the law relating to syndicalism, and they defined in that legislative enactment criminal syndicalism as follows:

Criminal syndicalism is hereby defined as the doctrine which advocates crime, sabotage, violence, or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform. The advocacy of such doctrine, whether by word of mouth or writing, is a felony punishable as in this act, otherwise provided.

Now, it was under that particular statute, adopted in 1919, that the Federal authorities, together with the State authorities, picked up the necessary evidence. They got this barrel that was sunk in the ground, they got the washtub in which they attempted to burn incriminating evidence, and they had a trial.

Now, they raised every conceivable question. The same questions of freedom of speech that we hear so much about today. I know that

every member of this committee believes, and I, for one, believe, to the bottom of my heart, in the principle of free speech, but it means freedom of speech out on the county court steps. It means freedom of speech at the city hall. It doesn't mean freedom of speech in a basement. Nor does it mean freedom of speech out in the woods, carrying on stealthily a design to overthrow this Government.

Someone says that we shouldn't pass these laws because it is unconstitutional. All those questions were raised in this case. They were fully decided. And here is what Mr. Chief Justice Wiest says about a few of them. They are extremely interesting indeed. I quote from page 332 of this very important decision:

The proposed program as was intended dovetailed with the illegal purposes of the Communist Party. It declared:

"The capitalist state, that is, the existing Government, municipal, State, and National, is the organized power of the capitalist class for suppression of the demands of the exploited and oppressed workers."

Now, I know that you gentlemen must have before you the Communist bible of today. I know that you must have these documents that have been circulated all over America. There isn't an iota of difference between the Communist manifesto of Karl Marx that is circulated today in America than there was as between that proviso just read. [Reading:]

It stated: "The class struggle must take the form of a political struggle, a struggle for control of the government."

And I am reading to you not from some speech that some politician made, I am reading to you from a Supreme Court decision in an adjudicated case where the Federal agents and the State agents got the definite evidence. [Reading:]

But this was so transparently buncombe as to mislead no one. It declared: "This much talked of 'American democracy' is a fraud."

Now, think of this, and compare this statement of a quarter of a century ago with today's procedure of the Communists. [Reading:]

"The much talked of 'American democracy' is a fraud. Such formal democracy as is written into the Constitution and laws of the country is camouflage to hide the real character of the rule of the capitalists."

It also declared the futility of accomplishing their ends through political action and mapped the following scheme:

"The Workers' Party will also nominate its candidates and enter into the election campaigns to expose the fraudulent character of capitalist democracy and carry on the propaganda for the Soviets."

It must be understood, in considering this program, that the authors thereof make no distinction between capitalists, capitalism and the American form of Government.

The program that these individuals considered, the evidence that the investigators discovered, was proved in open court, in an open trial, where they had the best lawyers that they could possibly obtain. And they attempted to teach the doctrine that:

"The Workers' Party declares one of its chief immediate tasks is to inspire in the labor unions a revolutionary purpose and to unite them in a mass movement of uncompromising struggle against capitalism."

It declared its support of the Red Labor International. It also stated:

"The aim of the Workers' Party in participating in the elections, in revolutionizing the unions and its work to unite the industrial worker, farm laborer, working farmer, and Negro is to build a united front of the whole exploited class and to make its direct, mass power a factor in the class struggle."

The unlawful intended purpose of such mass power was stated:

"If during the present strike of the coal miners, the railroad shopmen, and textile workers, the whole working class had united in mass meeting and mass demonstration against the use of courts and soldiers in the strike they could have through such mass pressure compelled the Government to withdraw the troops and recall the injunctions."

I might tire you with the balance of this opinion. I have read the record. I was personally acquainted with the lawyers. I had something to do with this trial. And so for a quarter of a century I have seen this thing develop in Michigan. I might go on here with some of the further statements to show the extent to which, in 1922, 25 years ago, this thing was going on in Michigan. It has been going on ever since. These men were convicted, they were sent to jail, and the gentleman who today is the president of the Communist Party of America, Mr. Foster, was indicted at that time, and he got off the hook by a mere technicality.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt?

Governor SIGLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many persons were tried?

Governor SIGLER. I can't tell you the exact number now. There were a number of them who were apprehended.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it give the name there of C. J. Lambkin?

Governor SIGLER. No, it doesn't give it in the official Supreme Court Report, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Our records show that he was present at these meetings. We had a lot of testimony on Lambkin recently. He is now the head of the Four Continent Book Shop up in New York, and through Lambkin, the Soviet Government has been making vast purchases of American patents. They have made more purchases through Lambkin than through any other source in the United States.

Governor SIGLER. Now, you, Mr. Chairman, and members of committee, are familiar with this case, and are familiar with the developments of this situation since then. For instance, in 1935, we had a similar situation develop in Michigan. I can remember very distinctly one large Government project where the Government spent a great many thousands of dollars buying up some forest land and making a great park, a park in which the people generally might have an interest, might go and enjoy themselves, and I recall distinctly at that time being employed by a group of public-spirited citizens to see to it that a certain group that had come in there were not carrying on communistic activities. I am sorry to say to you, Mr. Chairman, that in the 1930's the same type of thing was going on in the State, the same procedure, the same technique, the same type of meetings, the same kind of literature, the same kind of orders from Moscow. And it has gone on, as we all know, until today, they are striving to control the very life blood of the State of Michigan, with all of its great industrial resources.

Mr. Wood. We recognize that it is becoming more and more intensified.

Governor SIGLER. Now, to get down, Mr. Wood, more definitely, to your question. You asked me what should be done. My humble opinion is that the Federal Government should take the lead. Section 4 of article IV of the Federal Constitution provides that this Gov-

ernment shall insure to the States of the Union a republican form of government. Now, what does that mean? It means exactly what the framers of the Constitution intended. All we need to do is look at the *Federalist* or at James Madison's notes during the Constitutional Convention, and we can see very clearly that the fathers of this Government recognized that all through the ages there is that element that attempts to destroy the orderly process of government. It has always been true. They knew that it was true then. They knew from their study of ancient democracies that that was the one great enemy of all democracies.

So what should we do? I feel that the Federal Government should take the lead, that it should take the lead in the right kind of legislation. The Federal Government is in a position to insure to the States of this Union a republican form of government.

If it is necessary to amend that particular phase of the Constitution and specify that any group or individual that preaches the doctrine of overthrowing our Government shall be prosecuted, then that is what we should do, and in the meantime I feel that the bill, for instance, that you have here, the Sheppard bill, is a good bill.

When you sent me, Mr. Chairman, copies of these bills, I called in the presidents of our universities. Now, we are rather proud of the University of Michigan. It has 19,000 students. And on that campus there has been an AYD. Dr. Ruthman came in and has cooperated with me in the exposure of that communistic group. Dr. Hanna, who is president of Michigan State College, where we have thirteen or fourteen thousand students, banned that organization from the college campus, not because they were Communists, in this particular instance, but rather because in their typical communistic style they did not comply with the campus regulations. And I had in addition to them Dr. Henry of Wayne University, where there are another ten or twelve thousand students. I sat down with them and I said, "Gentlemen, the Committee on Un-American Activities is interested in this business. They want us to tell them what our ideas are concerning the wisdom and prudence of the legislation now pending before Congress."

We discussed the question of constitutionality, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and all of the other angles that are so important. I said to them, "Well, these bills, will they be of any assistance to you gentlemen as educators teaching the youth of our great State? Will they be of any assistance to you in combating this virus of communism?"

They agreed unanimously that if they had, for instance, the Sheppard bill, that it would be of material assistance to them. Dr. Hanna said to me:

Mr. Governor, we don't want that kind of thing upon our campus, but it is a free America. America is a land where every man is entitled to speak his mind, a land where we have freedom of the press, and what are we going to do about it?

He said:

This party is legalized. The Communist Party is a legal party now in Michigan. They have their own candidates. What can we, as college presidents, do about the situation? Give us some law whereby we can determine the facts and show that there has been a violation of that law, and we will make short work of individuals who would destroy this Government.

I talked with labor leaders. I have called them into my office. Those good red-blooded fellows that are trying to fight the Communist movement in the labor unions. Each and every one of them concurred in the thought that this kind of legislation should be passed by the Federal Government and that the Federal Government should take the lead. The States of this Union will follow. We will do a good job. But we can't do it all.

Further, I believe, Mr. Chairman, that you should give Mr. J. Edgar Hoover a wider latitude, that you should give him additional strength, and that you should make his organization independent, where it is not under the control of any kind of political influence.

That is my humble opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, Governor, I would like to interrupt for the purpose of asking a question.

Governor SIGLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By "independent" do you mean that you would take him away from any control that the Attorney General has over him now?

Governor SIGLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You would set up, you would make an independent agency?

Governor SIGLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Governor SIGLER. This man who sits here at my left, the commissioner of the Michigan State police, cannot be fired, he cannot lose his position unless there is a hearing before the supreme court of our State. He is an independent agent. He can go out and deliver the facts—and God help him if he doesn't deliver them, so far as I am concerned, in this matter.

Mr. WOOD. I believe, Governor, that your thoughts in that respect reflect also the attitude of the members of this committee. That is all.

Governor SIGLER. You see, if you make this, if you make it unlawful for any group to try and deprive us of that republican form of government that is set forth specifically in the Constitution, then this "fringe" group will disappear. Many of these young folks upon the campuses join an organization of this sort because they think it is smart, because they think it is cute. I have talked with many of them. I have called them into my office and have sat down and tried to get underneath their skin and down deep into their heart. They do these things because they think it is the thing to do.

Mr. McDOWELL. Governor, will you yield?

Mr. WOOD. I am through.

Mr. McDOWELL. Have you thought that this Sheppard Act might drive these folks underground and that it wouldn't destroy communism, but it would merely make them more cautious?

Governor SIGLER. Mr. McDowell, they are underground anyway. The only part of them that is outside now is a little wagging of the tail. They are out there in the open for one purpose. The only part of them out in the open at the present time—it is only so that they can use the trumped-up claim of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. They are just as much underground as they were in 1922 when they were hiding their evidence in a barrel sunk in the sand.

Mr. McDowell. I want to tell you that no witness we have had has added any more important information than you have given us. This is a great contribution you have made to us.

Governor Sigler. Well, I appreciate that, sir. I have a lot of exhibits here. I don't know whether they are of any value to you. For instance, here is the kind of stuff they are sending out to the veterans in their efforts to corral the veteran who has just returned from the war. It is headed, "Dear Comrade Veteran," and says:

It is imperative that the enclosed resolutions be discussed and understood by each and every Communist. I will be glad to let you have that. Here is "Veterans, join the Communist Party."

Here is a good one, gentlemen. Here is a Catholic priest from the city of Detroit holding up his hands in almost wonderment as to just what he is going to do:

For the past 9 years, the Reverend Father Constantine Kulmatycky, 3971 Livernois Street, Detroit, Mich., has been pastor of the St. Michael Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church in that city. For the past 9 years the parish has been independent of any affiliations with the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Moscow-controlled exarchate here in the United States.

Then it goes ahead and sets forth how there has been an attempt on the part of the Communist Party to get in and control that complete diocese and kick him out because he has been preaching against Moscow.

Here is a paper that is published in New York, I guess—somewhere around there—no, this is Michigan. I went down to speak to a Hungarian group—a group of good citizens. Father Jacobs requested me to come down and speak at a meeting, a meeting in which they were attempting to raise funds and send food to stricken Hungary, and to assist the Hungarians who by Soviet order had been removed and sent from their homes in Czechoslovakia. Immediately a Hungarian order comes out, "Behind Governor Sigler's witch hunt: A trail of broken promises." That is the kind of thing they are sending out.

Here is one from Indiana, "The U. S. A. patriotic educator." This is an interesting one, in which they decry everything that I am doing, and then they put at the top the typewriting:

Don't you think Mr. Red-baiting, humanity hating politician, that the Russian people would do something about it if the conditions in Russia were: "Communism is a way of life that would destroy everything you and I hold dear?" Why are the Russians so contented? Why isn't there another revolution there like the one during the first World War if? ? ?

Here is a radio speech, the kind of radio speech the Communists are giving in Michigan.

Here is the kind of publication that the Communists are sending around every time any of us appear on any program.

Here is Ann Arbor, the seat of our great university, in which they are sending out Communist propaganda every time anyone of us appear.

Here is how the red-blooded American laboring man feels. Here is a petition addressed to me:

Your campaign to rid our State of Communists, is a courageous undertaking. Your success is our only salvation, but it will not be an easy victory.

I will skip over the rest of it down to:

May we point out here that Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO, with which we are affiliated, is now and has been for some time dominated by the Communist Party, and the present State secretary of AYD, is one of the top officers of this great local union—the largest single local union in the world. However, we who are members of the right-wing group of the Women's Auxiliary 233 (which too, has always been dominated and controlled by the Communist Party), Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO wish to assure you of our wholehearted support.

Signed by a group. These men will help. These American citizens in the unions, want to combat this thing, but they are up against a tough proposition. When this decision was handed down there were only a few of them. They have grown and you and I and every other good citizen during the past quarter of a century has been busy, we have been taking care of our own respective affairs, but the Communist has been well organized, and he has gone right along organizing all the time.

Here is another group in a labor union who petition action in respect to their particular union. And I have many others here. Gentlemen, I don't want to tire you with it. If there is anything else you want to tell me, I shall be glad to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you leave all of those articles and pamphlets with the committee, or do you want to take them back with you?

Governor SIGLER. If you could do this—we are still, of course, carrying on our investigation—if you could have those photostated and return them to us.

The CHAIRMAN. We will do that, Governor.

Governor SIGLER. I will be happy to leave them.

Governor SIGLER. Now, we have some more questions. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Governor, first of all I want to congratulate you, not only on your fine State, but the remarkable and precedent-shattering job you are doing in Michigan to take the initiative in getting rid of this element. Of the 48 Governors you are the only one to appear. That is because you are doing the best job of any of the 48 Governors in eradicating communism from your own commonwealth.

Governor SIGLER. Thank you.

Mr. MUNDT. We did invite the legislative committee from California, because they have established legislatively there a State committee on un-American activities, and we certainly hope that other States will follow the splendid example of Michigan and California, because if we wait for an amendment to the Constitution, or wait for the Federal Government to get down to the grass roots in all of these States and in all of these communities to do the job, it is going to be too late.

Governor SIGLER. I agree with you.

Mr. MUNDT. It has taken this committee more than 4 years to get the executive department officially to recognize the importance of removing Communists from Government. Just last Saturday the Executive order was issued. So you can see, from the standpoint of getting down to your universities, it would be a long, long trail, unless it were done in Michigan.

Let me suggest this next, as a former educator, when you have college presidents saying, "This is a free country, what can we do to get Communists off of the campus without a constitutional amendment," they aren't quite coming clean.

Governor SIGLER. Maybe I didn't make myself clear.

Mr. MUNDT. Because teaching on a college campus is a privilege, not a right.

Governor SIGLER. I agree.

Mr. MUNDT. If there is any member who is slightly "pink" the president can remove him.

Governor SIGLER. Yes. As a matter of fact, the president of one of our colleges discovered a Communist on the faculty, and that gentleman will not be present any longer.

Mr. MUNDT. That is mighty fine. I am gratified that the people of Michigan are rallying to your support, especially from the labor unions, because there is a completely erroneous feeling in this country, I believe, that if we can stamp out communism in labor unions we have whipped it. I don't think that is true at all. I think communism has gotten into the CIO, but I don't think that all the Communists, and I don't think that the most dangerous Communists, are members of the labor unions. So if we can get laborers to support us we can not only eradicate communism from that important branch of our industrial system, but enhance the reputation of labor, and consequently provide the social progress for labor which it otherwise would not find available.

Governor SIGLER. I think you are absolutely correct, Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. May I conclude by saying, Mr. Chairman, that when I first came to Washington, we used to hear about sit-down strikes and slow-down strikes and Communist riots in Michigan, and there was no support at all from the Governor in eliminating them. I am proud of the progress Michigan has been making in the last 10 years.

Governor SIGLER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Governor, I was interested in your comment on Mr. Foster. You pointed out that he had been indicted in Michigan back in 1922.

Governor SIGLER. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. I think that comment was particularly interesting in the light of the fact that this same Mr. Foster has just been granted a visa by the State Department for the trip he is going to make through various countries in Europe for the purpose of solidifying Communist strength in Europe. I don't know whether you have any comment on that point or not, but I thought it was interesting to make it.

Governor SIGLER. Well, in our State we found that every now and then we have to have a housecleaning in government affairs. It might not be a bad idea nationally in certain respects.

Mr. NIXON. Following that point, too, when you speak of a housecleaning of government affairs in the State, can you describe to this committee, briefly, what steps you have taken in Michigan to remove Communists and subversives from the State pay rolls?

Governor SIGLER. I have instructed the director of civil service to make a complete check upon the employees working with Commissioner Leonard of the Michigan State Police to get the necessary information concerning the extent to which the Foss Baker crowd that I mentioned a little while ago, Mr. Nixon, had carried on their activities, and as soon as I get that information, I shall act accordingly.

Mr. NIXON. What has been done legislatively in the State of Michigan on this problem?

Governor SIGLER. There has been introduced one bill. I don't like it. It is not a good bill in my humble opinion. House bill 1129. It is now in one of the committees of the House, I believe. This thing should be made simple and in addition to being simple it should be made so that in the future it will catch whatever kind of thing the Communist comes up with. This bill that was adopted in 1919 would have been good had they made it sufficiently broad to take care of the present situation. You see what I mean?

Mr. NIXON. Yes.

Governor SIGLER. I would like to see our legislature, and I shall propose a bill, that will take care of this thing that may arise in the future.

Mr. NIXON. You have mentioned the problem of Communists in government and schools, in labor, veterans' organizations, and even churches. I would like to know what your opinion is as to the American institution of that group in which they have infiltrated the most. In other words, what institution should deserve the primary attention of this committee. Or do you think there is any choice among the group?

Governor SIGLER. I don't think there is any choice, Mr. Nixon. It is a matter of understanding, as we all do understand, the technique of the Communist. He must get into the labor union and control labor. He must teach the youth of our land. He must get into the churches. And the amazing thing to me is to see some misguided gullible preacher stand up in his pulpit and preach communism.

Mr. NIXON. Well, have you noted, in your investigations in the State of Michigan, that very thing occurring?

Governor SIGLER. Yes. My friend, I have had them in my office pleading with me to pass or give my weight to the passage of some bill that the Communists are espousing because they thought that it was popular and would help them along, and here stands some preachers, with all of their Fourth of July oratory, trying to convince me that I should give my weight to the communistic inspired program.

Mr. NIXON. You have spoken about the work in the State of Michigan, and Mr. Mundt mentions the work in the State of California. Has the subject of the control of communism ever been discussed in the Conference of State Governors, which you have from time to time, or has it been considered of sufficient interest to come up in that conference?

Governor SIGLER. No, it has not. It has not been discussed. Governors are not much different than other folks.

Mr. NIXON. Don't you feel that, in order to get at this problem adequately, it is essential that the Federal Government cooperate with the States, and with local authorities in working out a coordinated program?

Governor SIGLER. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. It would seem to me, and I think to the members of this committee, from what we have been able to see, that this matter cannot be solved simply by a committee sitting here in Washington. It is fundamentally a problem, as you have well pointed out, of State and local responsibility as well, and our Federal Government, through

our various agencies, should possibly work out during the next few months a coordinated program, working with your programs in the State of Michigan and the State of California, and the other States in which action is being taken along that line.

Governor SIGLER. I think you are right, Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. I think this committee might be interested in knowing what your opinion is as to whether the Communists are going to win the current battle that is going on in the State of Michigan, particularly in the automobile industry, to gain control of key unions in Detroit—in Ford and in the UAW? What is your opinion on that point?

Governor SIGLER. I don't believe they will.

Mr. NIXON. You believe that sufficient feeling, or shall we say, sufficient education has taken place among union members that the unions are going to take care of this problem themselves?

Governor SIGLER. I certainly hope so, and I really believe they will. There isn't any danger from communism, from any source, if the people know the facts.

Mr. NIXON. And you believe, in the State of Michigan you have, as you have pointed out, some real red-blooded union leaders, who recognize the danger, who are telling the other members, and that as a result of that they are going to be able to beat it right in the ranks of unions themselves?

Governor SIGLER. I know we have the red-blooded members in the unions and I know, if we give them the proper help, they will win.

Mr. NIXON. I think that is a very encouraging statement. As this committee has sat here from time to time, we felt somewhat inadequate in dealing with the problem in unions, in the local organizations, and, as you have pointed out, if in those local organizations they recognize the problem, they certainly will take care of it.

Thank you.

Governor SIGLER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions? Mr. Wood, do you have any other questions?

Mr. WOOD. No more.

The CHAIRMAN. Before Governor Sigler leaves the stand, the Chair wishes to announce that former Governor Earle of Pennsylvania will be the next witness. Governor Earle is here now. After we say goodbye to Governor Sigler, we will recess for about 2 minutes.

Thank you very much, Governor. It was fine of you to come. It has been very helpful.

The committee will now recess for 2 minutes.

(A short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The next witness will be former Gov. George Earle, of Pennsylvania. Governor Earle, do you mind being sworn?

Governor EARLE. Not the slightest.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, do you have a prepared statement with you?

Governor EARLE. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, will you first, for the record, kindly tell the committee some of the public offices that you have held?

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE EARLE, FORMER GOVERNOR, STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

Governor EARLE. I was American Minister to Austria in 1933 and 1934; Governor of Pennsylvania, from 1935 to 1939; Minister to Bulgaria, from 1940 to 1942; lieutenant commander in the Navy, on a transport, in 1942; from 1942 to 1943, undercover representative of the President in Turkey, reporting directly to the President on Balkan matters; then, in 1945, deputy commandant and Assistant Governor of Samoa, returning to this country in August of 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, you have been very active against the Communist Party in the United States. You have had association with the Communist Parties of other countries. The committee would like very much to have an expression of your views, not only on the legislation which has been referred to this committee—and copies of those bills I believe were sent you—but on all related questions that might come to your mind.

Governor EARLE. Mr. Chairman, this is a day of exaggeration for the sake of emphasis. This is a day of overstatement for the sake of dramatization. I want to say to you that everything I will say now is in no way exaggerated or for dramatic purposes.

I think the situation in the United States today is completely desperate, the reason being that the super A bomb is here, or nearly here, and the country that uses it first is almost sure to win. The American people are so humane and so naive and so charitable I am afraid they will never use it first, and I say to you in all solemnity that I don't think there is better than an even chance that 5 years from today 10 percent of us in America will be alive.

You have, first of all, a nation with the greatest natural resources in the world, and that is Russia. We have exploited most of ours, or a great many of ours. You have very brilliant scientists, both Russian and German, working on this super A bomb. They may have it today, they may have it tomorrow, but it is a certainty they will have it very soon.

They have a fanatical determination to dominate the world, by violence, revolution, and infiltration. America, they feel, is the only stumbling block between them and world domination.

Now, they have four things that we Americans, or most of us, I am afraid, don't understand, in dealing with the Russians.

First of all, the teachings of Lenin are that any lie, any trick, any deceit, any crime, any murder—anything—is moral and ethical that helps their cause.

That makes the mission of General Marshall in Moscow almost hopeless, because if they stop stalling, which they are doing, they are stalling for time so they can perfect the atomic bomb—if they stop stalling, their agreements are absolutely worthless. Stalin has broken more promises than Hitler has broken. That is the first thing.

The second thing that we Americans don't understand—I don't think thoroughly—is the three things that we hold most sacred and which to the Russians are absolutely of no value: The human soul, human life, and human rights. To the Russian, they are like the dirt under their feet, that are to be sacrificed—not sacrificed, but used or given up at any time in order to further their ends.

Now, let us put ourselves in Russia's place. These fanatics, that are determined to dominate the world, stopping at nothing, what will they do? Well, first of all there is one thing we must remember: There is no adequate defense against the atomic bomb. There will be no adequate defense against the atomic bomb. The only hope is for us all to go underground, which of course is absolutely impractical and out of the question.

Now, let us say, for example, that the Russians have this super A bomb, which they either have or will have very soon, and ships come in from either Russia or their satellite countries, or even ships that are purchased in some neutral country flying another flag, that is, flying a flag neither of the satellite nor of Russia, into one of our harbors, say, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, San Francisco, wherever it may be, which cargo is made up of oil or sugar or jute, or any other substance, and deep in the cargo is an atomic bomb, timed to go off at a certain period.

Now, let us say, for example, that this ship arrives, or these ships which might arrive simultaneously, if it were so arranged, and they need a little time to perfect the timing, or something, so that a code message could be sent from Russia to the Communist element in the maritime union, who would pull a wildcat strike, or a regular strike, and hold up everything, hold up the unloading of all these ships—and the stevedores' union—while their plans are perfected. Then the atomic bomb explodes. Let us say by that time it is big enough to take in an area of 100 miles. Well, if it were set off at say Baltimore, it would take in Washington; or Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Just what is to prevent that?

Now, let us suppose, for example, they get a lot of giant submarines. Now, I crossed the ocean seven times during the last war, and in spite of the constant patrolling by dirigibles, ships, submarines, and all sorts of surface craft, when you get an hour from our coast you don't see anything for an hour or two. You wouldn't see anything for an hour or two. Suppose a giant submarine emerges off the coast 50 miles, say, off New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, or San Francisco, and just fires a jet propelled atomic bomb into one of those cities. Let us further suppose that 500 jet propelled planes come in from the Kuriles in the west or from Europe in the east. How many can we shoot down, that come over in the early hours of the morning, in the darkness? Let us say they send over 500 planes and have a pattern for the whole country. Maybe we will shoot down seven-eighths of them, if we are lucky, but the other one-eighth will completely destroy our industries, most of our population, our communications and transportation—everything.

Mr. Chairman, here is the thing that we must all remember, that in an atomic war we are much more vulnerable than Russia. Our population is mostly urban. Their population is mostly agricultural. Ours is mostly an industrial population. Atomic bombs against us would be much more effective than atomic bombs against Russia.

Now, what are we going to do about this? They are determined to have world domination. We are the only country that stands in their path.

There are not many Communists in this country, but they are very highly organized and disciplined. You only need 15 or 20 in a plant, if this attack should come. They would instantly cripple every plant.

When you have thousands of people working in a plant, it is almost impossible to go into the background and the beliefs of all those people. So, all you need is 15 or 20 of them in each plant, to completely wreck it.

Now, what are we going to do about this situation, that looks so desperate? I repeat, solemnly, that because we won't attack first, I don't think there is better than an even chance that 10 percent of us will be alive 5 years from now. I repeat that. I want to bring that out very clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Governor, I can't quite understand what this has to do with these particular bills that we have.

Governor EARLE. I beg your pardon. I thought you wanted a general statement.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, you may proceed, then—

Governor EARLE. That is all right—

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Governor EARLE. I have generalized it.

Mr. MUNDT. I think he started to list the four characteristics. You had two very fascinating ones: Their deliberate policy of falsehood, and secondly, their disregard for the humanities.

Governor EARLE. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. And I understand you had two more. If you have them in mind, I would be very interested in hearing those, too.

Governor EARLE. No; I gave them. The four are: First, they have followed the teachings of Lenin, that any crime is moral and ethical that helps their cause: the others being their complete lack of value for human life—one—human rights—two—and the human soul, which comes first—three. Those are the four things that we, as Americans, in dealing with them, find it very hard to understand.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you asked me about these bills. There is not the slightest question in my mind that the Communists and their fellow travelers in this country should be considered as the agent of a ruthless enemy bent upon our destruction. They certainly are bent upon our destruction. They are telling our people that we are nothing but a lot of Nazis now, over the radio.

To show their attitude toward us—before I go into these bills—you realize that 3 days before the Germans attacked Russia, on their radio—and I was in Bulgaria and heard it and had my translator there—they were just tearing the devil out of the democracies, England and America, just 3 days before the Germans attacked them.

To show you what they can do with their agents in a country, which they can do here, when the Germans invaded Yugoslavia, and Russia was on friendly terms with Germany at that time, Miklaïlovitch, the great Yugoslav general, who was later murdered by Tito, had to detach from his hard-pressed troops a whole division of Yugoslav troops to put down a Communist-inspired strike, or strikes in the munitions factories of Yugoslavia. Very few people realize that.

Now, the French Army, as we all know, collapsed because it was honey-combed with Communists.

They are, first of all for Russia and last of all for Russia.

Now, I say that the Communists in this country and their fellow travelers should be treated as the agents of a ruthless enemy determined upon our destruction.

In regard to these specific bills, I have been away 6 years out of the last 7, in foreign countries, and my opinion doesn't have the value of men like you, who have been here and know conditions here better than I could have, but I would say that there is one man in this country who knows the conditions, who has done a magnificent job with his organization—gangsters, kidnapers, and the Nazi secret agents here, and I would be very much guided by his advice as to the best legislation to be passed to curb these agents of our ruthless enemy bent on our destruction, and that man is J. Edgar Hoover. I would think that he would be better, more than any other man in the United States, able to suggest the best sort of legislation, to help put these Communists and fellow travelers where they belong.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, do you think he has a free enough hand at the present time?

Governor EARLE. Mr. Chairman, as I say, I have been away for 6 or 7 years, and I never try to answer a question I don't feel qualified to answer. I honestly don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, are you in favor of setting up the Bureau as a separate agency of the Government, I mean, having the FBI independent of the Attorney General's office?

Governor EARLE. I would think that the more independent the FBI was the better it would be for the country. I don't know any of the details or the plans, but I would say the more independent it was the better it would be for the country.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no recommendation in regard to these two particular bills before the committee?

Governor EARLE. I am sorry, Mr. Chairman. As I say, I have been away so long that I don't feel qualified to speak on any specific legislation.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, how long were you over in Turkey?

Governor EARLE. I was in Turkey for nearly two and a half years.

The CHAIRMAN. And how did you find the situation there in Turkey, as regards communism?

Governor EARLE. Well—

The CHAIRMAN. Or, rather, the dangers either from within or without, on the question of communism?

Governor EARLE. I regard Turkey as our only bridgehead against communism in the whole Near and Middle East. If Turkey goes, the whole of the Near and Middle East go, and the Mediterranean goes.

I know the Communists consider Egypt as the most fertile ground for the spread of communism, due to the very low standard of living, and that India is the hardest country to overcome, because of caste, to make communistic. I know that is the way they feel about it.

But Turkey is the one great bridgehead. And the Turks hate the Russians racially and to a large extent religiously, although there are a good many Mohammedans in Russia, but the Russian ruling class is atheistic, and they would make a magnificent fight, were war today a matter of a man, a soldier, and a bayonet, but it isn't. The Turks aren't nearly as well mechanized as the Russians, but they would fight to the last man, and they would put up a very brave fight.

I can say this to you, gentlemen, I feel absolutely confident that if we didn't have the atomic bomb the Russian armies would have fanned out all over the European continent. They would have gotten some

resistance in Sweden, Switzerland and Spain, but they would have fanned out all over the European continent, had they not feared our possession of the atomic bomb and its use against them.

Mr. McDOWELL. Governor, that is an important statement.

Governor EARLE. That is what I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor, last year the Congress passed legislation taking the control of atomic energy away from the military and placing it in the hands of a civilian commission. Do you recall that legislation?

Governor EARLE. Well, I don't think I was here, even, but I may have been. I do have a vague recollection of it, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that atomic energy in the United States and the control of the manufacture of atomic bombs should be in the hands of a civilian commission, or would you rather see it back in the hands of the military?

Governor EARLE. I would rather see it where the security is the greater, and I would say, offhand, the security would be greater in the hands of the military. That would be my feeling.

Senator McCARTHY. Mr. Chairman, might I point out that there is presently pending over in the Senate a bill which would place atomic control in the hands of a five-man commission, composed of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of Navy, the Secretary of State, and two civilian appointees. That is as it is presently pending in the Senate.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; we have read about that, Senator.

There is also a bill in House which would place the control back in the hands of the military.

Now, Governor, would you rather we asked you questions, or would you like to proceed?

Governor EARLE. Well, I have made my statement, Mr. Chairman. I would rather you asked me questions, and I will answer to the best of my ability.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. You were, either during the war or shortly before it, in Bulgaria?

Governor EARLE. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. Were you there as Ambassador, or were you Minister, or were you the personal representative of the President?

Governor EARLE. I was there as American Minister.

Mr. MUNDT. Appointed by President Roosevelt?

Governor EARLE. That is correct; yes.

Mr. MUNDT. And that was during the early stages of the war?

Governor EARLE. That was from March 1940 until December 13, 1941, when they declared war on us and we were forced to leave.

Mr. MUNDT. I mean, you were there at the time Bulgaria went into the war?

Governor EARLE. Oh, yes.

Mr. MUNDT. Yes. Did you, in those 6 years that you have spent abroad, spend any time at all in Spain?

Governor EARLE. No; just southeastern and central Europe. I was in Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, and all through the Middle East and Near East.

Mr. MUNDT. You wouldn't have any knowledge about conditions in Spain?

Governor EARLE. Poland, also, but not Spain.

MR. MUNDT. You wouldn't have any knowledge about conditions in Spain?

Governor EARLE. No; I have no knowledge of conditions in Spain.

MR. MUNDT. You made a very dreary statement, in your opening remarks, Governor, about the possibilities of atomic bombs in the hands of an enemy. One thing startled me greatly, and that was when you said those bombing potentialities would be very real, indeed, if the Russians were to come in possession of giant submarines, because the best information we have is that the Russians already have the giant submarines that the Germans were completing at the end of the war, which were included among the world's most efficient and effective submarines, and at the conclusion of hostilities they got not only the submarines, but the Nazi engineers who were building them and the submarine manufacturing machinery, so that seems to underscore this danger which you have so vividly described.

Governor EARLE. Yes, sir.

MR. MUNDT. Have you any reason to believe that that is not the case?

Governor EARLE. No, I haven't. I understood, purely from press reports, that they had a number of the German submarines, the big fellows, but I have never heard it from any other source.

MR. MUNDT. That is all the questions at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood.

MR. WOOD. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

MR. McDOWELL. Governor, you were instrumental, I believe, in forming an organization here in America opposed to communism, which received wide publicity.

Governor EARLE. Yes.

MR. McDOWELL. You rather abruptly resigned your post as head of that organization. I can't recall any reason being given, and I wonder if you would like to tell America why you resigned.

Governor EARLE. Well, I didn't want to give my real reason, because I feel the organization has potentialities for doing a great deal of good. However, I had several reasons, but my primary reason was this: When I went into the organization it was understood there would be no partisan politics played; that we were purely out against communism and that no politics would be brought into it, and if there were I would resign.

So, one day the executive secretary told me that he felt, and the members of the board of directors felt, that I should come out against the confirmation of Mr. Lilienthal. I told him that I knew nothing about Mr. Lilienthal; that I had been out of the country for 6 or 7 years; that I was not in a position to either come out for him or against him. They insisted, so I resigned. I refused to take a stand on something I don't know anything about.

MR. McDOWELL. On the basis of your statement, Governor, that is a very fine reason. Thank you for coming.

Governor EARLE. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions, Mr. McDowell?

MR. McDOWELL. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other member have any questions?

MR. WOOD, do you have any questions?

MR. WOOD. No.

Governor EARLE. Mr. Chairman, might I say one word, before I finish?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Governor EARLE. The papers today are full of feuds between capital and labor, on tax matters, and things of that kind, I think they are so minor in comparison to this question of our very existence. I think too many people—a great many people—in America try to draw red herrings across our trail. Let us take Franco in Spain and Peron in Argentina. None of us here likes those forms of government. I think all of us would do everything in our power to prevent such forms of government coming to the United States. But, gentlemen, Peron and Franco are no such menace to this country as Russia is. They are not sending their fifth columnists in here. They are not trying to steal our atomic-bomb secret. They are not hammering us night and day, in trying to destroy our leaders, on the radio. They are not trying to expand and take over other countries.

I say to you, while nobody would oppose more the coming to this country of such a government as Peron has in the Argentine or Franco has in Spain, nevertheless they are not a menace to us and we must not permit those red herrings of Peron and Franco to distract our attention from this really terrible menace that faces us. That is one strong opinion I have.

The CHAIRMAN. We have with us today, gentlemen, a first visitor from the distinguished Senate, in the person of Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin.

We are very pleased to have you with us, Senator, and we want to know whether you have any questions you would like to ask.

Senator McCARTHY. No, Mr. Chairman. I just came over to watch the very excellent job that you gentlemen are doing. I am here merely to listen, and not to ask questions. Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. WOOD. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wood.

Mr. WOOD. Governor, I have been very much interested in some of the statements you have made, and particularly the very serious warning that you have given with reference to the menace that immediately confronts us. I, personally, am very conscious of the responsibilities that are upon Members of Congress, and this committee particularly, as to whether or not there is any remedy that you can suggest.

Governor EARLE. I beg your pardon?

Mr. WOOD. Any suggestion that you could make of a remedial nature or a preventive nature, that would in any way forestall or circumvent the menace that you say is now hanging over our heads like the sword of Damocles.

Governor EARLE. Well, gentlemen, the first thing that you must decide is this: In any consideration of the question of Russia, with regard to imperialism or expansion or threats to this country, the United Nations is completely helpless to deal with it, because of the Russian veto. You have absolutely got to forget the United Nations against anything having to do with Russia or her satellites. Any action the United Nations, a majority, may take against Russia or her satellites, Russia promptly vetoes. So it puts that out of the question.

Now, there is only one safeguard for the world—for complete obliteration—in my opinion, and that is complete world inspection of atomic production, to prevent the production of atomic weapons.

Now, you know and I know, when Gromyko said the other day that Russia would not permit inspection of atomic production, that Russia couldn't permit it because it would disclose to the world the horrible internal conditions of Russia. Fifteen to twenty million are dying, under the most horrible conditions, in concentration camps. Two or three million are dying every year of starvation. They couldn't permit inspectors to come in there and discover that. Nevertheless, when they said there would be no inspection, that meant the most terrible race to make the most destructive weapons the world can make.

Now if it were my decision alone, if I were alone in this country, what I would do is simply this—which I know we won't do—and then I will tell you the next best thing—I would say: Every nation must permit atomic inspection. If they don't permit it, we will use the atomic bomb against them.

Mr. WOOD. Immediately?

Governor EARLE. Immediately. Now, I know we won't do that. I know the United Nations can't say that, because Russia would veto it.

Now, since that is not possible, the only thing left for us to do is to try to hold this attack from us—against us by Russia—by perfecting the most terrible weapons of destruction we can make, and then hide them away, underground, in Canada or in the Bad Lands of the Dakotas, or wherever it is most inaccessible—and the deserts of the Southwest, or the mountains of Pennsylvania, to make some of you gentlemen feel better—and let the Russians know that, with the first atomic bomb dropped on us, we will wipe out every town, city, and village in Russia.

Now, the danger of the thing about that is this: When this ship comes into our harbor, with its atomic bomb way down in the hold of an oil tanker, or in a big load of sugar, and it explodes, how can we ever convince the people that it was Russia that did it? There will have been no planes sighted coming over. How will we persuade them it was Russia that did it? That is the danger of that plan, but it is the only plan that I know.

Bolshevists, after all, know what the instinct of self-preservation is, and possibly this fear of terrible reprisal might hold them in check, but I think it is very doubtful. However, that is the best I can give, since we won't bomb them first, which I would certainly do, personally, because I know it is coming.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I want the record to show that the Governor of Pennsylvania is a world traveler. He knows full well that the Bad Lands of South Dakota is the official description of a very scenic part of our State. The Governor referred to the general topography of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions from the committee, or other Members of Congress who are visitors here today?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Governor. It was good of you to come.

The Chair wishes to announce that we will stand in recess until 2:30, at which time we will have Councilman Peter Cacchione from Brooklyn, N. Y.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The committee resumed at 1:30 p. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. Karl E. Mundt, Hon. John McDowell, and Hon. Richard M. Nixon.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators; and Benjamin Mandel, Director of Research.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to announce to the committee that Mr. McDonough, of California, has a statement that he would like to make to the committee in connection with a bill which has been introduced by him and referred to this committee. Mr. McDonough.

Let me first state for the record that this is Congressman McDonough, of California.

**STATEMENT OF HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH, MEMBER OF
CONGRESS, FIFTEENTH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA**

Mr. McDONOUGH. I have introduced House Resolution 99, which was originally referred to the Judiciary Committee, and has since been referred to the attention of your committee for consideration. It is a simple resolution which, in my opinion, is a definition of communism, and which I believe is vital and necessary with any legislation this committee reports to the House, because of the general misunderstanding throughout the Nation among average citizens as to what communism really is.

For the benefit of the committee I will read the resolution. It is short:

Whereas communism as a political policy or as a way of life is inimical to the people of the United States; and

Whereas communism advocates deceit, conspiracy, confusion, subversion, revolution, and the subordination of man to the state and, because of its practice of deceit and confusion, its real purposes and intentions are clouded and misunderstood to the extent that many persons in the United States have been influenced to believe in and sympathize with communism; and

Whereas there is a pressing need for a clear and easily understandable definition of communism in order to protect the people of the United States from its insidious influence: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That communism be defined and declared to be not a political policy, but an international conspiracy and an anti-Christian ideology which advocates and practices deceit, confusion, subversion, revolution, and the subordination of man to the state, and which has for its purpose and intention the overthrow of any democratic form of government by force and violence, if necessary; and be it further

Resolved, That any person, either citizen or alien, adhering to or expounding the purposes and intentions of communism should be exposed and revealed as an enemy of the United States and dealt with accordingly.

Mr. Chairman, this, as I said, is a simple resolution, defining communism, and since its introduction I have received comments, in the form of letters, telegrams, and post cards from various parts of the United States. With very few exceptions all of them have been commendatory, urging a definition of communism. They represent a cross

section of the citizenry. I have prepared certain excerpts from the letters I have received which I shall ask permission to insert into the record of these hearings, if that is agreeable, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That is perfectly agreeable.

(The excerpts above referred to are as follows:)

The following excerpts are typical of the comments received on House Resolution 99.

Mrs. Jennette Gustin, of 3720 Benton, Denver, Colo., writes:

"Congratulations on your bill to keep Communists from running on a ballot as a political party. Everyone knows as you say—they are not a party but a group bound together with intent to overthrow our form of government. * * * More power to you and let's give this bill a little more publicity."

William R. Gaffney, secretary of the department of social sciences, Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Wash., writes:

"As secretary of the above department, I wish to express my profound appreciation of House Resolution 99. It is a splendid step in the right direction and you may be assured that I shall take effective means to support your efforts. I am writing to my Congressman re the matter today."

Charles S. Sullivan, Jr., assistant department judge advocate, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, 1319 K Street NW., Washington, D. C., writes: "You may rest assured that you have the undivided support of the Department of the District of Columbia of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in your fight against communism and in your endeavor to have House Resolution 99 become law. We certainly hope that you will be successful, as it will be a great contribution to the welfare of our country."

E. C. Moriarty, president of the Town Hall Committee of Wichita, Inc., 222 West Waterman Street, Wichita, Kans., writes:

"We wish to obtain your permission to publish bill, House Resolution 99, in our bulletin, make way for freedom. Each month our bulletin reaches more than 5,000 readers. It is absolutely necessary that the 5,000 or more readers should know that our Congressmen are fighting communism in the United States."

M. H. Reynolds, Sr., superintendent of the Fundamental Evangelistic Association of 205 North Union Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"Permit me as one of your constituents to commend you for taking a public stand against communism, and seeking to use your influence to expose it, as expressed in the resolution you were reported to have introduced into Congress this month."

Mrs. John O. Pfahl, past president of the Woman's Republican Study Club, 688½ South Catalina Street., Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"Congratulations on your House resolution regarding outlawing the Communist Party. I wish you luck and hope and pray your resolution will be passed."

Mrs. Lois W. Sheldon, 1277 South Burnside Avenue, Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"I am writing to commend you for your stand in introducing the resolution against communism in Congress approximately February 12, and to tell you I am glad we have men of your courage in Congress."

Theodore J. Macklin, S. J., of Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Wash., writes:

"This note is a poor indication of the heartfelt commendation and encouragement that I would like to extend to you for your proposed bill (No. 99, I believe), which would legally outlaw membership in the Communist Party in the United States. And I believe that I am right in asserting that you have the support of a good 99 per cent of the voters of the United States, negligent though they may be at times in expressing their opinion. The storm of protest that will be raised by the militant 10 per cent or less will certainly, as has been found out in the past, be all out of proportion to the political weight they carry. May I encourage you to be undeterred by the opposition of these latter."

Thomas Cox, of 463 Ellita Avenue, Oakland, Calif., writes:

"In last evening's Oakland Tribune, there is an item stating that Representative McDonough has introduced a bill to outlaw communism in the United States."

"Please accept the warmest thanks and congratulations from several of us for such action. * * * We trust your bill will receive the full support of Congress and become law and with such legal force to make it effective against Russian Communists in the United States and its possessions."

L. Findlay, of 10359 $\frac{1}{2}$ Wellsly Avenue, Tujunga, Calif., writes:

"I certainly am glad to commend you for the fearless stand you have taken by your resolution to do away with the Communist Party in our United States. This move has been long overdue."

Edward Pine of 139-09 Thirty-fourth Road, Flushing, N. Y., writes:

"Your endeavor to rid our country of the communistic menace by defining communism through your Resolution 99 is an important step in the proper direction. Be firm in free of the inevitable smear pressure."

Col. Pierre C. Bayne, of 2713 Coliseum, Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"The attached clipping is from the Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express of February 12, 1947. (Enclosed clipping bore heading, 'Representative McDonough hits Reds as "United States enemy" in resolution'). Recently if often happens, many people are inclined to comment on written statements of our Members of Congress, as being a 'good article' or a 'bad article.' In considering your attitude, as expressed in the attached, you are a representative of the entire American people. An outstanding article, and I feel it will do a world of good. Please accept my compliments for what you are doing as a Member of Congress. I know you will keep up your good work."

L. W. Morgan, Jr., of 1725 Wilson Avenue, Chicago, Ill., writes:

"I read of your definition of communism stand and I hasten as a justice-minded American to thank you for same. Representatives such as you will save America, if it can be done, from communism and its strifes."

Cora A. Graham of Los Angeles, Calif., writes:

"My gratitude and sincere congratulations for your splendid patriotic suggestion to outlaw the Communist Party. Am sure every American will back you 100 percent."

James Neard, S. J., John G. Ferguson, S. J., D. Fitch, S. J., Robert J. Gillingham, S. J., Thomas Byrne, S. J., Louis Pazar, S. J., Michael Zimmers, S. J., and Martin L. Brewer, S. J., of Mount St. Michael's jointly write:

"Your very statesmanlike proposal, House Resolution No. 99, cannot be commended enough. Long and hopefully have we waited for such determined legislation as you propose to stem the rising tide of ruthless, atheistic communism. You have our whole-hearted support, as well as our prayers, for the success of your noble efforts."

H. L. Allen of Williamsburg, Mich., writes:

"Your idea for introducing a 'bill' to outlaw communism is what I would call 100 percent common sense, and I cannot understand why the whole Congress is not like minded and why they haven't already passed such a bill. It is almost common knowledge that communism is here in our midst for no other purpose than to eventually overthrow democracy and any Congressman that doesn't know that should not be a Congressman and if they do know it and don't act they are still less fitted to carry out their oath of allegiance. * * * Congress is too soft and too slow in dealing with this national menace. * * * I wish you 100 percent success with this bill."

Mr. McDONOUGH. And as further evidence of the doubt and the misunderstanding of what communism is I call your attention to a recent case in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Illinois where the question there was a charge that calling a man a Communist was detrimental to his character, and the judge in the case, one of the judges in the case, stated that since there was no definition for communism he was unable to rule whether the charge could be sustained or not. That is an indication in the courts of the land that even the judiciary have no definition of communism and that the general implication is that communism is an undesirable characterization to apply to anyone but, on the other hand, because of the many organizations that communism infiltrates into and uses as a means of carrying on

their work they are sometimes looked upon as being favorable and many innocent citizens are influenced by them and become attached and adhere to the Communist Party and communism as a whole.

I maintain that communism is not a political party. It is an anti- and un-American ideology. In my definition I said, "anti-Christian" and I would agree to an amendment to the resolution to read that it is anti-religious in its character, not confined alone to the Christian religion.

Another example of the need for a definition of communism, I have received from an organization known as Truth In Action, which puts out a bulletin, or a small pamphlet, which I will file with the committee for the record, which states on the front page of it, "Is Communism Anti-American or Un-Christian?"

It is answered by the following: "Yes, thunders our church hierarchies," and "No, echoes the Christian Bible."

This organization then proceeds to reveal to those who read it—and I don't know how much circulation it has, that communism and Christianity are one and the same.

That is dangerous propaganda.

I have heard some of the testimony this committee has heard from the various witnesses, including Mr. Hoover, Mr. Bullitt, and others, and I am led to believe that it is going to be a difficult thing to design legislation that will stand the investigations of the Supreme Court on the legality of outlawing communism unless there is a declared definition of what communism is. That is the reason I think my resolution is important to the committee in the preparation of its legislation. I believe a declared definition by the House of Representatives, which in my opinion is the sounding board of the citizenry of the Nation, would characterize it as being sound, and it would be looked upon as being worth while in the opinion of the citizenry, who are now doubtful as to what communism really means.

That completes my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. McDonough.

Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. I am familiar with Mr. McDonough's bill and I want to say only that I congratulate him on the careful thought he has given to it and the painstaking effort that has gone into that definition, and I assure him that the committee will seriously consider his resolution after these hearings have been concluded to determine whether or not we can draw upon it to achieve the objective we all have in mind, to restrain and restrict in every legal and constitutional manner the operations of the Communists in this country. Thank you for your statement.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Thank you for correcting me.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDonough, your resolution was introduced on what date?

Mr. McDONOUGH. February 12.

The CHAIRMAN. February 12. And the Speaker referred it to the Judiciary Committee and then you got up on the floor and asked permission to have it taken from the Judiciary Committee and referred to this committee?

Mr. McDONOUGH. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I can assure you that just as soon as the committee goes into executive session to take up various bills that are before us, we will consider yours at that time.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now hear Peter Cacchione.

Mr. SCHRANK. May I present a statement from Councilman Cacchione, which he requested that I read?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that is all right. Come up, please, and be sworn.

Mr. SCHRANK. I would like to read the statement of Councilman Cacchione.

The CHAIRMAN. We would like to have you do that, but in view of the fact that you have come as his representative we would like to have you sworn.

Mr. SCHRANK. May I read the statement?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to be sworn first. Every witness has been sworn.

Mr. SCHRANK. I wasn't invited. I am merely delivering his statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you object to being sworn?

Mr. SCHRANK. I would like to read the message.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you will have to be sworn first. Every witness has been sworn. I see no reason why you shouldn't be sworn.

Mr. SCHRANK. All right.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. You may be seated.

Give your full name to the committee and your address.

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN SCHRANK

Mr. SCHRANK. My name is Norman Schrank.

The CHAIRMAN. And your address?

Mr. SCHRANK. 1728 Sixty-third Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. You may go ahead.

Mr. MUNDT. Are you a lawyer, or an attorney, representing Mr. Cacchione?

Mr. SCHRANK. No; I am the representative of Councilman Cacchione.

Mr. MUNDT. What is your means of livelihood, a lawyer?

Mr. SCHRANK. No. I am his secretary.

Mr. MUNDT. His secretary?

Mr. SCHRANK. Yes.

Mr. NIXON. Are you employed by him?

Mr. SCHRANK. May I read the statement, sir?

Mr. NIXON. Are you employed by Mr. Cacchione?

Mr. SCHRANK. I am not employed by Mr. Cacchione.

Mr. NIXON. Then how are you his secretary?

Mr. SCHRANK. I am the secretary of the Brooklyn Communist Party.

Mr. NIXON. You are the secretary of it. Not Mr. Cacchione's secretary, then?

Mr. SCHRANK. We work together. May I read the statement, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. SCHRANK (reading) :

HON. J. PARNELL THOMAS,

*Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities,
Washington, D. C.:*

In view of the disgraceful manner in which this committee recently refused to permit the expression of the Communist Party's viewpoint on the two proposed bills for outlawing the Communist Party, I hereby cancel my voluntary request to appear before this committee.

I am convinced, as any honest American must be, that this committee has no intention, and never had, of hearing opposing viewpoint expressed on the proposal to strike a blow at the Constitution and the Bill of Rights through outlawing or curbing the political activities of Communists. As a veteran of World War I, I protest this effort to cripple democratic liberties in our country.

It is evident that this committee is interested solely in character assassination and not in democratic discussion. I denounce the committee is illegally constituted because (1) its scope was never properly defined by Congress; (2) the Communist Party is not an un-American organization and does not come within the scope of the committee; and (3) Representative Rankin, a committee member, was illegally elected because the people of Mississippi were illegally deprived of their right to vote under the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments.

Signed by Peter V. Cacchione, New York City councilman.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please express to Councilman Cacchione the regret of the committee that he didn't see fit to come here today? I think the record should show that Mr. Cacchione sent a wire to me, or to the committee, and asked to be permitted to come before the committee and submit testimony. We accept the request in good faith, and we regret that he didn't come.

Does any member of the committee have any questions?

Mr. MUNDT. You might express to Mr. Cacchione the surprise of a country boy from South Dakota that a man who can write such a tough letter would take a run-out powder on his invitation and not have the courage to come before the committee himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is this insulting thing you just read the expression of the Communist Party of Brooklyn, too, and your expression as secretary of this party?

Mr. SCHRANK. I believe it is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

As there are no more witnesses, the committee will adjourn, and the Chair will endeavor to get in touch with the members of the committee at an early date for an executive session to consider the bills now before us.

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