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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

MAY 16, JUNE 18, AND JULY 23, 1957

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 16, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:35 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building. Senator John Marshall Butler presiding.

Present: Senators Butler and Roman L. Hruska.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William Rusher, associate counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator BUTLER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, the witness this morning is Mr. Marian Zielinski, who has very recently defected. He represented the Polish Communist government here in the United States.

Senator BUTLER. Will you rise and hold up your right hand?

In the presence of Almighty God, do you solemnly promise and declare that the evidence you will give this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you will also swear Mr. Nagorski, who has acted as interpreter before us previously.

Senator BUTLER. Do you solemnly swear that you will truly interpret the evidence given by this witness before this subcommittee?

Mr. NAGORSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARIAN ZIELINSKI, AS INTERPRETED BY ZYGMUNT NAGORSKI

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Nagorski, will you give your name and address, please?

Mr. NAGORSKI. Zygmunt Nagorski, 56804 Wilson Lane, Bethesda, Md.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give the reporter your full name, Mr. Zielinski?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Marian Zielinski.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have recently come to the United States; have you not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances of your arrival into the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Are you asking about the escape, or asking about the actual arrival?

Mr. MORRIS. The actual arrival, preliminary to your defection.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I arrived here together with the crew assigned for the World Trade Fair in New York as a representative of the Foreign Trade Enterprise.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you come to the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. April 10.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you come into the port of New York?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, sir; the port of New York.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us briefly what you did in connection with this assignment you had with the Foreign Trade Ministry.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was attached to the bookstand at the New York World Trade Fair of the Polish Cabinet.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances surrounding your defection?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Since I was a little afraid how to do it, having been brought up in a Communist system, 2 days prior to my final decision to escape in New York, my friends took out my suitcase from my hotel room, and I remained for another 2 days to be certain that I am not followed; and then I escaped.

I escaped during the night, left the hotel in the middle of the night.

Mr. MORRIS. What hotel were you staying at, at the time?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And the friends who took your suitcase, were they American citizens or were they Polish?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; American citizens.

Mr. MORRIS. That you had met in connection with your work over here?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. We met during the World Trade Fair in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did anything happen during the World Trade Fair that encouraged your defection?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I made my decision earlier, but there was one incident which may be of interest to you.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. On the second day of the exhibition a Polish commercial attaché asked me, "What are the general questions people are asking you while visiting the fair?"

Among others, there was a question whether Poles like the Russians. And since I didn't know exactly how to answer that question, I said, "We Poles like everybody who are not harming us."

And the attaché told me that this was a very poor answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the attaché?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Koscinsky.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is his position? He is Polish commercial attaché?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He is the attaché in Washington.

And then he said how I should have answered it.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he say?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. That the Poles like the Russians because we have the same policy, and that the Russians are helping us, and that we have similar purposes, political aims and goals.

And during my last conversation with him, which was on another occasion, he drew attention to the fact that he was not pleased with

me, because during the trade fair I was going around by myself without sticking to the group.

Mr. NAGORSKI. I wonder if I should translate what was in the rest of the answer, which was a personal thing, what he was doing when he was alone.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were the representative of the Foreign Trade Enterprise, were you not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And where were your headquarters?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In Warsaw.

Mr. MORRIS. What particular part of the Foreign Trade Enterprise were you in charge of?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was in charge of a book section of the export division. My responsibility was to export books to the United States of America and to Latin America.

Mr. MORRIS. How many employees were there in the Foreign Trade Enterprise altogether?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Around 250.

Mr. MORRIS. How many in your particular section, that is, selling books to Canada and the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was alone covering the United States of America and Latin America.

Mr. MORRIS. And how many people were there in that section?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was alone.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how many books did you send to the United States in 1956?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Around 90,000 volumes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us as much as you can about the nature of these books? What were they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The first year, until 1954, we were sending to the United States quite a lot of Communist books, particularly classics, Marx, Lenin, Stalin.

After 1954 American mail authorities stepped in and started to seize these books. Therefore, a very small quantity of those books were shipped from Warsaw, and finally it dwindled to almost zero.

Then our policy was changed, and we were trying to get across to Americans of Polish descent. We followed the line of trying to divide various Polish organizations in the United States and then tried to play one against the other. We knew in Warsaw that the Polish community in the United States is strong, and we were trying to disorganize it as much as we could.

Mr. MORRIS. You were trying to disorganize the Polish-American community in the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You knew it was strong in what sense, anti-Communist?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, anti-Communist, in their anti-Communist feelings.

Senator BUTLER. Can you tell us whether or not there is any freedom of religion in Poland?

Mr. NAGORSKI. The witness is asking permission to finish his first question, if you don't mind.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. We were sending books which were trying to play up the national sentiments, the national feelings of Poles, and change

their political opinions to a certain extent. And the books which were sent by our headquarters were all subsidized. They were not a paying proposition.

For each book sold by us the Government had to add about 200 percent of the value of the book. So if the book was—supposing the book was sold for \$1, the Government was giving us \$1.83—it is flexible between \$1.83 and 200 percent.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski, you say that up until 1954 you were sending straight Communist propaganda, doctrinaire books? What was the nature of the books you were sending in 1956 and the early part of 1957?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I cannot say exactly that only up until 1954 they were Communist propaganda books. Since we couldn't send books which were purely political propaganda, we started sending books which did not appear to be purely political, but had a hidden political message included in the content.

For instance, there was a time when we were trying to send elementary textbooks for children of American-Polish descent, but we couldn't sell them in the United States, because they were too obvious in their political propaganda approach. They had, for instance, a picture of late Communist President Bierut, and the text of the International.

In other books which were sent to the United States, for instance, fiction, the text was never changed, but a preface would have to be written which had political propaganda elements which were pro-Communist.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have any American books originally written by Americans translated into Polish and then sent back?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; Howard Fast's books were.

Mr. MORRIS. Any others?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. It is difficult for me to say now, but I am sure that there were others, too.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what general breakdown was there of the foreign trade enterprise?

Mr. NAGORSKI. The witness is wondering whether he shouldn't answer your question now, sir.

Senator BUTLER. And also I would like to ask the witness this question: He was in Poland at the time of the affair in Hungary; was he not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. What was the general reaction toward that affair?

Mr. NAGORSKI. The witness is asking which question he should take first, the Hungarian or the church.

Senator BUTLER. Either one. The question in connection with the church was prompted by reason of the fact that we have such a strong Polish element in America that are deeply religious people who are very anti-Communist.

Mr. NAGORSKI. He would like to answer, first, the first question, if he may.

Senator BUTLER. All right.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Religion prior to 1955 was strictly limited, but the more the Communists tried to restrict religious activities of the population, the more the people were going to church, as a rule. There

were even people going to church who never before were known to be practicing Catholics. They were demonstrating their protest against the Communist Government and its policy.

Therefore, the Communists had to change, in a way they were forced to change their attitude, simply because it backfired.

Mr. NAGORSKI. That is the essence of his answer.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. If you care to ask me any other questions I would be glad to answer them.

Senator BUTLER. Yes. I would like to know from the witness the general opinion of the population as he found it in connection with the Hungarian revolt, and whether any opinion was expressed in connection with the stand of this Government, in connection with that revolt.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. When the revolution broke out in Hungary the Poles were extremely unhappy. There was a revulsion in Poland against the Soviet action. Many people thought—more than thought, they were convinced—that Hungary would receive help from the United States of America.

When it appeared clear that no help would be forthcoming, the Poles were extremely disappointed and bitter. This is why, during the last period of time the confidence and trust which the Americans enjoyed in Poland diminished to a great extent, because there was no help forthcoming for Hungary.

One could hear in Poland opinions expressing the general view that the Americans were no longer interested in the fate of the captive peoples of Europe. And I think that in order to restore this confidence in Poland—right, now, as far as I know, there are negotiations for a loan for Poland—it seems to me that in order to help the nation, the people, not the Government, such loan from the United States should be granted, since I think that the Poles deserve it, perhaps more than anybody else.

It is possible that some people will say that the loan will be taken over by the Russians and will not go to Poland. But the Polish public opinion is greatly interested in the fate of the negotiations and the possibility of the loan. And there is no possibility of hiding from the Poles the fact that the loan was granted, and, therefore, not the slightest chance that the Russians would be able to lay their hands on the goods or money which would be forthcoming.

The Poles are listening to the western radio.

Mr. MORRIS. Do the Polish people listen to the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. They listen to Radio Free Europe, BBC.

Senator BUTLER. Is there any restriction on that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. When I left Poland there were no restrictions against this. But people were not talking about the fact that they were listening, they just listened.

Perhaps it was a legacy of previous days, and also trying to be secure for the future, should a change of policy be enacted.

Do I answer your question, sir?

Senator BUTLER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there any anti-Soviet talk in Poland now?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In Poland quite a few people don't like the Russians or the Communists, and there are plenty of discussions on that subject, but not publicly because there is still fear of reprisals.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you were never a member of the Communist Party; were you?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; never.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with the foreign trade enterprise with which you worked, who was the head of that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Schoenborn; first name Slawomia.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. For whom did he work directly?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He was working under the supervision of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Mr. MORRIS. And was he in charge of the operation in which you distributed to the United States and South America?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He was chief of the entire foreign trade enterprise.

Mr. MORRIS. And he told you what to do?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was getting my instructions from my immediate chief.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was he?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Biegala.

Mr. MORRIS. You say Schoenborn was a Communist?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he send Communists to the United States from time to time to supervise the work you were doing here?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; within the last few months, in January and February, two people were sent.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Miss Maria Wscieklica and Zdzislaw Jablonski.

Mr. MORRIS. What was the purpose of their mission to the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. They came to the United States to establish contact with commercial firms in order to be able to export books from Poland directly to their own dealers in this country.

Miss Wscieklica is a member of the Communist Party, Jablonski is not a member of the party. But during the German occupation he declared himself as Volksdeutsch.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is a Volksdeutsch?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. They were the Poles who declared themselves for collaboration with the Germans against the Poles. He is now serving the Communists, and he has been twice sent abroad, which is a sign of great confidence in the party.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, will you tell us, for instance, some of the contracts that he negotiated while he was here?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Among the others, they signed a contract with a Polish newspaper, Everybody's Daily, published in Buffalo, which is the only Polish-American newspaper in the United States which is cooperating with our institution now.

Mr. MORRIS. That in itself is not a Communist newspaper, is it?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't know whether it is a Communist newspaper. When I saw one of its editions, all news from Poland was written in a strikingly similar way to similar news items published in Poland—not now, but in 1955 or 1954, when the general policy was that everything is going extremely well in Poland, much better than it ever was before the war.

The contract was signed with this newspaper for export of Polish books from Warsaw to Buffalo. The annual volume from 1957 is 6,000, and for 1958 it will be 13,000.

Mr. MORRIS. 13,000?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. 13,000 volumes. And the same number for 1959.

I am sorry, I have to correct that statement. The 6,000 was the amount of money, \$6,000 and 13,000 volumes for 1957, 1958, and 1959, not 6,000 volumes for 1957.

Mr. MORRIS. You gave 2 figures; 1 was the volumes and the other was the amount?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What were some of the other distribution points of the pro-Communist books that you were sending to the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. There are quite a few distribution points in the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us about them generally?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I have already given to another agency the list of about 30 points, but if you care, I can repeat it.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us some of the more important ones now?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Polonia International in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Who runs the Polonia International in New York?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Pargiello is the president.

Mr. MORRIS. Pargiello?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Right. But all the commercial dealings with Poland are in the hands of Mr. Leopold Dende.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is Leopold Dende?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He was several times in Warsaw, and I saw him in our office. He is a representative of a travel agency, and he also represents and is the editor in chief of a publication known as Polonia Reporter, published in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that published in New York, too?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he collaborate with your Communist superiors when he was in Warsaw?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, he was collaborating, when he was in Warsaw he was clearing the text of his magazine with our headquarters.

Mr. MORRIS. Is his office 335 East 14th Street, New York City?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many times did you see him clearing his material with your Communist superiors?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I saw him only once, but I know that he has been to Warsaw three times, and I saw him in my office twice. But the clearance, the actual clearance, I witnessed only once. He was showing in our office a few copies of Polonia Reporter, and he was asking our director what was his opinion of it.

This periodical was given free to everybody who visited the Polish stand at the World Trade Fair in New York. Dende sent us around 3,000 copies for free distribution.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, your whole operation in the United States was watched over by Mr. Koscinsky, was it not, to your knowledge?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, Koscinsky, as the commercial counsel of the industry, has the right to supervise all of our activities, and also the power of decision. And he was the one who requested copies of all

our correspondence with our dealers in the United States. He was the only one among all our commercial counselors over the world who was persistent in asking for copies of such correspondence.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, he got all copies of all correspondence that you sent from Warsaw to any dealer or anyone for whom you transacted business here in the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you have any copies of the Polonia International, any of their pamphlets or leaflets with you?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I have here copies of periodicals which are published in Poland for export only in the Polish language.

Mr. MORRIS. What are they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. One is called Our Fatherland, in Polish; the other is Seven Days, in Polish.

Mr. MORRIS. Those were not your products, were they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. They were exporting them.

Mr. MORRIS. That was not under the book division, was it?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No, it was not in mine, but I know a little about it.

Mr. MORRIS. But this is in addition to the—

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Those periodicals are only for export, and one cannot buy them in Poland, because they are publications of strictly propaganda character geared for American Polish. Everything is described in rosy colors as far as Poland is concerned.

Mr. MORRIS. Does it accurately portray conditions in Poland?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; it does not accurately portray conditions in Poland. Those periodicals are similar to illustrated magazines put out by the Soviet Union for the same purpose.

Mr. MORRIS. Do any of the officials of the Soviet Union superintend or look over the work you were doing in the book division, or what your associates were doing in the pamphlet division?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. There was no supervision in my section; I don't know of any.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you see Soviet officials at any time in Warsaw?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; there is a Soviet delegate who has been collaborating with our enterprise. His name is Malinin.

Mr. MORRIS. What is his first name; do you know?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No. His job is to blueprint cooperation between our headquarters and similar institutions in the Soviet Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you ever have occasion to know that this book operation—and, by the way, it was broken down into two sections, was it not, one for capitalist countries and the other for the so-called people's republics?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ever work with any section other than the United States, the United States and South America?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; I did. Prior to my last assignment, I was also in charge of the Canadian section. Lately I was working only for the United States and Latin America.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you at any time encounter any instances where this operation was being used as a cover for intelligence?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I can only say that in France, for instance, there is an institution which is exclusively occupied by selling our books. And this institution is not paying us for the books it receives. And

when we approached the Minister of Foreign Affairs asking for help and some kind of a solution, the Ministry answered that it cannot be done. And then I, personally, asked my own boss, and he told me that the lady who is in charge of that institution in France has also other jobs to perform. And I think that perhaps there is some intelligence work involved.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you think?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the reason for your thinking there is intelligence work involved?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Because an institution which receives books and doesn't pay—and it was not permitted for us to stop further dispatch of books—must have some other character, must be covering something else. This is purely my own deduction. The name of the lady in question is Mrs. LaFontaine. I also heard a similar opinion about her activities from someone else in our institution who was in charge of the French section.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Similar opinion about the lady which I just expressed.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the name of the institution, since we have gone into it so much? I think that may well go into the record now.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Polish Book in France.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you will tell us some more of the major distribution points in the United States for your products.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The major point of book distribution in the United States is Buffalo.

Mr. MORRIS. What else is there in Buffalo other than Everybody's Daily?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; in Buffalo, Everybody's Daily is the only distributor. They have extremely good arrangements with us. The Polish Book Importing Co. in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. Who runs that; do you know?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Opalinski. Gayf Publications.

Mr. MORRIS. Where are they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Albany, N. Y.; Polish American Book, in Chicago.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is the person in charge of Polish American Book in Chicago?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Bialasiewicz.

Mr. MORRIS. Anything else in Chicago?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; nothing else.

Mr. MORRIS. What are some of the others?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Polish Publications in Milwaukee.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know who is in charge of that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there any others?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Imported Publications & Products in New York City. Mrs. Coul is in charge. Stechert-Hafner in New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are there any other large United States cities that receive these books?

Mr. NAGORSKI. He gave some more, about 30 distribution points, but he doesn't remember them now.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything in Cleveland or Detroit that you think of offhand?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. There are, but I don't remember which one.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with the South American operation, did you generally have the assignment of collecting addressees, the names of addressees?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I saw in our headquarters a list of addresses of Poles living in Brazil which contained about 4,000 names and addresses. I think that this list was received through our Embassy in Brazil.

Mr. MORRIS. Generally, did you receive from either your own Communist government or from the Soviet Union a list of bookdealers or a list of possible addressees of all your publications?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes. We have once received from the Soviet Union a list of dealers with whom the Soviet Union is cooperating worldwide, for our use if we wanted them. Among others, on that list was the firm which is operating in the United States, Four Continent Book Corp., in New York.

Mr. MORRIS. That, Senator, has occurred repeatedly throughout all our hearings. Now, in connection with these particular bookdealers who purchased your book, they aren't necessarily Communist bookdealers, are they?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I cannot say anything on that subject, but I know that quite a few dealers refuse to cooperate with us, because they consider that Poland has a Communist government.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything more you can tell us about the distribution of the books here in the United States that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee should know about?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I would like to say that the entire enterprise of exporting books to the United States is conducted under a very strict supervision of the Polish Embassy in Washington; the headquarters where I worked was sending books in foreign languages, among others in English, in order to conduct propaganda, not only among the Poles, but also among the Americans.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean the object of this Polish propaganda in the United States was not only Polish-American groups, but people not even of Polish extraction?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; it is not only confined to people of Polish extraction.

Mr. MORRIS. And you say the Polish Ambassador superintends all this?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Who is the Polish Ambassador?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. It is not controlled personally by the Ambassador, but by the commercial counsellor, Koscinsky, mentioned earlier. And books which are not published in the English language very often are shipped with summaries and explanations attached to the books, in English. And they are books published in Poland especially for export with much better covers, and the entire quality of the book is far superior to domestic production.

The purpose of this special production, special editions, is to give an impression that in spite of the fact that Poland has a poor reputation in the West, people would think that, if Poland can afford to produce such luxurious books, things are not so bad over there at all.

There is also a periodical called Poland which is published in English and several other languages. And this is a propaganda publica-

tion aimed at the Americans and given free by the Embassy in Washington.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski, this book that you have before you is of much inferior quality than the type of thing that you produced; is it not?

This you would not call a book, would you?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No. It is not a book. It is a periodical.

Mr. MORRIS. And the books that you sent to the United States were elaborate, full-sized books, were they not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Full-sized books.

Mr. MORRIS. Permanent bound books?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Not always. There were various kinds of bindings, both paper and permanent.

Mr. MORRIS. But you do know of your own knowledge that this was a heavily deficit operation?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, I do. We had quarterly meetings, quarterly conferences in which I participated. In our office we were always giving figures on how many books and what amount we have exported, and how much the state subsidized us.

There was a trend in our office of trying to put this on a healthy commercial basis, but the answers to those people who were making such suggestions was that we were not a commercial institution, but our institution was a propaganda outfit, and this is much more important than making money.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge were the sections that had to do with the various publications such as the newspapers and periodicals that you have before you also deficit operations?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; they were deficit operations.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you give us a general idea—I know it is probably difficult, because you are only one part of it—how much money the Polish Communist government spends on propaganda against the United States every year?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I couldn't give you any figure, but I know that it is a very substantial amount, because I knew from my own small section how much we have been spending to propagandize both the Americans and the Americans of Polish descent.

Senator BUTLER. How many people were employed in his section?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Our entire section was composed of 11 people, but I was alone for the United States.

Mr. MORRIS. That doesn't mean that you actually did the shipping, does it?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do actually?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was receiving orders, negotiating contracts with the distributors and giving instructions for the actual shipments, and also, I was giving instructions regarding the dispatch of catalogs and book lists.

Mr. MORRIS. And you said altogether there were 250 employees in the Foreign Trade Enterprise; did you not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What did that embrace?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The headquarters was divided into several divisions: A division of books, which was in turn divided into capitalistic coun-

tries and socialistic countries; and then there was a division of periodicals, and a division of various articles such as stamps, gramophone records, and antique furniture, and other similar objects.

As far as the division of books, the capitalistic section was divided into two, import and export. And there was another division which was buying books for export. This was a division which was making decisions as to what kind of books were to be purchased from publishers and used for export.

We had our own storehouses where the books were kept. The value of our books stored in our storehouses was between 20 million and 30 million zlotys. There was also another division, which was a commercial division, which was in charge of the publicity and propaganda work. They were publishing prospectuses, catalogs, pricelists, and they were also in charge of organizing trade exhibitions and book exhibitions abroad.

Mr. MORRIS. I have just a couple of questions, Senator, if I may quickly finish up.

We plan to have hearings in Philadelphia in the near future. Can you think of any Philadelphia outlets?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't believe there is one, but you know that currently there is someone, a representative from our headquarters in Warsaw, traveling all over America, and Philadelphia may be one of his targets.

Senator BUTLER. Is there an outlet in Baltimore?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't know of any.

Mr. MORRIS. After Howard Fast announced that he was leaving the Communist Party, did that change the shipment of Howard Fast's books to the United States?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The action after Hungary was different than it was in other Soviet block countries, and because of that there were no repercussions in Poland, and those books, as far as I know, were not withdrawn from our operations.

It is possible that he won't be reprinted again, but all books were not taken out of operation.

Mr. MORRIS. How long did you work for Foreign Trade Enterprises?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. From August 1, 1953.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Chairman, I should like to ask this: During the Hungarian revolution, the activities of the young folks of high-school and college age were very great in the actual fighting—they threw these gasoline bottles and lighted the tanks, and did whatever they could.

I am wondering what is the attitude of Polish youth of that same age after all of their education in Communist schools and with Communist doctrine; what is their feeling, what is their spirit?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Polish youth—in spite of the fact that for the last 12 years they have been indoctrinated by the Communist schools, Polish youth is not Communist.

The youth knows from either parents or friends how Poland looked before the war, and they know how it looks now, so they can make a comparison. And they all listen to the western radio, Free Europe, the Voice of America, on BBC from Madrid and Ankara, Polish pro-

grams. And I think that it will never change in terms of having never been pro-Communist.

And they cannot forget that the Russians took Polish freedom away.

During the Hungarian revolution, in Poland, if only it would have been physically possible, the entire Polish youth would have joined the Hungarian freedom fighters.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you read or heard of the speech that Gomulka made in Poland yesterday?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. What difference is there between the latest speech in Poland in October during the revolution and the speech that he gave yesterday?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In his October speech, Gomulka promised liberalization in Poland. He promised that workers councils will be created which will be in charge of administration in the places of production, and promised freedom of speech and expression.

In the last speech, Gomulka underlined the fact that Poland can only speak about liberalization when the party will be strong. But once the party is strong, how the liberalization looks we have the best example in the Soviet Union.

Senator HRUSKA. When you speak of liberalization as a means of production, does that include farms? There is the collective farm and the cooperative farm.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Liberalization also includes agricultural policy, because it was permissible to withdraw from collectives, particularly the peasants who were forced to join collectives earlier, they were permitted to leave.

Mr. MORRIS. As a matter of fact, about 80 percent of the farms were no longer—maybe 90 percent—were no longer collective, were they? They were either cooperative, which is different from collective, or they were privately owned, is that true?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Because they resisted those cooperatives which farmers were forcibly asked to join, the liberalization was to give them a chance to get out of it.

Senator HRUSKA. But that chance is now being taken away from them if Gomulka's speech of yesterday will mean anything.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't know how much of his yesterday's speech reflects the new agricultural policy in Poland.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that this subject should be of current value to Members of Congress and to America generally for this reason. I don't know that they are still here, but recently there was a Polish delegation here seeking to reach some agreement with reference to a loan in terms of agricultural products and also in terms of industrial machinery and otherwise.

Now, I recall—and it is reported in the New York Times on May 2, and it was generally in the press—that there were tentative agreements made for about \$95 million worth of farm commodities, surplus, mainly wheat and cotton, and the rest for mining machinery. And one of the reasons assigned for making available to them this wheat, the key commodity, would be to enable the Polish peasants to free themselves from compulsory deliveries of wheat, that they raise on their farms, to the central government.

Senator BUTLER. The witness has already referred to that subject, Senator. And I understood his testimony to be to the effect that the people of Poland generally would like to get this loan, and it would boost morale there if they got it.

Is that correct?

Now, the effect that it would have on this particular program, I don't know.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Senator BUTLER. The people of Poland wanted the loan, irrespective of this new farm policy of the Soviets.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. That is correct.

Senator HRUSKA. The point I make, Mr. Chairman—and I will ask the witness a question after a while—I assume that he is getting the substance of my remarks—the point I make is that representations have been made to us that surplus commodities were being made available to Poland to jar them loose from this compulsory crop delivery.

Yesterday, in his speech, Gomulka emphasized the importance of getting Polish peasants back into the collective farms which they deserted last fall as a means of insuring “the socialistic transformation of the countryside.” And he gives as one of his three essential fundamentals the future program: Democratic government, socialization of the means of production, and former farms and the creation of a framework and central management for the entire national economy.

The question I should like to ask is: Granted that these commodities will be helpful, and they will increase the good morale of the Polish Nation, if they are going to bolster and strengthen a totally Communist concept here in a Communist setup, whose side are we on, anyway?

That is the question I should like to ask. And how much difference is there ultimately in helping Poland, which will function entirely within the Russian sphere and the Russian philosophy, and helping Russia itself? That is the question I should like to ask.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I think, sir, that in this whole issue you have two aspects. One is to give a loan to the regime of Poland. And the other is to help those Poles who fought during the Poznan riots last year, and who last October were instrumental in forcing the Polish liberalization, and called for more freedoms.

It is important to give a helping hand to the people of Poland. It cannot be taken over by the Russians, as I explained earlier, because the entire Polish community fully realizes that negotiations are being held right now, and as soon as it is officially known that the loan is granted, the Poles would know about it, and because Polish opinion and the reaction in Poland is extremely vivid to any developments right now of that kind, the Communists would be afraid to do anything, fearing that perhaps a move of that kind would precipitate in Poland another Hungarian tragedy.

It seems to me that the Poles should be given this loan. And that is all I wanted to say.

Mr. MORRIS. That is not answering the Senator's question.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Will you explain what you mean?

Senator BUTLER. The question goes to only one fact, we are to give agricultural commodities to Poland so that these people can get out of the collective farms and be free farmers.

Now, Gomulka says that that is not going to happen.

Senator HRUSKA. That is right.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Some of the collective farms have been already dissolved. And outside the collectives the majority of the farm properties are in private hands. And there are more small landowners, small holders in Poland, than there are collectives. And they will be the ones who will profit. And they will be the ones who need more help than anybody else.

Senator HRUSKA. That is true, but here is Gomulka saying yesterday, that is all behind us, we are going to have a program now which stresses the importance of getting the Polish peasants back into collective farms.

Now, obviously, the government like Poland has, whatever the leader says, that goes, they don't have referendums there, they don't have to take orders. So even if they are largely privately owned now, the program and the plans for the future mean more collective farms and not less.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In Poland you cannot expect many more new collective farms, in spite of what Gomulka said, because Polish peasants don't want to join. And even at the early date when they were forced to join, physically forced to join, not always were the Communists successful.

I don't believe that the situation exists as you describe it, that when the leaders say something they will do it, because the past proved—

Senator HRUSKA. You don't think, then, that Gomulka will be able to force them into collectives.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; I don't think he will be able to force them.

Senator HRUSKA. What about cooperatives?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The same, as far as cooperatives are concerned.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, those are the only observations I have to make at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Senator BUTLER. Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Rusher has one question.

Mr. RUSHER. Mr. Zielinski, how old are you?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Twenty-four.

Mr. RUSHER. Could you give us a little of your educational background?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I was graduated from an eighth grade elementary school, and also graduated from a 3-year school of commercial administration, and a 2-year school of foreign trade.

Mr. RUSHER. About a year ago or less we had an official who defected just previous to that, who had been an official of the central committee of the Polish Communist Party. I believe his name was Czeslaw Biegala. Are you familiar with the facts or any of the reactions as to his defection, in Poland, that is?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No. I don't know any details about his escape, but in Poland a press release was issued about his escape after he started speaking to Poland over Radio Free Europe.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the broadcast effective?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Very effective. Quite a few people were listening to him. He was declared a traitor to the Polish cause, by the Polish Government.

Mr. RUSHER. I have no other questions.

Senator BUTLER. Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. No questions.

Senator BUTLER. Senator Hruska?

Senator HRUSKA. No questions.

Senator BUTLER. If there are no further questions, the subcommittee will stand in recess, subject to the call of the Chair.

(The following accounts of Polish loan negotiations, to which Senator Hruska made reference were later ordered into the record:)

[From the Washington Post of May 16, 1957]

"GET TOUGH" POLICY SET IN POLAND

The new sense of freedom in Poland since the bloodless revolution of last October is described by Delia and Ferdinand Kuhn in the first of a series of articles appearing Monday in the Washington Post.

WARSAW, May 15 (UP).—Communist leader Wladyslaw Gomulka said today that any of Poland's Reds who differ with party leadership should get out of the party.

"Any member of the party who does not agree with its policy or * * * its ideological principles should hand in his party card or face the threat of expulsion," Gomulka told the Communist central committee at its first meeting since he returned to power last fall.

In a 6-hour speech, Gomulka also—

Called for decentralization of Poland's industry, following the example set in Russia.

Emphasized the importance of getting Polish peasants back into the collective farms they deserted last fall as a means of insuring the "socialist transformation of the countryside."

Declared that the party must "step up its attack on the masses"—apparently meaning that the Reds plan a major membership drive to close the gaps left in their ranks by mass resignations last fall.

Proclaimed Communist opposition to the renewal of religious instruction in Polish schools, while declaring at the same time that the Party wants peaceful coexistence with the Roman Catholic Church.

Gomulka said that for the most part control of Poland's state-owned factories should be transferred from central ministries to regional administrations in the provinces.

He said the "road to socialism" could take different forms in different countries, so long as the "universal principles deduced from the Soviet Union's experience of Socialist construction" were taken into account.

These essential fundamentals, he said, were:

The organization of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working masses to ally workers and peasants.

The overthrow of bourgeois rule and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Socialization of the means of production, farm reforms and the creation of a frame-work of central planning and management for the entire national economy.

[From the New York Times of May 2, 1957]

UNITED STATES-POLISH TALKS NEAR AGREEMENT ON \$95 MILLION AID—PACT AWAITS CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON FARM SURPLUSES—WARSAW SATISFIED

WASHINGTON, May 1.—The United States and Poland have reached virtual agreement on a United States aid program amounting to about \$95 million.

Actual signing of the agreement, revealed today by officials of the two nations, must await congressional passage of a bill adding \$1 billion to the present authority for the sale of farm surpluses for foreign currencies. The bill has passed the Senate and the House Agriculture Committee may report it at the end of this week.

The Polish negotiators are understood to be satisfied with the aid offer, though they had originally asked for about \$300 million.

FARM SURPLUS INCLUDED

Of the \$95 million, about \$80 million will be in the form of surplus farm commodities, mainly wheat and cotton. The rest is understood to be for mining machinery.

About two-thirds of the aid will be extended under the farm surplus disposal law. The Poles will buy the farm commodities for zlotys. Negotiations are said to be still proceeding on the question of what disposal to make of the Polish currency.

The rest of the total will be in the form of a dollar loan, financed from the \$100 million special Presidential emergency fund in the foreign aid appropriation. Loans to any one country under this fund are limited to \$30 million.

Because the current farm disposal authority is nearly exhausted, passage of the bill extending the program is necessary before the United States can make its full offer. The talks may be concluded within 2 weeks.

THIRD OF ORIGINAL REQUEST

Although the final amount is only about one-third of the original Polish request, the Poles are said to feel that the amount of wheat, the key commodity, will be enough to enable them to free the peasants from compulsory deliveries. In part their needs have been reduced by procurement of wheat elsewhere.

It is perhaps more than a coincidence that it was United States aid that enabled Yugoslavia, the first Soviet satellite, to break away from Moscow domination, to modify her system of compulsory deliveries of farm goods by the peasants.

In the case of both countries, reserve stocks are a prerequisite to an end of compulsory deliveries. These reserves can be used by the Government to prevent sharp price increases in case the peasants should hold back their crops.

(Whereupon, at 12 o'clock noon, the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, JUNE 18, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Alois Lazewski, managing editor of Everybody's Daily has prepared a statement that he would like to have introduced in the record of the Internal Security Subcommittee, in which he makes comment on the testimony of Marian Zielinski before the subcommittee on May 16, 1957. And I suggest that he appear to be sworn, to swear to the truth of the statement that he has submitted to the subcommittee and that the statement be put into the record and be made a part of the public record and printed at the time of Zielinski's testimony, so that the testimony of Mr. Lazewski will be part of the same record.

Senator HRUSKA. Is he present?

Mr. MORRIS. I believe so.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you come forward and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALOIS LAZEWSKI, MANAGING EDITOR OF EVERYBODY'S DAILY, BUFFALO, N. Y.; ACCOMPANIED BY THORNTON G. EDWARDS, COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter.

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Alois Lazewski, Buffalo.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are the managing editor of Everybody's Daily?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. That is a publication in Buffalo?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Right, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You are appearing here today with a prepared statement; are you not?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that your statement that you composed, that statement?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You know the full contents of it?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes; I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you willing to swear here under oath that these statements in there are truthful and accurate statements?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. I do, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Zielinski testified there were books purchased by you from the present Polish Government?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they, in fact, purchased by you?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. They were purchased by us in February, I believe, of this year.

Mr. MORRIS. When was it?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. In February.

Mr. MORRIS. In February of this year?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many books were involved?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Four books were delivered to us—rather four different titles. We have them here. We brought them along. These are the exact books that we have received, up until today.

(Witness handed counsel four volumes.)

Senator HRUSKA. How many were ordered of each of them?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. There were a thousand of each ordered.

Senator HRUSKA. And delivered?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. And delivered, yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How much did you pay for them per unit?

Mr. EDWARDS. My name is Thornton G. Edwards of Buffalo, N. Y., of the firm of Hodgson, Russ, Andrews, Woods & Goodyear, and I appear as counsel.

Everybody's Publishing Co., as the statement indicates, on May 4 of this year, filed under chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act. As a result, none of the books have been paid for. The Government sold the books as a general credit and, presumably, will receive a dividend on that.

Senator HRUSKA. How much did you agree to pay for them?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. I understand that it was 50 cents a book.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you planned to sell them?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. At what price?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. We discussed it between the management—about 98 cents a book or \$1 would be our price that we would be selling it for.

Mr. MORRIS. And you would like to submit the point, as I understand it, that these books contain no Communist propaganda?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Either in the body text or in the preface?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski said that the texts were not Communist texts by any means, but there was a pro-Communist preface put into the books. You are going to submit the books—

Mr. LAZEWSKI. The books.

Mr. MORRIS. As proof of the fact that the preface did not have anything pro-Communist?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. It contained a preface—one is a preface and the other one is more like a prologue. And they are both written by the author. One is signed by the author and one is a prologue to a story. And both of these prefaces are the same as on the shelves of the Buffalo Public Library. And when matched with these books and with the copies as we have in our Buffalo and Erie County libraries, the same prologue, the same wording and the same preface is there as stated in these books. In other words, there is no change whatsoever between the preface in the books printed in possibly 1920 or 1925, and the books printed now, that we have purchased.

Mr. MORRIS. A translation by the subcommittee of these books, which are in Polish, will show that?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Right.

Senator HRUSKA. All of that material which you told us about orally, plus other statements that are contained in your written statement which you have submitted to the committee, they are there?

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well, that statement will be received and made a part of the record at this point.

Mr. LAZEWSKI. Thank you.

(The statement referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 465" and is as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 465

STATEMENT OF ALOIS LAZEWSKI, MANAGING EDITOR OF EVERYBODY'S DAILY

My name is Alois Lazewski and my address is 12 Veterans Place, Cheektowaga, N. Y. I am managing editor of Everybody's Daily, a newspaper published in Polish and in English in Buffalo, N. Y. I am the official immediately responsible for the editorial policy of the newspaper. I have served in this capacity since May of 1955. I have been employed by the paper in various capacities for the past 25 years.

On May 16, 1957, Mr. Marian Zielinski testified before this subcommittee on the subject of the propaganda efforts of the Polish Communist government in the United States. Mr. Zielinski testified that he was a citizen of Poland and former official or employee of the Foreign Trade Enterprise, which I understand to be an agency of the Polish Government. He further testified that he left Poland and sought asylum in this country in April 1957. Some of Mr. Zielinski's testimony concerned Everybody's Daily.

Mr. Zielinski stated that the mission of his agency, the Foreign Trade Enterprise, was to distribute communistic propaganda and that Everybody's Daily was the only Polish-American newspaper in the United States which was cooperating with the Foreign Trade Enterprise. He stated that the major point of distribution in the United States for the propaganda of his agency was Everybody's Daily in Buffalo. He stated that 90,000 volumes were shipped from Poland and distributed in the United States in 1956 and strongly implied that our newspaper was the major distributor of those 90,000 volumes. Mr. Zielinski informed this committee that Everybody's Daily had entered into a contract with the Foreign Trade Enterprise to purchase 13,000 volumes from his agency in each of the years 1957, 1958, and 1959. Finally, Mr. Zielinski stated that, although he did not know whether Everybody's Daily was a Communist paper, he had seen one issue in 1954 or in 1955 and noted that its news from Poland was written in a strikingly similar way to similar news items published in Poland.

I would like to deal with the statements one at a time. In the first place, I should like to refer to Mr. Zielinski's statement that our newspaper was and is a major distributor of Communist propaganda from Poland. I should like to emphasize this statement: Everybody's Daily has never distributed any books or other reading matter prepared in Poland by the Polish Communist government, the Foreign Trade Enterprise, or any of its agencies, either in 1956, 1957, or any other year. We absolutely did not receive or distribute any material from Poland in 1956 nor have we distributed any books or other items from Poland in any of the previous years while it was under Russian and Communist domination.

I should now like to refer to Mr. Zielinski's statements concerning an alleged contract by which we were to purchase 13,000 books from Poland in each of the next 3 years. In January of this year, two representatives of an organization called Ars Polona came to the United States. It is now my understanding that Ars Polona is a trading agency of the Polish Government. The names of these representatives were Jablonski and Wscieklica. Mr. Zielinski referred to them in his testimony as the leading representatives of the Foreign Trade Enterprise visiting in this country. We knew them only as representatives of Ars Polona, an organization with offices in Warsaw specializing in the export of books, pictures, phonograph records, and religious articles from Poland. Their arrival in the United States was given considerable publicity and we have in our files reports of a dinner held in their honor by a leading and politically conservative American publishing company.

Their arrival in this country followed a series of revolts that had led to the creation of the Gomulka government in Poland. We have been led to understand that it was the foreign policy of the United States Government to encourage to a certain extent relations with the present Gomulka government as a symbol of the gradual turning away from Russian domination without the bloodshed which occurred in Hungary. It was with awareness of this policy of our Government that Everybody's Daily accepted and ran paid advertisements as to Polish participation in the World Trade Fair recently held in New York and American participation in the trade fair currently going on in Poznan, Poland.

Our paper has been run by citizens of Polish descent; the paper exists for and covers matters which interest other Americans of Polish descent who are, as a group, very devout and sincere Roman Catholics. We decided that we would be happy to be able to offer our readers the opportunity to read Polish classics in the original Polish. Because the market for books in Polish in the United States is small, there is very little opportunity to produce these classics in Polish in the United States except at prohibitive cost. We contacted these two representatives and found that we could obtain classics in Polish at quite reasonable prices. We disclosed an arrangement whereby Ars Polona would send to us within approximately the next 7 months, 13 classic titles consisting of 1,000 volumes per title or a total of 13,000 volumes. Contrary to Mr. Zielinski's testimony, no contract was signed in this regard. We made no agreement concerning purchases for 1958 or 1959.

Every one of the 13 titles, which were to be shipped in 1957, is a well-known classic in Polish literature. To the best of my knowledge, every one of these titles was written prior to World War I. One of the books, Quo Vadis, by Henry Sienkiewicz, is a well-known international classic describing the struggles and the triumphs of the early Christian saints and martyrs in ancient Rome. Only recently it was made into a great motion-picture film by a leading Hollywood producer and seen by many millions of Americans.

The other books, while they do not enjoy the same international reputation as Quo Vadis, are undeniable classics of Polish literature. To date we have received 4 titles or 4,000 books. Again I should like to emphasize this statement—not one of these books has been distributed. They are sitting in our warehouse except for the copies before me and one copy of each which we used for examination. We did not and would not distribute them until we had a Polish literature expert read each book, page by page, and line by line, to make sure that not a word of the original classic had been revised so as to introduce Communist propaganda. The expert whom we asked to read the four books which we have received is Mr. Alphonse S. Wolanin, a representative of the staff of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library and an instructor in Polish culture and literature at the University of Buffalo in that city. With the subcommittee's permission I should like to read the brief affidavit of Mr. Wolanin concerning the four titles which we have received.

"To the Senate Committee on the Judiciary Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws

"AFFIDAVIT OF ALPHONSE S. WOLANIN CONCERNING EVERYBODY'S DAILY OF
BUFFALO, N. Y.

"STATE OF NEW YORK,
"County of Erie, ss:

"Alphonse S. Wolanin, of 3638 Seneca Street, West Seneca, N. Y., being first duly sworn deposes and says:

"1. I am a member of the staff of the Buffalo and Erie County Public Library, of Buffalo, N. Y., and an instructor of Polish culture and literature at the University of Buffalo in the same city.

"2. At the request of Mr. Alois Lazewski, managing editor of Everybody's Daily of Buffalo, N. Y., I have read copies of four Polish language books which Mr. Lazewski described as having been printed in Poland and received by his newspaper in February and March 1957; and I have made a page-by-page comparison of said books with books of the same title in Polish on the shelves of the Buffalo Public Library. The titles of the books are as follows:

"1. Placowka.

"2. Dewajtis.

"3. Dziurdziowie-Cham (2 novels in 1 book).

"4. Chata za Wsia.

"3. The books received by Everybody's Daily are accurate reproductions of the editions in the Buffalo Public Library which I used for comparison. I found no pro-Communist deviations from the text. Two books, Chata za Wsia and Dziurdziowie-Cham, contained introductions; and these also conformed to the introductions in the Buffalo Public Library editions. The books received by Everybody's Daily contain orthographical changes which substitute modern Polish spelling and word usage and which reflect the orthographical modernization of the Polish language that occurred in 1935. In my opinion, some of the changes improve upon, and some detract from, the literary value and readability of the earlier editions. However, such orthographical changes nowhere alter the sense of the earlier texts in the Buffalo Public Library, and such changes produce the same effect in Polish as would a reprinting of Shakespeare's plays in modern English.

"4. The aforesaid books are well-known classics in Polish literature. The following are brief observations on each book and its author:

"5. Placowka, which means 'The Outpost,' was written in 1885. At that time Poland was not free; it was divided among its three neighbors, Germany, Russia, and Austria. The novel dramatizes the strong attachment of the Polish peasant to his father's soil and demonstrates how that attachment provided the Polish peasant with strength to withstand the foreign domination. The author, Boleslaw Prus (the pen name for Aleksander Glowacki), lived in the period 1845-1912. He has been described as the Charles Dickens of Polish literature because of his humor, love of children, and tender descriptions of human suffering.

"6. Dewajtis (an oak tree) was written in 1887. The story concerns the traditional life of the country gentry and peasants in Polish Lithuania. The author idealized this life in Dewajtis and in her other books. The author, Maria Rodziewiczowna, was born in 1863 and is believed to have died in 1944.

"7. Dziurdziowie (a family name) and Cham (a rustic person) were written in 1888 and 1889, respectively, by Eliza Orzeszkowa, commonly regarded as the first great woman writer of Poland. She lived in the period 1841-1910. Her novels reveal an ardent patriotism and concern for the social problems of her day. She wrote of the plight of the poor peasants and poor Jews and of corruption among administrative officials.

"8. Chata za Wsia (The Cottage Behind the Village) was written in 1854, by Jozef Charszewski. It is a novel about village life. The author, who lived in the period 1812-87, was one of the most prolific novelists of Poland. His writings were characterized by intense Polish patriotism at a time when Poland was ruled by Germany (Prussia), Russia, and Austria.

"9. It is to be expected that I and other students and critics of Polish literature may disagree as to the literary ranking of the aforesaid authors and novels relative to each other, but such authors and novels are recognized generally as among the leading figures and works in Polish literature.

"[SEAL]

"ALPHONSE S. WOLANIN.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14 day of June 1957.

"HENRY J. STANGE,

"Notary Public, State of New York,

"Residing in Erie County at time of appointment.

The books which I have before me are identical to those examined by Mr. Wolanin. I shall be happy to turn them over to the subcommittee for its inspection if it is interested.

I think Mr. Wolanin's sworn statement is a complete and emphatic answer to Mr. Zielinski's testimony that these books or parts of these books were revised to reflect pro-Communist propaganda.

Mr. Zielinski testified that in fictional works, the text was not tampered with, but that the preface would contain pro-Communist propaganda. I hope that the subcommittee will note that only 2 of the books were received contained introductions and that those 2 have introductions identical to those in the volumes which Mr. Wolanin used for comparison.

Mr. Zielinski told this subcommittee that Everybody's Daily was a major point of book distribution in the United States. I hope that the subcommittee will be as encouraged, as I am, to know that the biggest and best distributor of supposedly Communist books has thus far distributed not one single book and has not received any book showing any sign of Communist propaganda. If Everybody's Daily is the biggest and best distributor for Mr. Zielinski's former employer, the efforts of the Polish Government to distribute propaganda in the United States in book form are indeed producing no results whatsoever.

We have not been able to find anything wrong with the books we have received thus far. We do not plan to receive further shipments beyond the four titles which we already have. This is not because of any belief that the books we have are communistic.

The corporation which publishes Everybody's Daily went into reorganization under chapter XI of the Bankruptcy Act on May 4, 1957. Since that time, the company has been run under the general direction of a receiver, Mr. George F. Bates, appointed by the Federal District Court for the Western District of New York. When Mr. Bates, a short time after entering upon his duties as receiver, discovered the situation with regard to our purchase of books, he decided that we should not purchase additional books because the cash position of the company would not justify tying up funds in such a venture. His decision was made on that basis alone.

When asked before this subcommittee whether Everybody's Daily was a Communist newspaper, Mr. Zielinski replied that he did not know, but stated that in the one edition of the paper which he had seen, in 1954 or 1955, news from Poland was covered in a "strikingly similar way to similar news items published in Poland." He strongly implied that the one edition which he had seen in 1954 or 1955 suggested to him that Everybody's Daily might be a pro-Communist newspaper. Although the basis of his suggestion to this subcommittee was admittedly about as thin and shaky as it could be, his suggestion and its implication were given such wide publicity that in fairness to the good name of our newspaper itself and the many loyal citizens associated with it as employees and readers, I should like to place on the public record a small fraction of the large volume of material available to show that the implication of his testimony was and is completely false.

Our paper has followed a consistent and unwavering course of absolute opposition to the pro-Russian and pro-Communist regime in Poland and to communism and Communist regimes everywhere in the world. It is the only course we could possibly follow. Our employees and our readers, being for the most part Americans of Polish descent and devoutly religious people, are pained and angered by the enslavement of Poland under Russian and Communist domination. If there were ever a taint of procommunism in our newspaper I can assure the subcommittee that we would be without employees and without readers.

Our newspaper has been publishing for 50 years. We have always considered it one of our most important missions to promote Americanism and American ideals and to help the immigrant arriving from Poland to understand and cherish and become a valuable part of our American way of life. I shall not take the committee's time by itemizing all of the formal awards and citations that have been awarded to our newspaper by community leaders and organizations in tribute to its record of promoting Americanism and American ideals, not only among Polish-Americans but among all citizens of the communities which we serve. Neither I nor our loyal readers and subscribers can imagine a statement more unfounded than the statement that we were distributing Communist propaganda in the United States. I should like to quote briefly to this committee one of the editorials and statements which we published regarding communism on October 22, 1954, one of the years referred to by Mr. Zielinski:

"The meeting of the executive board of the Polish American Congress again gave an opportunity to Americans of Polish extraction to demonstrate their opposition toward communism.

"In warning the people about the aims of communism the executive board issued the following statement:

"The battle with communism as an active group within the boundaries of our country demands continuous alertness."

"To this we must add: 'Besides alertness we must also wage a constant war against communism which is a symbol of slavery, tyranny, and at the same time treachery against one's own country and community.'

"It is not the first time Americans of Polish descent have taken this attitude toward communism. They have been doing it for years—always warning our Nation about the dangers of communism; even when opposition to communism was not popular in many quarters.

"The executive board of the Polish American Congress maintains that the current world crisis is a result of the policy of appeasement toward communism. It reiterates that peaceful coexistence of communism and democracy is a hollow motto in practice, since it can't be realized because of the tenets of communism. Besides it is immoral and dangerous on account of the great ideological differences.

"You don't have to look far for examples of the above statements. You can see them everywhere, where communism is continually carrying on its aggressive aims in one form or another.

"The Communist offensive does not always take the form of open warfare. Sometimes—as in Korea and Indochina—it takes the form of civil war, but in reality it is a program of conquest and aggression conducted by the leaders in Moscow or Peiping.

"We also have a third form of Communist aggression under the guise of legal political parties in democratic countries. No one doubts that these parties serve only the interests of Russia.

"When speaking about coexistence, a favorite expression of some diplomats and politicians, we must remember, above all, the aims of Red aggression."

As to Mr. Zielinski's specific remark that the one issue of the paper which he saw in 1954 or 1955 had news strikingly similar to news reported in Poland, of course, I cannot answer in detail because I do not know of which issue he speaks. At that time the source of almost all of our foreign news was the United Press and the Free Europe Press, to which we subscribe. I believe that it is an accurate statement to say that our news concerning Poland upon any day in 1954 and 1955 was substantially the same as the news concerning Poland printed in any other American newspaper subscribing to a major news service.

The back issues of our newspaper, which are open to inspection by representatives of the subcommittee and anyone else, will bear out the statements that I have just made. We welcome such inspection.

As the subcommittee knows, testimony such as Mr. Zielinski's, when afforded wide publicity, as Mr. Zielinski's testimony was, can result in grave injury to the personal and business reputations of individuals and business organizations. Mr. Zielinski's testimony with regard to Everybody's Daily has resulted in such injury. I have with me here, and would like to offer to the subcommittee for inclusion in the record, a certified copy of the petition of Mr. Bates and the order of the referee in bankruptcy granting permission to Mr. Bates to send me here today to testify. I should like to thank the subcommittee for the opportunity to appear here and set the record straight as to Everybody's Daily.

Mr. EDWARDS. You will note that the prepared statement of the witness contains a three-page affidavit from Mr. Wolanin, and we have an original executed copy of that affidavit.

Senator HRUSKA. It will be received. Are there any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. I think that, certainly, in fairness to the witness and by way of completing our record, this statement, I feel, should be part of the record and be read in connection with the testimony. When we have these translated, they, too, will be made part of the record.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well; it shall be done that way.

The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 11:10 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 10:20 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator HRUSKA. The committee will come to order.

Judge MORRIS, who is the first witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Dende is the first witness, Senator Hruska.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony that you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. DENDE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF LEOPOLD DENDE, HAZLET, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Hruska, on May 15, 1957, Mr. Marian Zielinski, who has just recently asked for asylum from the Polish Communist Government, testified before our committee.

In the course of his testimony, he mentioned the witness here this morning, Mr. Dende.

We asked him about some of the distribution points of pro-Communist literature emanating from Warsaw, and he mentioned the Polonia International of New York. We asked who represented the Polonia International, and he said the man who handled the commercial dealings in Poland was Leopold Dende.

We asked him who was Leopold Dende, and Mr. Zielinski said that he was in Warsaw, and that he saw him in his office. He said that Mr. Dende was the representative of a travel agency, and that he also represented and was the editor in chief of a publication known as Polonia Reporter, published in this country.

And then I asked Mr. Zielinski if he, Mr. Dende, collaborated with Mr. Zielinski's Communist superiors when he was in Warsaw, and Mr. Zielinski said yes, he was collaborating when he was in Warsaw, and he said that he was clearing the text of his magazine with his headquarters.

And then I asked Mr. Zielinski how many times did he see him clearing the material with his Communist superiors, and Mr. Zielinski said, "I saw him only once, but I know that he had been to Warsaw three times, and I saw him in my office twice. But the clearance, the actual clearance, I witnessed only once. He was showing in our office a few copies of the Polonia Reporter, and he was asking our director what was his opinion of it. This periodical was given free to everybody who visited the Polish stand at the World Trade Fair in New York. Dende sent us around 3,000 copies for free distribution."

Now, that is the testimony that you would like to answer, is it not, Mr. Dende?

Mr. DENDE. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you recall having been to Warsaw—

Mr. DENDE. With your permission, sir, I have a prepared statement which, if you wish, I can read.

Mr. MORRIS. The only difficulty with that, Mr. Dende—

Mr. DENDE. You mean it is too long?

Mr. MORRIS. It has in it things that are not directly connected with this testimony. If you will, at the outset, talk about this particular testimony, then you may put into the record anything else you want.

Mr. DENDE. All right. Your question was, whether I was in Warsaw?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. DENDE. Yes, that is true.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you go there for the Polonia Reporter?

Mr. DENDE. I went the first time—naturally, since March of last year, I was in Poland 4 times, not 3 times, as Mr. Zielinski testified.

Mr. MORRIS. For what purpose did you go?

Mr. DENDE. There were several purposes. One purpose was to establish travel to Poland, which is relevant in this case.

And then the second purpose was to see what commercial arrangements could be made to import to America articles that would be of interest to Americans of Polish descent. Among these articles, were articles of a religious nature, and then some books, mostly picture albums that would portray the scenery of Poland, and books, Polish classics, things like that.

It was at no time even considered to import any so-called pro-Communist publications, I mean pro-Communist books.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you talk with the director of Polish Communist propaganda in Poland?

Mr. DENDE. No. Of course, I realized that all directors of foreign trade enterprises are pro-Communist, but I did talk to Mr. Zielinski's superior, Director General Schoenborn.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell that for the record, please?

Mr. DENDE. I think Mr. Zielinski knows the spelling better than I do. I think it is S-c-h-o-e-n-b-o-r-n. And his assistant director, Kuzminski.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you spell that?

Mr. DENDE. K-u-z-m-i-n-s-k-i.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you talk to them?

Mr. DENDE. I did talk to them about selecting some books that I thought it would be all right to import and distribute among the Polish-Americans, and they did present a great variety, a great assort-

ment, and from this assortment I selected certain publications of a nature which I thought would be better—mostly picture albums, scenery albums about Poland, Polish original pictures, things like that.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski told us that they were part of the propaganda policies of the Polish Government.

Mr. DENDE. I could not answer as to the policies of the Polish Government, or the policies of the Polish publishing firms in Poland.

However, the books I selected, in my opinion, were not Communist propaganda. They were only portraying Poland as it is, or as it was before the war.

Senator HRUSKA. And you said you had made four trips to Poland?

Mr. DENDE. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Who else did you see on any of these other trips besides the people you have so far mentioned?

Mr. DENDE. Well, I have seen many other—

Senator HRUSKA. Pertaining to books and literature, publications.

Mr. DENDE. Pertaining to books and literature, nobody else, because *Ars Polona* is a monopoly. That is the name of their foreign trade enterprise, and they are in that field, so if you want to import, you have to see them.

Senator HRUSKA. So, on each of the four times that you were there, insofar as books and literature and magazines are concerned, those are the people you saw, Mr. Zielinski's superior—

Mr. DENDE. That is right.

Senator HRUSKA. And the second gentleman that you named—what was that name?

Mr. DENDE. Kuzminski.

Senator HRUSKA. Those are the two men with whom you dealt?

Mr. DENDE. That is right. No one else in that department.

Of course, when they were presenting various items, because they also handled the religious objects, and also handled some art objects, peasant art, people's art, so naturally they knew the different people from different departments. I don't even remember some of those names; among those people was Mr. Zielinski. I never went to see Mr. Zielinski, but Mr. Zielinski was called to the main office, and then I met him, and, frankly, I did not even remember his name, or didn't recall him until I had seen him at the Polish stand of the United States Trade Fair in New York. I had no direct dealings with Mr. Zielinski.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Dende, he said that your *Polonia Reporter* was distributed by the commercial officials at the World's Fair.

Mr. DENDE. As I said in my statement, the arrangement was this.

Since the magazine is dedicated to the promotion of good-will between Poland and America, and amongst others, to the promotion of Polish-American trade, I had published a special issue which was dedicated to the United States participation in the Poznan Fair, and to the Polish participation in the World Trade Fair in New York. In conjunction with those, I issued several pages of advertisements of the Polish foreign trade enterprises in Poland that were exhibiting their goods in New York, and in conjunction with that, I agreed to deliver to them 3,000 copies for distribution.

However, not all copies were distributed because there were certain items in the *Polonia Reporter* which—only about 2,000 copies actually

were distributed, and the rest were not, because of a certain phrase in the magazine which was interpreted by the Polish commercial officials at the fair as possibly offensive to Russia, and they did not wish to be involved in political controversy. So that additional 1,000 was stopped in distribution for that reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Dende, Mr. Zielinski further said that you showed copies of the Polonia Reporter to these Communist propaganda officials.

Mr. DENDE. Well, I would not call them propaganda officials. Again, it is true, as I said here, that I had not only shown but distributed a large number of copies of the Polonia Reporter in Poland, not only to Ars Polona officials, but many other people, including the Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński—I was the first American to have audience with the cardinal, and there is evidence to that fact, and he made an endorsement, of which I will leave a copy as evidence here, in which he indicated approval of the aim of the magazine.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, Mr. Dende, what part of Mr. Zielinski's testimony is it that you are asking for an opportunity to refute?

Mr. DENDE. The basic part I object to is that where he testified that I cleared the text of my magazine with his Communist superiors. I never cleared the text of my magazine with anyone, and he admitted that maybe he misunderstood.

I talked to him since, and he said that he was misunderstood in his testimony.

I did show the copies, which is a natural thing if you are a publisher or an editor of a paper, and when you take 100 or 200 copies to Poland that you want to distribute copies of.

Mr. Zielinski, in private conversation with me, told me what he meant by "cleared the text."

But I did talk with an advertising official of the Ars Polona by the name of Sosposki, and did talk about an advertisement of Ars Polona in the publication, and this advertisement I did discuss with him, and that is what he meant, at least that is what he says now, when he made the statement I cleared the text.

Of course, he did not understand what "clearing of the text" means. He did not understand it. I never cleared any editorial or any other matter with anyone.

Senator HRUSKA. Are there any other aspects of his testimony to which you would like to refer and make an explanation?

Mr. DENDE. Well, the only aspect is, on the basis of his testimony, certain papers, especially one paper in Scranton, Pa., the Scranton Tribune, ran a front page, 5-column headline, "Ex-City Newsman Charged With Communist Activity." And the story was featured in such a way as to cast suspicion not only upon me but my nephew, Henry J. Dende, a school director, who was then running for renomination. And the paper ran a story that said, in part:

A former Scranton man, one time national news editor of a newspaper printed for national circulation, has been accused in Washington by a Polish trade official as being part of a link which carried on a propaganda campaign by Communists to indoctrinate the United States schoolchildren, and disrupt Polish-American communities.

Now, I was never involved in anything like that, and Mr. Zielinski told me today that he did not say anything of the sort.

This is probably the last thing—well, in this connection I make the statement in my prepared statement that:

I hope the newspapers which have published Zielinski's false charges against me and my publication will also publish my answer to the same, namely, that I was never engaged in Communist activity, and, on the contrary I have cooperated with this subcommittee in the investigation of Communist activity, and Mr. Schroeder knows that.

Mr. MORRIS. I read the transcript, and I thought you refused to answer the question, you invoked the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. DENDE. Oh, no, that is not so. I cooperated with the Internal Securities Subcommittee of the Senate, and Mr. Schroeder can testify to that fact, several years ago, and this was a private corporation, if he can recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, before the House Un-American Activities Committee—

Mr. DENDE. Well, that one before the House Un-American Activities, I did not want to divulge in public and otherwise certain names of my clients that had nothing to do with the Communist activity, when I had an office, public relations office, in Scranton, Pa., I did not want to embarrass them; some of them were maybe involved in political life, or something like that, nothing to do with Communist activity.

Mr. MORRIS. One other thing, did you take any of these publications to Warsaw?

Mr. DENDE. Did I what?

Mr. MORRIS. Did you purchase any of these publications in Warsaw?

Mr. DENDE. I published—I purchased some publications, as I told you. I purchased maybe several thousand dollars' worth of different published books, that is true.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you consider them to be Communist propaganda?

Mr. DENDE. No; they were not Communists propaganda in the sense that I understand Communist propaganda. They were advertised in the Polonia Reporter. You can have the list; you can examine them. I can send you all the copies. They were cleared by the United States customhouse, and by the United States Post Office, and—

Mr. MORRIS. Well, Mr. Zielinski said that the flagrant propagandistic products of your organization were stopped in 1954, and he said from that time on they were very subtle propaganda; that was so that it would pass customs inspection.

Mr. DENDE. Well, I don't know that you can consider a work by a Nobel prize winner as Communist propaganda, or any prewar writers, what would you consider—that is, of course, a question of judgment.

Pictures of Poland, showing how Polish scenery looks, or how reconstructed Warsaw looks—well, I have currently 1,000 copies of Warsaw Churches in Reconstruction, which was published by the council of the primate of Poland. If that is Communist propaganda, I plead guilty to it; but in my opinion there was not one book that I imported that is Communist propaganda.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there anything you want the record to show. I mean, is there anything you want to testify about, anything you wish

to add in order to completely express your stand here, anything else you would like to offer in the record?

Mr. DENDE. No; with the exception of this, that you have probably already read my prepared statement, and I would like to have that included in the record, that statement. I do not think it is necessary to read it—part of it was already answered in your questions and my answers.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you furnished the committee any list of books you purchased, or is there any listing in the magazine?

Mr. DENDE. They are listed in the magazines, and I am leaving them, if you wish, of the Polonia Reporter, that were published so far, so you can examine them at your leisure, and if you have any questions I will be glad to answer.

Senator HRUSKA. That will be very helpful.

Mr. DENDE. And I would also like to leave for the committee the clipping of the Scranton Tribune, to which I referred, to show how the story was twisted.

Mr. MORRIS. For the record, will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. DENDE. The reporter?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes; that man there.

Mr. DENDE. Leopold Dende.

Mr. MORRIS. And where do you live?

Mr. DENDE. Hazlet, N. J.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or occupation?

Mr. DENDE. I am now editor and publisher of the Polonia Reporter; that is all. I am not associated any more with Polonia International.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you associated with Polonia International?

Mr. DENDE. Up to May 1 of this year; so, any dealings that happened since then, I cannot refer to.

Mr. MORRIS. And the dealings that Mr. Zielinski testified to were prior to that?

Mr. DENDE. Was prior to that; yes, sir. However, the president of Polonia International, Mr. Pargiello, just returned from Poland, he was in Poland several weeks, and what arrangements he had there, I don't know, and I am not any part of it.

Mr. MORRIS. If there is nothing further, I would like the record to show that the witness asked for this hearing.

Senator HRUSKA. We are grateful to you for the material that you are leaving, and for your statement.

Mr. DENDE. Thank you.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski also asked to make a statement.

Senator HRUSKA. He was already sworn, and it will not be necessary for you to be sworn again, Mr. Zielinski.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Dende is still occupying the witness chair. Could you do that writing in this other chair, Mr. Dende, so Mr. Zielinski can testify?

Mr. DENDE. I am sorry.

Mr. MORRIS. There is another reporter here. We will wait just a minute.

(The material submitted by Mr. Dende is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF LEOPOLD DENDE

My name is Leopold Dende and I reside in Hazlet, N. J.

I am the editor and publisher of Polonia Reporter, a monthly magazine dedicated to the promotion of good will between America and Poland.

On May 16, 1957, Mr. Marian Zielinski, former employee of Ars Polona Foreign Trade Enterprise in Warsaw, Poland, who refused to return to Poland after his work at the Polish stand at the United States World Trade Fair in New York had ended and requested asylum in the United States, testified before this subcommittee that I have collaborated with his Communist superiors, while in Warsaw, and that I was clearing the text of my publication with his headquarters.

To the question of Mr. Morris "How many times did you see him clearing his material with your Communist superiors?" Mr. Zielinski replied: "I saw him only once, but I know that he has been to Warsaw three times, and I saw him in my office twice. But the clearance, the actual clearance, I witnessed only once. He was showing in our office a few copies of Polonia Reporter, and he was asking our director what was his opinion of it. This periodical was given free to everybody who visited the Polish stand at the World Trade Fair in New York. Dende sent us around 3,000 copies for free distribution."

Mr. Zielinski also testified that in Polonia International, Inc., of New York, all the commercial dealings with Poland were in my hands.

Mr. Zielinski's testimony is partly true and partly false.

It is true that up to May 1 of this year I had handled most of Polonia International's commercial dealings with Poland. Since May 1, I was not associated with that firm and, since Mr. Zielinski testified on May 16, he was obviously uninformed about the composition of Polonia International then.

Mr. Zielinski's charge that I have collaborated with his Communist superiors, while in Warsaw, and that I was clearing the text of my publication with his headquarters, is false.

He indicated as much in his own testimony by saying that I was showing a few copies of Polonia Reporter in Ars Polona's office in Warsaw and asking his former superior what was his opinion of the magazine. Not only in Ars Polona's but in many other places in Poland I was not only showing but actually distributing Polonia Reporter and asking people's opinion about same. One of those who thus received Polonia Reporter was the primate of Poland, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, who indicated his approval of the magazine's aim and policy, and the evidence of this is in the second issue of Polonia Reporter, which I am offering as evidence, as well as all other copies of Polonia Reporter published so far.

Polonia Reporter is an independent American publication and I have never cleared the text of my magazine with anyone.

As a publication devoted to the promotion of Polish-American trade, Polonia Reporter carried in the two preceding issues several pages of advertisements of Polish Foreign Trade Enterprises, plus appropriate features. In this connection 3,000 copies of April issue were to be distributed at the Polish stand at the United States World Trade Fair in New York but actually only about 2,000 copies were distributed and the rest were not used because a certain phrase in the magazine was interpreted by the Polish commercial officials at the fair as possibly offensive to Russia and they did not wish to be involved in political controversy.

By his false testimony Mr. Zielinski caused me and others a lot of harm.

For example, on the basis of Zielinski's testimony, the Scranton Tribune published on May 17 the front-page 5-column headline "Ex-City Newsmen Charged With Communist Activity." The story was featured in such a way as to cast suspicion not only upon me but also on my nephew, Henry J. Dende, Scranton school director, who was then running for renomination. The paper said in part:

"A former Scranton man, one-time national news editor of a newspaper printed for national circulation, has been accused in Washington by a Polish trade official as being part of a link which carried on a propaganda campaign by Communists to indoctrinate United States schoolchildren and disrupt Polish-American communities.

"The man accused is Leopold Dende, 335 East 14th Street, New York City, head of the Polonia Reporter, who until about 6 years ago was an editor of the Polish-American Journal, 413 Cedar Avenue, published now by Henry Dende, a Scranton school director and distant relative of the Scranton publisher.

"International News Service said the accusation was hurled in Washington by Marian Zielinski, 24-year-old Polish trade official, before Senate investigators.

"The witness named Dende, editor in chief of Polonia Reporter, and said he saw Dende in Warsaw 'clearing the text' of his publication with high-ranking Polish officials."

I do not know how many other newspapers ran similar stories, but I do know that as a result of it I have suffered a loss of advertising and subscription.

I hope that the newspapers which have published Zielinski's false charges against me and my publication will also publish my answer to same, namely, that I was never engaged in Communist activity and, to the contrary, I have cooperated with this subcommittee in its investigation of the Communist activity, and presently trying to contribute my small share toward the realization of President Eisenhower's people-to-people program on the Polish-American sector.

I also hope that in view of conflicting testimony in the Zielinski case, this subcommittee will turn the matter to the Department of Justice for perjury action, as it would be un-American to permit a defector to slander loyal American citizens and firms in order to enhance his chance to obtain political asylum in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski, you understand this is a continuation of your previous sworn testimony before the Senate subcommittee.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Are you the same interpreter we had?

Mr. STAROSOLSKI. No; I am a new one.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify yourself, please?

Mr. STAROSOLSKI. I am George Starosolski, of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress.

Senator HRUSKA. Will you be sworn?

Mr. STAROSOLSKI. Yes.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that you will truly interpret the questions which are asked of this witness, and that you will truly interpret the replies which are given by him?

Mr. STAROSOLSKI. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARIAN ZIELINSKI (THROUGH GEORGE STARASOLSKI, INTERPRETER)

Mr. MORRIS. You are appearing here because of the testimony of Mr. Lazewski, who testified here on June 18, 1957. He is the managing editor of Everybody's Daily.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The name is Lazewski.

Mr. MORRIS. You are here in response to his testimony and at your request?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right.

Now, you have presented to the staff of the subcommittee a text that runs 12 pages. Is this a truthful statement you have made to the subcommittee?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, will you tell us briefly your comments on the testimony of Mr. Alois Lazewski?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Lazewski said in his testimony that what I said was not true. That is why I gave some additional information, explanation—some additional information to my previous statement, which does not change in any way my previous statement.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you tell us about Mr. Lazewski in May?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In May?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In answering the question of the committee—before that he mentioned the delegates who were in this country from Poland, so that my question was what kind of contacts they made here in this country, with whom, and what kind of contacts.

Mr. MORRIS. You were then working for a propaganda agency of the Polish Government, were you not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. It was not exclusively the purpose of this agency, but, among others, propaganda was the purpose.

Mr. MORRIS. I see.

What was the name of the agency?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Ars Polona Foreign Trade Enterprise.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the work you testified this was propaganda of the Polish Government, did you not?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Then you handled the propaganda, as far as books were concerned?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I did, as far as books were concerned, in the territory of the United States, but I had my superiors, two.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were your two superiors?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. The chief of the section, in my section, and the director were the two superiors.

Mr. MORRIS. Who were they? Name them, please.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Biegala, B-i-e-g-a-l-a, was the chief of the section.

Mr. MORRIS. He was head of the section?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. And Mr. Kozera, K-o-z-e-r-a, was the chief of the department.

Mr. MORRIS. Were they both Communists?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Biegala is no Communist. He does not belong to the party.

Mr. MORRIS. The other gentleman?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Kozera is a party member.

Mr. MORRIS. Both, however, work in the Polish Communist government?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. And there was a director, Schoenborn, S-c-h-o-e-n-b-o-r-n.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he a Communist?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He was a Communist. He was a party member.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you tell us that up to a certain point the propaganda you put out was blatant propaganda, conspicuous, marked, open propaganda?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Ars Polona doesn't contain any open propaganda, but some articles, of course, are of propaganda context. To prove this, I submitted two books to the committee, one of which had some propaganda material in the preface and in one of the articles, and the other one just in the foreword.

Here I have one catalog of the Ars Polona, one of the books, it is published 12 times a year, or monthly, which all of the books I am ready to submit.

Some of the titles show that the book means propaganda. For example, the book One Hundred Years Ago, which I submitted to the committee, is a propaganda book.

Mr. MORRIS. What book is a propaganda book?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. One Hundred Years Ago.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that one of the books that Mr. Lazewski bought?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No.

Mr. MORRIS. What books did Mr. Lazewski buy?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I want to finish this before I answer the other question, if I may.

This book is Communist propaganda which the committee has in its possession. For example, The French Communist Party, in a fight for the United Front of Working Class for a People's Front.

This is another book. Works by Lenin, too.

Mr. MORRIS. But the difficulty there is Mr. Lazewski said the books he purchased were not propaganda. Do you remember the four books he purchased?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I said before that not all books include propaganda. I don't know the books which were purchased by Mr. Lazewski. I didn't read the books, so I don't know the context of the books. I didn't say that he had a receiving point for these Communist books in this country.

Mr. MORRIS. You said he was the receiving point?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I didn't testify before that I had a receiving point in this country for these Communist books.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you testify?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I said before that these receiving points in this country purchased the books directly from Ars Polona.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Everybody's Daily one of the receiving points, or was it not one of the receiving points?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, it was.

As far as Everybody's Daily is concerned, I testified that there was a special edition—

Mr. MORRIS. A special edition of Everybody's Daily?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you see this special edition?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. It was distributed in a few thousand copies at the New York Fair.

Mr. MORRIS. Did that contain any Communist propaganda?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I testified before that the news contained in this panorama was the same as published in Poland in 1955, so there are facts as they were in 1955 in Poland, but there were no critical comments on the Polish Government or system.

Mr. MORRIS. So you will stand by your previous testimony that it was distributing information that was propaganda?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't change in any way my testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you hear Mr. Dende testify a few minutes ago?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Dende said that in a private conversation with me that I said—that he cleared just advertisements.

Mr. MORRIS. I didn't hear you—

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Mr. Dende said that in private conversation with me, I said that he cleared with the Polish Government just advertising articles in the Polonia Reporter. Just advertising. But—

Senator HRUSKA. Is that true?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. These are not my words. These are the words of Mr. Dende, which he used to me. Mr. Dende said these words to me.

Senator HRUSKA. What is the fact in regard to this clearance between Mr. Dende and the man in the propaganda agency?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. As I said before, I saw Mr. Dende showing director Schoenborn a few copies of the Polonia Reporter. And I saw how he turned to Mr. Sosnowski, who is in the section of propaganda and advertisement—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Schoenborn is a Communist; is he not? You have testified?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes; Mr. Dende showed the copies to Mr. Sosnowski.

Mr. MORRIS. What did he say when he showed them to him?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't know, but I heard—Mr. Dende required from Mr. Sosnowski to send him some material. When Mr. Dende asked director how he liked the publication, the director said it was very good.

In general, I don't know how the Polonia Reporter is being distributed in Poland. I don't know how, and I don't know why and how it is the Polonia Reporter was distributed free at the New York Fair, and I don't know who was paying for it, who paid for these copies which were distributed free.

In the previous testimony, there was a phrase, "My office." I didn't have any office of myself, but there was an office in which I worked.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is there anything else you would like to tell the subcommittee in connection with this, Mr. Zielinski?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Maybe I could say something, but since I don't understand English well, I don't know what it was about—

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Zielinski, would you be satisfied if your statement, which you prepared, goes into the record as a sworn statement by you?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Yes, I would.

Mr. MORRIS. I offer that for the record.

Senator HRUSKA. It is received, and may be made part of the record.

(The statement by Mr. Zielinski was marked "Exhibit No. 466" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 466

NEW YORK, N. Y., July 7, 1957.

HON. ROBERT MORRIS,

*Chief Counsel, United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: I would like to thank you for the opportunity you granted me to acquaint myself with the contents of the statement made to the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 18, 1957, by Mr. Alois Lazewski, managing editor of the Everybody's Daily, of Buffalo, N. Y.

In connection with the above statement I ask your permission to submit to the subcommittee the following:

Being a political refugee from Poland, now under Communist rule not of its own accord, I considered that I served my country best when, at your suggestion, I agreed to appear before the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and—after being duly sworn—I answered conscientiously, to the best of my knowledge, questions asked by the subcommittee.

Obviously, I am not responsible for distorted published versions of my depositions. These may have been made for the purpose of undermining confidence in my veracity or of depicting me as an agent-provocateur (Everybody's Daily, issue of May 28, 1957), who is serving the Communist regime. I abhor that regime, and I left it at the first opportunity, as a nightmare; to be able to freely speak of it in a free world; to tell what this system really means to the average man of my homeland in his daily life.

Having no transcript of the subcommittee hearing of May 16, 1957, and being unable to quote from my replies to questions posed by the subcommittee, I want only to say this in connection with Mr. A. Lazewski's statement:

Mr. Lazewski claimed that "* * * Mr. Zielinski stated that in the one edition of the paper which he had seen, in 1954 or 1955, news from Poland was covered in a strikingly similar way to similar news published in Poland."

I did not know anything about the Everybody's Daily in 1954 or in 1955; I never heard anything about the existence of that paper in those years, and I did not say so—to the best of my recollection—in my depositions or replies to questions asked by the subcommittee. The first time I learned about Everybody's Daily was when two influential representatives of Ars Polona, an agency of the Warsaw Ministry for Foreign Trade, returned from a business trip to the United States. One of them is a Communist, the other decidedly pro-Communist. They then commissioned me to execute a contract which—according to them—they reached with the Everybody's Daily, of Buffalo, N. Y. To the best of my knowledge this was the only Polish-American newspaper to have reached an understanding with these two delegates of an agency of the Warsaw Communist regime. This was quite an achievement on their part and this is why the name of that newspaper stuck so well in my memory ever since.

My statements made in reply to subcommittee questions about one-sided (partial) presentation of conditions in Poland and of Communist "achievement" in that country, were based on the contents of the special issue of Everybody's Daily dated April 12 and 13, 1957, a copy of which is attached hereto for your perusal. A few thousand copies of this special issue of the Everybody's Daily were distributed free of charge during the International Trade Fair in New York. Obviously, this business, transacted in the booth of the Warsaw government at the fair, must have been done with the full knowledge and approval of the Warsaw regime's Embassy in Washington. This was the only Polish-American newspaper to be thus distributed in the said booth. I cannot see any reason for their disapproval since this edition of the Everybody's Daily was edited in the traditional form of the regime's propaganda pamphlets.

To prove that my depositions before the subcommittee regarding the propaganda character of news from Poland in the Everybody's Daily were not baseless, I quote the following excerpt from the enclosed copy of that paper's special issue of April 12 and 13, 1957:

"The victory of the social left in 1945 opened new perspectives to the Polish farmside" (meaning peasants).

The above is being followed (p. 4 of the enclosure) by a lengthy discourse on what was allegedly accomplished (by the Communists) in the erstwhile backward Polish farmland and how this became the "fountain of progress." Can the forcible enrollment of peasant in Communist land-collectives (kolchozes and sovkhozes) and a system depriving them of the fruits of their labor be called perspectives? And to quote further from the same article in this special issue of the Everybody's Daily: "* * * Of considerable importance to the farmers was the abolishment of vast land estates." The article then claims that because of this "the Polish peasant got rich." The author, however, omits the fact that soon thereafter Polish peasants were deprived (by the Communist regime) of what farm holdings they possessed, and that they were practically driven into the so-called farm collectives.

This entire article (p. 4 of enclosure) entitled "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow of the Polish Farmside" and subtitled "Yesterday" and "Tomorrow"—is edited according to the regular pattern of reports read at meetings of the Communist Party activities in Poland. It blackens and distorts the past, all and everything which happened before 1945, that is before the advent of the Communist rule in Poland. It presents as a counterpart a rosy picture of the future which is (allegedly) being built by the present (Communist) regime. The audacity of the author of this article destined for Polish-American consumption is best illustrated by the fact that 7 months after the October 1956 events in Poland he presents the so-called peasant self-aid (Chłopska Samopomoc), an ultracommunistic organization, most hateful to Polish peasantry—as a positive factor.

This special (April 12 and 13, 1957) issue of Everybody's Daily is full of (Communist) statistics, of (Communist) achievements, of gigantic (Communist) progress, of minute (Communist) planning of everything in life. While the authors of this propaganda prepared a rosy picture of life in Poland, the country was in the throes of total bankruptcy of the Communist economic system, and

the Polish people—in spite of all fabricated statistics—have reached the bottom of dire need and misery. This truth of the situation and this real picture of Poland is completely erased; nay, blotted out; in the special issue of Everybody's Daily so freely distributed during the New York Fair. I was struck by this, knowing the facts of life in Poland, and I felt a deep disgust. The appeal on page 5 of the special issue ("We are with you") contains these words:

"Let us then be together in these days of toil to restore the strength of that very nation whose success determines the stability of world peace."

These words, written right after the aforesaid fabrications of statistics, are reminiscent to me of the constantly used and sickening slogans which I was compelled to listen to and to read while in Poland under Communist rule. The enclosed full copy of that special issue of Everybody's Daily proves the truth of my statement practically on every page of the 20 that make up the issue.

Mr. Lazewski further stated that: "We have been led to understand that it was the foreign policy of the United States Government to encourage to a certain degree relations with the present Gomulka government as a symbol of the gradual turning away from Russian domination," etc., etc., and he continued: "It was with awareness of this policy of our Government that Everybody's Daily accepted and ran paid advertisements as to Polish participation in the World Trade Fair," etc., etc.

During my short stay in this country I was unable to learn much about United States foreign policy, but I vividly recall what the Voice of America (and Radio Free Europe) was telling the people of Poland when I was there. Never did I hear in those broadcasts that we—Poles—should give credence to such propaganda nonsense as is contained in the special issue of Everybody's Daily distributed without charge at the New York World Fair. But even if told to believe in that nonsense, we, back there in Poland, never would do so, as we all knew the real facts about life in Poland. To be sure, our people, including the young generation on whom the Communists so arduously labored applying diverse indoctrination methods—somehow do not hate the past. The youth—unfamiliar with it—prefer to believe their elders than Communist propagandists. Family ties are still strong in Poland today.

Considering all the above, it is hard for me to believe that the Government of the United States wants Poles to believe in Communist lies, or in Communist whitewash, and nonexistent Communist achievement in Poland. Somehow I cannot be convinced that belief in all these can lead to a "gradual turning away from Russian domination"—as Mr. Alois Lazewski seems to imply.

An editorial in the May 7, 1957, issue of Everybody's Daily extolling its special New York Fair issue (of April 12 and 13) seems to me to top everything along the above lines. This editorial claims that the issue was perfectly edited, and, continuing, it goes on to say:

"It played the role of the best prospectus."

The language of that article is full of vile expressions and invectives directed at another Polish language newspaper in this country because it criticized the Warsaw regime for its poor showing at the New York Fair. To quote just a few of these terms: "Vipers," "reptiles," "lizards," "ignominy," "bands," etc. As for myself, I share the opinion that the Polish booth at the New York Fair was exceptionally poor. This opinion was also expressed by numerous visitors who were quite open in their remarks. In this connection I was reminded of similar language as that used in the Everybody's Daily editorial. This was during the worst period of Communist occupation of Poland. It was then used by Communist writers and speakers in reference to the "decadent and corrupted West."

Returning to Mr. Lazewski's statement to the subcommittee I am at a loss to understand how a man of such a responsible position in a newspaper could be unaware of the fact that Ars Polona and the Foreign Trade Center are parts and parcels of the Communist government of Poland. Needless to say, in all Communist-ruled countries important branches of economic and social life, and especially all propaganda activity, are in the hands of the government.

In my replies to the questions of the subcommittee I presented a general outline of the Communist book-export system as I knew it. I claimed then, and I repeat now that Ars Polona endeavored to smuggle pure propaganda books along with classics of Polish literature. I did not identify purchasers in the United States of suspicious books. That would have been rather difficult to do from memory in the absence of documentary evidence. I did say, however, that there were several phases of this activity—even when Ars Polona dealt to a great extent in Communist literature.

I cannot recall of ever having identified the Everybody's Daily or any other distribution point in the United States with the dissemination of Communist literature. Replying to questions posed to me at the hearing, I mentioned from memory some recipients of Ars Polona goods in the United States. Some misunderstanding may have occurred as a result of incorrect press reports of my depositions. I do not doubt that among bookdealers are people who have nothing to do with communism. However, the fact remains that Communist regimes, and the Warsaw one particularly, know how to smuggle their poison. The best proof thereof is that only a few days ago two books reached my hands in this country. One of them, titled "Through the Centuries," is an assortment of stories from Poland's history. It bears the imprint of issue in December 1956, after the advent of the new Communist group in Poland. Graphically well executed, innocently titled, the book contains stories with a decided slant, a peculiar hatred of all in Poland prior to World War II. There is no historical truthfulness, instead a pile of class warfare motifs: plenty of glorification of Bolshevik soldiers mingled with efforts to defame and slander the prewar Polish Armed Forces. The book does not lack lengthy accounts of the doings of the Communist Party in Poland, and of Lenin as "providential man" who struggled for freedom and the independence of the working class throughout the world.

The second book which—like the first one—came to my hands from a regular bookshop whose owner, a professional bookdealer, is an honest man from all I know, is titled "In Children's Eyes." It was published in Warsaw in 1955, and contains an assortment of drawings and paintings by children. A seven-page introduction contains the usual Communist slant, an apotheosis of the Communist system and of Communist soldiers who are portrayed as "the saviors of Poland." While the drawings allegedly done by children depict many workers' parades and are meant for children, the introduction is meant for the children's parents.

In my depositions during the subcommittee hearing I stated that Ars Polona engages in dissemination of books of various types from classics of Polish literature to openly Communist pulp, in some cases with ingeniously prepared introductions.

I have nothing to add or to detract from that statement.

In my depositions before the subcommittee I stated that the terms of the contract signed by the Everybody's Daily was most advantageous to that publication. I sustain that statement now. The Ars Polona usually gave 40 percent rebate while it gave 50 percent to Everybody's Daily in spite of the fact that the books ordered were considerably marked down in price. I do not know the reason for this special bargain. That was a decision of my former superiors.

Mr. Lazewski further claimed that: "We contacted these two representatives and found that we could obtain classics in Polish at quite reasonable prices. We discussed an arrangement whereby Ars Polona would send to us within approximately the next 7 months, 13 classic titles consisting of 1,000 volumes per title or a total of 13,000 volumes. Contrary to Mr. Zielinski's testimony, no contract was signed in this regard."

If, as Mr. Lazewski claims, no agreement whatsoever was signed by Everybody's Daily for import of books from Poland—how come that 13,000 volumes were to be delivered to that newspaper and 4,000 volumes were received by these people? Is not a formal order, giving all details of delivery demanded and payment to be made—which was forwarded to Warsaw and which was accepted by Ars Polona—tantamount to a signed contract?

The instruction which I received from my superiors in Warsaw explicitly stated that the agreement with Everybody's Daily was to include shipments of books from Poland also in 1958. This may have been the result of some business discussion of the Ars Polona representatives with that publication during their stay in the United States, at any rate this is how they interpreted their talks in Buffalo.

Before concluding I would like to stress that editorial attacks directed at me, especially in regard to alleged acts or words which I did not commit or say, and printed in the columns of the Everybody's Daily of Buffalo, N. Y., do hurt me. Dealing in half-truths or distortions arising from quotations out of context—they tend to arouse this country's public opinion against me. Some of these attacks are in the form of threats and even blackmail should I seek permanent asylum in the United States. This is a threat not only to me but to all others who in the future might follow my example and choose freedom.

I am not at all surprised that the Communist weekly which is printed in Polish in Detroit, Mich., continues to call me a traitor to my homeland. I am not excited a bit that my name is constantly mentioned in the consecutive issues of that paper. However, I am puzzled and I feel hurt that a personal campaign against me, a political refugee from Communist oppression, is being waged by a Polish newspaper which professes to have back of it many years of traditional struggle with Communist dictatorship.

The Everybody's Daily accused me time and again of participating in some sort of a "conspiracy" to break up negotiations for United States economic aid to Poland. While it is hard to believe that my depositions during the hearing of the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee could have been of such importance as to influence the Government of the United States in its decision regarding the said aid to Poland, I have come to the conclusion that such a campaign as the one waged against me by the Everybody's Daily may have been instigated by someone who is specifically and particularly interested in preventing in the future such flights to freedom as the one I made this year.

Having in mind the possibility of just such action against me on the part of the Communist regime of Poland, I have especially requested you, sir, to give me an opportunity to make a statement relative to the aid-to-Poland program. I am sincerely grateful to you for enabling me to present during the hearing of the subcommittee, in answer to questions directed to me, my modest remarks regarding the morale of the truly anti-Communist Polish people in their homeland and their great hopes for United States aid. America was and still is the Polish people's last hope in their difficult struggle for a better tomorrow.

Even if Communists do rule Poland today—against the will of her people—outside economic help rendered Poland at this time can be fruitful more than at any other time heretofore, because the Communists were forced to relent in their terror under the evergrowing pressure of the indomitable will of the people of the country. Under these conditions foreign aid is bound to reach the people and to lessen, even if only temporarily, the frightful misery brought about on that unhappy land by Soviet occupation and by Communist misrule.

"Subversion" of which I am being accused by the Everybody's Daily surely does not stem from me. It does not unless by "subversion" that newspaper means telling the truth about that great danger that is communism. Or if it means decoding and unmasking of Communist methods. If it be so, I intend to remain such kind of a "subversive," and I mean to continue to serve with all the means at my disposal in the struggle with that diabolical system.

Since my possibilities of defense against the aforesaid attacks and that great personal press campaign against me are limited, I humbly appeal to the United States Senate Internal Security Committee for moral, if no other, protection. As the attacks against me are being published in this country and as I have no other means of defending myself, I request the committee for permission to publish in the press of this country this statement of mine which I humbly submit for your information and approval.

Respectfully,

MARIAN ZIELINSKI.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. About conditions of how Everybody's Daily imported books from Poland, I forgot to say that Everybody's Daily, in addition, had discounts. The 13th book he had to get free, in the amount of a thousand copies. A thousand copies of the 13th title, he got free.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, inasmuch as the witness of the day, the scheduled witness of the day, is waiting to testify, and inasmuch as the testimony of both Mr. Zielinski and Mr. Dende has been simply providing them with an opportunity to present their views, they have both submitted statements, and both testified to the points at issue; I suggest that we get along with the other witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you anything further to add, Mr. Dende?

Mr. DENDE. In order to clarify this model of clearance, if I may be permitted to ask him, in Polish, questions to really clarify it, because I think he is slightly confused.

Mr. MORRIS. You have had your opportunity to speak, Mr. Dende.

Mr. DENDE. Just two questions, actually, if it is permissible or agreeable to the committee.

Senator HRUSKA. It is not pursuant to the rules of the committee. I have never seen it done. I don't know if Judge Morris has seen it done.

Mr. DENDE. Just two questions, because this model of clearance is not clear.

Senator HRUSKA. If it is for the purpose of clearing up what you think is a language difficulty, if you will ask your questions in Polish, and the interpreter will interpret them for us.

Mr. DENDE. Did you see me at any time to clear material—editorial or news material—with Ars Polona officials?

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think that is a proper question. The witness has testified to exactly what happened. He gave us details. This is a question looking to a conclusion.

Mr. DENDE. The question is what he told me in private was what he did see when I discussed the advertising matter. That was the only thing I discussed. The advertising as published in the Polonia Reporter. That is what I wanted to bring out, and nothing else.

Senator HRUSKA. It was my understanding of the witness' testimony that you also showed the editorial and other contents of the magazine, in addition to the advertising. Was I mistaken in that?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. No; you are correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Tell the Senator what you saw him show the director.

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I saw Mr. Dende showing to the director a few copies of the Polonia Reporter, and ask him what he thought of it, and the director said it was very good.

Senator HRUSKA. When he showed him the magazine, did he show him only the advertising, or did he show him the editorials and the articles in the magazine, as well?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He gave the director the copy, and the director looked over all the copy.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he just look at the advertising, or did he look at the whole magazine, including the editorials?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. He looked over all the copy.

Senator HRUSKA. Did he look it over slowly enough that he read the contents of the editorials?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. Slowly enough to be able to read all the articles.

Mr. DENDE. That is not true, but that is all right. That is my statement. He looked over, as I testified, but he didn't have time—there were 10 or 15 people at the time—

Mr. MORRIS. You asked for the right to ask him a couple of questions. You have testified, and we have to end it somewhere, Mr. Dende.

Mr. DENDE. O. K. Another thing, the so-called clearance. I talked to Sosnowski only—

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, he is not asking a question only. Did he ask a question at that time?

The INTERPRETER. He said, "Is it true that I—?" That is the way he asked. He makes a positive statement in a form of question. A positive question, with a question mark.

Mr. DENDE. Is it true that I only discussed the matter of Ars Polona advertising?

The INTERPRETER. Is it true that I showed to Mr. Sosnowski the model of advertising, the way of advertising?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. I don't know whether Mr. Dende talked to Mr. Sosnowski about advertising only, or about some other articles, too. I don't know. And Mr. Dende asked Mr. Sosnowski to send him some material for this publication.

Mr. DENDE. Advertising material.

Senator HRUSKA. Let me ask a question—

The INTERPRETER. He didn't say advertising.

Senator HRUSKA. He asked for material in general?

Mr. ZIELINSKI. In general. What kind of material was asked for, I don't know. I didn't know, and I didn't say.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. Thank you very much for coming back and submitting a statement in this testimony. You are now excused; unless you have a further question, Mr. Morris?

Mr. MORRIS. No further questions, Senator.

Senator HRUSKA. You are excused.

(The following sworn statement of Joseph Bialasiewicz was later ordered into the record:)

ANSWERS UNDER OATH OF JOSEPH BIALASIEWICZ TO WRITTEN INTERROGATORIES
PROPOUNDED BY ROBERT MORRIS, CHIEF COUNSEL, UNITED STATES SENATE INTERNAL SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE, ON JULY 31, 1957, RE TESTIMONY OF MARIAN ZIELINSKI, A RECENT POLISH COMMUNIST DEFECTOR

STATE OF ILLINOIS,

County of Cook, ss:

I, Joseph Bialasiewicz, of 1165 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., being duly sworn, in answer to the written interrogatories propounded on July 31, 1957, by Robert Morris, chief counsel of the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, in reference to certain testimony of one Marian Zielinski, testify and depose as follows:

Interrogatory 1. Did you, in fact, purchase books from the Communist Polish Government through the Foreign Trade Enterprise?

Answer. The Polish American Book Co., of which I am a copartner, located at 1136 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill., has purchased several books from Ars Polona, Foreign Trade Office in Warsaw, Poland.

Interrogatory 2. How many books did you purchase?

Answer. From the time representatives of the agency Ars Polona called at my bookstore in the early part of February 1957, to May 16, 1957, the date at which one Marian Zielinski concluded his charges at a hearing before the Internal Security Subcommittee, the Polish American Book Co., purchased and received some 29 books at a cost of \$65.05.

Interrogatory 3. What were their titles?

Answer. The name of the author, where listed, the original title and, in parentheses, the title in English with explanatory note are as follows:

(1) Voragine, J., "Zlota legenda" (Golden Legend—legends about Catholic saints).

(2) Brzezicki, "Sila, radosc, piekno" (Strength, Joy, and Beauty—album of photographs about sports).

(3) "Polish Architektura up to the Mid-19th Century" (Album).

(4) "Wawel" (album about the collections at the historical castle of Wawel, in Cracow, Poland).

(5) Jez, T., "Pamietniki" (Diary).

(6) Fiedler, A., "Dywizjon 303" (Division 303—story of Polish airmen fighting in the Battle for Britain).

(7) Dabrowski, M., "Noce i dnie" (Nights and Days—a novel).

(8) Dolega-Mostowicz T., "Kariera Nikodema Dyzmy" (the career of N. Dyzma).

(9) Dolega-Mostowicz T., "Pamietnik Pani Hanki" (The Diary of Mrs. Henrietta).

(10) Weyssenhoff, J., "Zywot i mysli Podfilipskiego" (The Life and Thoughts of Podfilipski).

- (11) Prus, "Lalka" (The Doll—a novel).
 (12) Scott, W., "Waverly."
 (13) Iwaszkiewicz, J., "Opowiadania" (Tales).
 (14) Iwaszkiewicz, J., "Slawa i chwala" (Fame and Glory—fiction).
 (15) Sienkiewicz, H., "Trylogia" (Trilogy—three novels that glorify the struggle for Polish national existence in the 17th century. The author was the first Polish Nobel prize laureate).
 (16) Fiedler, A., "Kanada Pachnaca zywicą" (Canada—Fragrant With Pines—a travel account).
 (17) Gasierowski, W., "Huragan" (Hurricane—a novel of the Napoleonic period).
 (18) Gasierowski, W., "Rok 1809" (Year 1809—another novel of the Napoleonic period).
 (19) Potocki, "Rekopis" (a manuscript found in Saragossa).
 (20) Uminski, W., "Znojny chleb" (Hard Bread).
 (21) Fiedler, A., "Wyspa Robinsona" (Robinson's Island—fiction for children).
 (22) "Polska rzeźba współczesna" (Contemporary Polish Sculpture—album of photographs).
 (23) "Ogrody polskie" (Polish Gardens—album of photographs and technical commentaries).
 (24) Stankiewicz, Zofia, "Teki" (a volume of author's drawings).
 (25) Kobylanska, "Chopin w kraju" (Chopin in his native land—an album of photographs about Chopin).
 (26) Zeromski, S., "Dzieje grzechu" (Annals of Sin—novel).
 (27) Zeromski, S., "Popioły" (Ashes—a novel).
 (28) Verne, J., "20,000 mil podmorskiej żeglugi" (20,000 Leagues Under the Sea).

(29) Podgorzelski, "Analityka matematyczna" (Mathematical Analysis).
 (Comment: Packages containing the books on delivery were always marked: "Passed Free U. S. Customs Chicago, P. O.")

Interrogatories 4 and 5. Were there any prefaces in these books? If so, could you give us a text of the prefaces?

Answer. None of the above numbered books or albums contained any preface except as to the following:

- (10) Preface has a review of the author's literary works.
 (20) Book has been sold and it not known what, if any, preface it had.
 (26) No preface—but a note from the editors written by Prof. S. Pigon.

Interrogatory 6. What were the financial arrangements that you made with the Polish Communist Government?

Answer. The agreement between the Polish American Book Co. and "Ars Polona" relative to the terms of purchase of books was expressed in a letter from me dated February 25, 1957, which (translated here from Polish) reads in full as follows:

"In connection with the visit in Chicago of Miss M. Wsciekłina and Z. Jablonski as representatives of Ars Polona, I wish to inform you that the following terms have been established with our bookstore:

- "(1) The bookstore will be making purchases directly through Ars Polona.
 "(2) No amount of expected annual purchase has been agreed on, since that will be determined by practical cooperation and the customers' demand here.
 "(3) The bookstore shall be credited with a 40-percent discount on literary books and 25 percent on technical books.
 "(4) The bookstore will pay delivery postage.
 "(5) Invoices, sent by airmail, will be remitted within 60 days from date thereof by checks sent to Warsaw or to an address in the United States designated by Ars Polona.

"(6) Subscriptions to periodicals will be made by the bookstore for not less than a year with a 20-percent rebate.

"(7) Price of books will be accepted by the bookstore as quoted in the catalogs of Ars Polona and expressed in dollars the same as regards periodicals.

"Kindly confirm approval of these terms."

I wish to add that in connection with this transaction, neither my firm nor I personally have received any other direct or indirect gift, favor, gratuity, or consideration.

Interrogatory 7. Is there anything else about the existence of such an arrangement that you feel the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee should know about?

Answer. The Polish American Book Co., of Chicago, Ill., as a bookstore has existed under one form of business organization or another, some 87 years. I acquired the bookstore as a copartner on January 24, 1955. The former owners had been purchasing books through Ars Polona and its preceding agency as they had in the past from other agencies in prewar Poland.

As copartner of the Polish American Book Co. I have had no special arrangement with Ars Polona other than to submit orders at agreed discount for books of my own selection. These books, as indicated heretofore, could be technical, historical, or literary and which could not be easily or at all obtained from any publisher outside of Poland; provided they would not be Communist propaganda.

When the agency preceding Ars Polona published a brochure stating on the flap that Subscriptions may be ordered from (inter alia), the Polish American Book Co., I mailed them on February 6, 1956, a protest that this was done without our knowledge or consent and a demand that the name of the Polish American Book Co. in this connection be stricken from any further publications.

My letter of explanation in this regard was also sent to all leading patriotic publications in France and England. Polish weekly in London, "White Eagle," published my announcement on page 4 in the May 5, 1956, issue.

In a letter of February 6, 1956, to Ars Polona, then known as "Prasa i Książka" (Press and Book) in connection with certain accounts payable of our predecessor, I wrote, in material part, as follows:

"The question of distribution of books published in Poland is dependent solely and exclusively on the character of the books. We are not interested in any dissemination of propaganda.

"Books which are truly valuable and which depict the Polish nation in a worthy manner may find an outlet thru our firm."

In reply to the above I received their letter dated February 24, 1956, which in material part reads as follows:

"From your letter we conclude that basically you are not interested in books by contemporary Polish writers. We can supply you, however, with belles-lettres and others, not containing any, as you say, propaganda.

"And, as regards the question of listing your address in our catalog, we wish to inform you that in accordance with your wishes the name of Polish American Book Co. henceforth will not be listed in any of our catalogs."

In this regard I hereby categorically deny the charges of Marian Zielinski, made on or about May 16, 1957, at a hearing before the Subcommittee To Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary—Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States, volume 112, pages 5445 and 5451—to the effect that "Polish American Book, in Chicago" in charge of "Mr. Bialasiewicz" is a "distribution point" "of the pro-Communist books" that are sent "to the United States"; and I wish to conclude that—

There has never been any express or implied understanding or agreement either between me personally or as copartner of the Polish American Book Co., in Chicago and the Ars Polona or any of its agents or principals to have the Polish American Book Co. knowingly sell, distribute, exhibit, or solicit any book, pamphlet, album, or article designed to spread Communist propaganda in the United States.

As a journalist dedicated to the presentation of facts, as a former prisoner of Nazi concentration camp, as an American citizen of Polish birth, pledged to oppose communism and fascism alike, I respectfully request the Honorable James O. Eastland, chairman of the United States Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, to incorporate this deposition in the official records and give it just recognition.

(Signed) JOSEPH BIALASIEWICZ.

Dated September 3, 1957, at Chicago, Ill.

Joseph Bialasiewicz, being duly sworn, says that he is the person mentioned in and who subscribed the foregoing document, and that the matters and facts therein stated are true of his own knowledge, except as to matters specifically stated therein upon information and belief, and as to those matters he believes them to be true.

JOSEPH BIALASIEWICZ.

Sworn to before me, a notary public, this 3d day of September 1957.

[SEAL]

SYLVIA LICHTEN, *Notary Public.*

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

MAY 21, 1957

PART 63

American Forum—for Socialist Education

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MAY 21, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:30 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator John Marshall Butler presiding. Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William Rusher, associate counsel and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator BUTLER. The subcommittee will come to order.

In his analysis of the Communist Party Convention early this year, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, pointed out that the strategy and tactics of that convention were calculated—

To lay a foundation for possible unity with other leftwing groups * * * with Socialists, members of the non-Communist left, liberals, and so forth, in an effort to secure their support for Communist projects.

Now, 3 months after that convention, there has been a development which may or may not be a concretization of that estimate by Mr. Hoover. On May 13, 1957, the Daily Worker proclaimed the formation of the 40-member national committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education."

This morning we shall hold a hearing to take testimony and to receive evidence from staff members of the Internal Security Subcommittee about the nature of this organization.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, we had subpoenaed for this morning five witnesses. One was Mr. Clifford T. McAvoy; 1 was Victor Perlo; 1 was Bert Cochran; 1 was Milton Zaslow, and 1 was Albert E. Blumberg. The lawyers for the respective witnesses who have been subpoenaed advised us that their clients were not at their homes last week, and as a result, subpoenas which we issued on the 14th in many cases were not served until last night. They say they couldn't possibly be down here this morning. So the only 1 of the 5 witnesses scheduled today present is Mr. Blumberg.

As you have set forth the framework of the thing, Senator, I think Mr. Mandel is prepared now to read from the draft of the Communist Party Convention in New York in February.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Mandel has previously been sworn, and may proceed.

Mr. MANDEL. This is a draft resolution for the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America, adopted September 13, 1956.

This pamphlet contains the authorized text of the draft resolution adopted by the national committee of the Communist Party on September 13, 1956, and presented for discussion by the membership approaching the party's 16th national convention, February 9-12, 1957.

In releasing the draft resolution, Mr. Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, made public a "Letter to all Communist Party members," which is also included in this pamphlet.

I read from the pamphlet certain excerpts:

The struggle to bring about a political realignment, based on the formation and election to power of an antimonopoly coalition led by labor, is the great strategic task of the next stage in the democratic and social advance of the American people. It is the giant corporations which block the path to economic progress, civil rights, fuller democracy, and durable peace. It is their challenge that must be met by the American people as they carry forward their struggle under the new conditions of today.

* * * The emergence of socialism from the limits of one country to a world system embracing several states and one-third of mankind was described by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as "the chief feature of the present era."

These conditions make possible a great new trend toward unity among Socialist-minded people which has already begun to be felt not only abroad but in our own country. The new features of independence and mutual criticism in the relationships among Communist Parties also tend to remove barriers between Communists and other supporters of socialism.

For some months our party has had under consideration the question presented in Eugene Dennis' report to the national committee meeting last April, of our attitude toward the perspective of a united party of socialism in this country.

The new developments point to a certain revitalization and growth of Socialist-oriented and pro-Marxist currents and groupings * * *.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator, we have been taking executive session testimony. We have also been making inquiries from general sources, and we have further heard, Senator, that early in 1956, at a top meeting of the Communist Party, a decision was made that there should be some kind of a union of Communists, some Trotskyites, and some like-minded groups. At that time, there was a four-step program laid down which provided:

One, that there should be contact with individuals whose thinking was toward the left.

Two, to arrange for public meetings and forums to discuss the situation.

Three, a circulation of memorandums by the party to explain what was being attempted.

Four, a campaign to get Communist Party members to realize the necessity for a new organization.

We have further been told, Senator, that the first concrete step took place when Albert Blumberg contacted Mr. A. J. Muste.

Now, Senator, Mr. Blumberg has been subpoenaed here today for the limited purpose of giving testimony about the formation of this organization, the American Forum for Socialist Education.

Senator BUTLER. Will you be sworn, Mr. Blumberg?

Do you solemnly promise and declare in the presence of the Almighty God that the evidence that you will give to the Internal Security Subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ALBERT E. BLUMBERG, NEW YORK CITY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. BLUMBERG. My name is Albert Blumberg. The address is 628 West 151st Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. I am only going to ask Mr. Blumberg questions about the formation of this particular organization.

Mr. Blumberg, do you know of a top Communist meeting early in 1956, at which it was decided that there should be an organization setting up the union of Communists, some Trotskyites, and some other likeminded groups?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer this question on the following grounds:

First, that, in view of the subject and in the context of these procedures, I believe that both the question and any answer that I might make to it could not conceivably serve any valid legislative purpose.

Further, I believe the question invades my rights of political opinion, of political discussion, of political association, as guaranteed under the first amendment.

Further, I believe that the question—I rest my refusal to answer the question further upon the rights contained and set forth in the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Blumberg, this committee has consistently refused to recognize the right of a witness appearing before it to plead privileges under the first amendment. It has consistently refused to accept the thesis propounded by you, that the hearings of this subcommittee serve no useful legislative purpose. Therefore, the Chair overrules those two objections.

Now, if it is your wish to rest your answer on the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States in the belief that a truthful answer by you would tend to incriminate you, the Chair will accept that declination. Otherwise, the Chair overrules your objection, and directs you to answer the question propounded by counsel.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I believe that, under the circumstances, such answers might tend to incriminate me.

Senator BUTLER. And you rest your declination and your refusal to answer on the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I rest on all three grounds, including the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Blumberg, you are a member of the executive committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education; are you not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer on grounds already given.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, we have a public announcement, have we not, of the formation of this organization?

Mr. MANDEL. Yes; we have.

Mr. MORRIS. Does that public announcement indicate that Mr. Blumberg, the witness here this morning, is in fact a member of the executive committee of this new organization?

Mr. MANDEL. In the press release, dated May 13, 1957, issued by the American Forum for Socialist Education, it states that Albert Blumberg, of New York City, is a member of the national committee.

Senator BUTLER. Are you the Albert Blumberg referred to in that release read by Mr. Mandel and made a part of the record?

Mr. MORRIS. May I offer that as part of the record?

Senator BUTLER. It will be made a part of the record.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(The press release referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 467" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 467

[For release Monday, May 13, 1957]

AMERICAN FORUM—FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION
NEW YORK, N. Y.

(Contact: A. J. Muste, CH 3-5411 or UN 4-1700, ext. 1002)

NEW YORK.—Announcement was made today of the establishment of a 40-member national committee of American Forum—for Socialist Education. The statement of purposes declares that American Forum seeks to promote "study and serious untrammelled political discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives * * * however deep and bitter their differences may have been."

In announcing the launching of the project, A. J. Muste, well-known pacifist, who will serve as chairman, emphasized that persons serving on the national committee do so as individuals and not as delegated representatives of any group. American Forum proceeds on the conviction, said Mr. Muste, that "individuals from all tendencies should be involved in the discussion, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry."

He further stated that American Forum is not a membership organization and does not propose to promote united action by various parties or groups, mergers or new organizations. It "neither promotes nor seeks to inhibit such developments" in which people may wish to engage.

The secretary of American Forum is Sidney Lens, author and director of local 329, A. F. of L., Chicago, Ill. Vice presidents are Kermit Eby, professor of economics, University of Chicago; Milton Mayer, author and lecturer, Carmel, Calif.; John T. McManus, managing editor, National Guardian, New York; Bayard Rustin, one of the editors of Liberation magazine; and Mulford Sibley, of the political science faculty, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

The statement of the purpose reads as follows:

"A. J. MUSTE—LIBERATION,
"110 Christopher Street, New York City.

"AMERICAN FORUM—FOR SOCIALIST EDUCATION

"American Forum is organized in order to stimulate study and serious, untrammelled discussion of the problems of socialism in the United States.

"There is a growing interest in such discussion among all elements that think of themselves as related to historic Socialist and labor traditions, values and objectives—however deep and bitter their differences may have been. Moreover, there are indications that in the ranks of labor, among farmers, in the colleges and among the American people generally there are many who do not accept the status quo and who are developing an interest in political discussions provided a fresh and undogmatic approach is undertaken.

"Those who organize American Forum do so not on the ground that the problems of building a sound and effective American left have been solved and agreement for action has been reached. Their simple aim is to promote study and especially continuous discussion in a situation where many of the answers are not known and much division, confusion, and consequent frustration exist. They believe that all individuals from all elements should be involved in this, provided they commit themselves to a free exchange of views in a spirit of inquiry.

"American Forum holds that eventual Socialist unity requires clarity on fundamental social issues, along with tolerance of differences on other matters and comradely discussion of them within a common forum. It believes, therefore, that all important problems must be frankly and sharply discussed but equally that the discussion should be oriented to the future and not the past and con-

centrate on discussion of the program of a democratic Socialist movement in the United States and how such a movement may be brought into being.

"Since it is of the greatest importance that large numbers of people, including youth, be drawn into discussion locally, from labor unions, farm organizations, colleges, churches, etc., American Forum will have as one of its aims the formation, encouragement, and assistance of local groups or committees for this purpose. This may include assistance to local groups in setting up forums, etc., and going beyond mere occasional discussion meetings.

"Other purposes will be :

"(1) To call attention to the various periodicals and publications of groups whose members are involved in the discussions and encourage people to read them; and to publish bulletins or pamphlets under its own imprint an occasion requires.

"(2) to organize regional and national conferences, and by these and other means to contribute not only to intellectual clarification but to the building of a new morale and ethic, a spirit of fair play, labor militancy, determination, and hope among the progressive and radical forces in this country."

OFFICERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF AMERICAN FORUM AS OF MAY 9, 1957

Chairman : A. J. Muste, New York City.

Vice chairmen : Kermit Eby, Chicago; Milton Mayer, Carmel, Calif.; John T. McManus, New York City; Bayard Rustin, New York City; Mulford Q. Sibley, St. Paul.

Secretary : Sidney Lens, Chicago.

National committee :

James Aronson, New York City.

Joseph Atkins, Baltimore.

Michael Baker, Minneapolis.

Paul Baran, Palo Alto, Calif.

Stringfellow Barr, New York City.

Albert Blumberg, New York City.

Carl Braden, Louisville.

Derk Bodde, Philadelphia.

Harald Charbnau, Chicago.

Bert Cochran, New York City.

Jack Cypin, Nassau County, N. Y.

Dorothy Day, New York City.

Dave Dellinger, Glen Gardner, N. J.

Farrell Dobbs, New York City.

W. E. B. DuBois, New York City.

J. Stuart Innerst, Pasadena.

Russell Johnson, Boston.

Oliver Loud, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Conrad Lynn, Rockland County, N. Y.

C. H. Mayer, Andes, N. Y.

Clifford McAvoy, New York City.

Benjamin McLaurin, New York City.

David McReynolds, New York City.

William Neumann, Baltimore.

Russell Nixon, New York City.

Harvey O'Connor, Winnetka, Ill.

Sam Pollock, Cleveland.

Joseph Starobin, New York City.

Fritjof Thygeson, Berkeley, Calif.

Charles Walker, Cheyney, Pa.

Doxie Wilkerson, New York City.

William Appleman Williams, Eugene, Oreg.

H. H. Wilson, Princeton, N. J.

Milton Zaslow, New York City.

Waldo Frank, Truro, Mass.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, on behalf of the National Committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education contact a Mr. A. J. Muste?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you ask Mr. Muste to provide a memorandum which would set up a framework for an exchange of opinion on this subject?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Mr. Muste, in fact, supply you with such a document?

Mr. BLUMBERG. May I consult counsel?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the suggestion made to Muste that the document he prepared was too anti-Soviet in tone, and was he thereupon asked to tone it down?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did he finally supply a paper entitled, "Where Are We Now?"

Mr. BLUMBERG. I again refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Thereupon, was the decision made by the Communist Party that step 3 in the original plan set forth above—in other words, there should be a circulation of memoranda as to what was being attempted by the party. Was step 3 immediately put into action and specifically on September 17, 1956, was there, to your knowledge, sent to all districts of the party, a memorandum?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Was there subsequent to September 17, 1956, and in accordance with prearranged plans, put into operation a series of meetings in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New York, and Philadelphia?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you present on March 23, 1957, at a meeting at which were in attendance Mr. Albert E. Blumberg, John Gates, Milton Zaslow, Clifford McAvoy, John McManus, Farrell Dobbs, and Tom Kerry? Were you at such a meeting?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. At that meeting, was a goal set forth that a program should be enacted that was to be practicable, workable, and acceptable to all concerned?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Shortly thereafter, and to your knowledge, was there a Committee for Socialist Unity, headed by Mr. Clifford T. McAvoy, established?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did not the National Guardian of April 22, 1957, announce that a May Day rally, sponsored by the Committee for Socialist Unity, would take place?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to your knowledge, did Carl Marzani, who has been identified in our record as a Communist Party member, speak at the Socialist Unity forum on November 9, 1956?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, did Angus Cameron, who has

been identified in our record as a Communist Party member, speak at the Socialist Unity Forum on January 2, 1957?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, did Russell Nixon, who has been identified in our record as a Communist Party member, speak at the Socialist Unity Forum on February 15, 1957?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Victor Perlo, who has been identified in our record as a Communist Party member, speak at the Socialist Unity Forum on March 15, 1957?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, did Fred Fine, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, speak on a symposium on American democracy in Chicago?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Did Clarence F. Hiskey, who has been identified in our record as a Communist Party member, speak at the American Socialist Forum on October 14, 1956?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, we have some pamphlets and throwaways to the effect of establishing the answers to some of those questions; do we not?

Mr. MANDEL. We do.

Mr. MORRIS. Some we have in answer to executive session testimony; do we not?

Mr. MANDEL. Those we have evidence of.

Senator BUTLER. Is it your wish that they be made a part of the record?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, I would like to put them in.

Senator BUTLER. It will be so ordered. They will be made a part of the record.

Mr. MORRIS. How many are there, Mr. Mandel?

Mr. MANDEL. Seven exhibits.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will you want an identification by Mr. Mandel?

Senator BUTLER. Will you put them in the record, identifying them as you put each one in the record?

Mr. MANDEL. Announcement of the Socialist Unity Forum, October 26, 1956, with Albert Blumberg, legislative director of the Communist Party, as a speaker, and Clifford McAvoy on the program. The title is "Left Wing Policy in the 1956 Election." Carl Marzani is listed as a speaker on November 9, 1956. Victor Perlo is listed on March 15, 1957, as a speaker.

Fred Fine is listed in the Daily Worker of March 28, 1957, as a speaker. Clarence Hiskey is listed in the circular dated October 14, 1956, as a speaker at the American Socialist Forum.

Then we have a forum announcement in the Worker of August 26, 1956, the Daily Worker, October 5, 1956, and October 19, 1956.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 468" and are as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 468

(Cover and back cover)

SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM

announces

PROGRAM OF PUBLIC DISCUSSION

(Winter 1957)

229 Seventh Avenue (near 23d Street) New York City

[See schedule on inside]

The Socialist Unity Forum is sponsored by a group of New Yorkers who are working for the establishment of a socialist America, who favor peaceful co-existence between East and West and who desire to aid in the formation of a democratically organized socialist movement which will facilitate these aims.

The forum will provide a platform where Socialists of various persuasions may discuss important problems facing the contemporary movement. Such an exchange of opinions, by creating greater clarity and hence greater unity of purpose, should contribute toward the regroupment of Socialists in a new and united movement.

We hope especially to draw together into meaningful activity some of the thousands of convinced Socialists who for one reason or another are not members of any of the existing Socialist organizations.

For further information write to: Socialist Unity Forum, 229 Seventh Avenue, New York 11, N. Y.

(page 1)

CAN THE LEFT UNITE?

A Symposium on Socialist Regroupment

A. J. MUSTE

(Fellowship of Reconciliation)

JOHN T. McMANUS

(National Guardian)

FARRELL DOBBS

(Socialist Workers Party)

MAX SHACHTMAN

(Independent Socialist League)

Chairman: Clifford T. McAvoy

(Former Legislative Representative CIO-PAC)

Friday, January 18, 8 p. m.

Great Northern Hotel

118 West 57th Street

(page 2)

At Socialist Unity Forum Hall

229 Seventh Avenue, New York City (near 23d Street)

Friday, January 25, 8 p. m.

America's Road to Socialism—A Reexamination

Joseph Starobin, *Author: Paris to Peking*
 Angus Cameron, *Editor and Publisher*

Friday, February 8, 8 p. m.

Labor and the South

THE BATTLE FOR INTEGRATION

Clive Knowles, *Educational Director, Eastern Region, United Packinghouse Workers*
 Conrad Lynn, *Civil Rights Attorney, Counsel in Braden Case*

Friday, February 15, 8 p. m.

American Labor Politics

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OR THIRD PARTY?

Russ Nixon, *National Legislative Representative, U. E.*
 Robert Claiborne, *Writer*
 Tom Kerry, *Chairman, New York Local SWP*

(Page 3)

Friday, March 8, 8 p. m.

THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE—FOR AND AGAINST

Robert Meagher, *United States State Department Lecturer, member, Foreign Policy Association*
 A. J. Muste, *Fellowship of Reconciliation*

Friday, March 15, 8 p. m.

UNITED STATES ECONOMIC TRENDS—AND MARXIST THOUGHT

Otto Nathan, *Assistant Professor, New York University, Executor, Albert Einstein Estate*
 Victor Perlo, *Author "American Imperialism" and other works on economics*

Friday, March 29, 8 p. m.

SCIENCE, SOCIALISM, AND AMERICA

Automation, Synthetic Foods, Solar and Atomic Energy and Their Effect on Capitalism and Socialism

Michael H. Baker, *Chemical Engineer, Former Executive Vice Chairman, Minnesota Progressive Party*

(Page 4)

(Second session, 1957, at Adelphi Hall, 78 Fifth Avenue)

Friday, October 26, 8 p. m.

LEFTWING POLICY IN THE 1956 ELECTION

Clifford T. McAvoy, *Former Legislative Representative, New York City, CIO Council and National CIO-PAC*
 Albert Blumberg, *Legislative Director, Communist Party*
 David Dellinger, *Editor, Liberation*

Friday, November 9, 8 p. m.

PROSPECTS FOR AMERICAN SOCIALISM

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, *Noted Historian and Negro Leader*
 John Lewine, *Former Director, Eugene V. Debs School*
 Carl Marzani, *Author of We Can Be Friends*

Friday, November 23, 8 p. m.

SOCIALISM AFTER STALIN

William Mandel, *Author: Guide to the Soviet Union, The Soviet Far East, etc.*

F. G. Clarke, *Journalist and Lecturer*

Chairman: Mike Zaslow

Subscription: One dollar each lecture; two dollars fifty cents the series

EXHIBIT No. 468-A

[Daily Worker, New York, Thursday, March 28, 1957]

CHI UNIVERSITY RESISTS LEGION ATTACK ON FORUM

CHICAGO, March 27.—The University of Chicago today rejected demands of the Cook County American Legion Council that a scheduled symposium tonight on "Socialism and Democracy" be canceled, Fred Fine, newly elected member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, is to speak, together with Mulford Sibley, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota and Max Schachtman, national chairman of the Independent Socialist League. Lawrence Scott, of the Chicago American Friends Service Committee is announced as the chairman of the symposium.

The symposium, which is sponsored by the Socialist Club and the Young Socialist League of the University of Chicago has been under fire from the American Legion and the Chicago Tribune.

Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton of the university told the American Legion that it is neither "desirable nor wise" to cancel the meeting. The Legion called the meeting "disgraceful."

Kimpton stated that the dean of the students office had OK'd the meeting and that he had no intention of overruling the dean's office.

Kimpton stated that "I am not welcoming Communists under any circumstances," but he added that he had confidence that the student body "will be able to judge at their real worth the assertions the Communist representative makes."

EXHIBIT No. 468-B

AMERICAN SOCIALIST FORUM

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN ATOMIC ENERGY

Lecture by

DR. C. F. HISKEY

Dr. Hiskey will speak on the social, political, and biological consequences of atomic energy. He is particularly qualified by his experiences as a former research chemist for TVA, section manager in the Manhattan project and, in the postwar period, as associate professor and head of the department of analytical chemistry at Brooklyn Polytechnical Institute.

Friday, October 14

863 Broadway
(near 17th Street)

8 p. m.

contribution, 50 cents

Auspices: American Socialist

EXHIBIT No. 468-C

[P. 4, the Worker, Sunday, August 26, 1956]

ROAD AHEAD FOR AMERICAN LEFT TOPIC OF FORUM

CHICAGO.—Arrangements have been completed here for a symposium representing five varying points of view on the road ahead for socialism in America:

Harvey O'Connor, author; Rev. A. J. Muste, president emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Sidney Lens, author, and Chicago labor official; Claude Lightfoot, chairman of the Illinois District Communist Party; and Bert Cochran, editor of the American Socialist will speak on the topic, What Next for the American Left?

The symposium will be held on Friday, October 5, at Chicago's Temple Hall, 332 South Marshfield Avenue.

The open forum is the first of its kind agreed to by diverse left groupings in many years. Individual members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, supporters of the American Socialist, the National Guardian, the Monthly Review, and unaffiliated socialist-minded people have cooperated to make this gathering possible.

While the meeting is not arranged in the form of a debate, speakers will be given time to ask each other questions.

While it is expected that attention will be directed toward the past and present programs of varying socialist groups, a great deal of debate will be centered on the basis for socialism and the immediate future for progressive currents in America.

EXHIBIT No. 468-D

[Daily Worker, New York, Friday, October 5, 1956, p. 5]

NONPARTISAN SYMPOSIUM SET FOR TONIGHT IN CHICAGO

CHICAGO, October 4.—A nonpartisan political meeting "in the interest of free discussion" will be held tonight (Friday) at 8:30, at Temple Hall, 332 South Marshfield.

The Chicago symposium titled, "What Next for the American Left," will include the Reverend A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus, Fellowship of Reconciliation; Sidney Lens, author and union official; Harvey O'Connor, author of *Empire of Oil, Mellon's Millions*, and other books; Bert Cochran, editor, *American Socialist*, and Claude Lightfoot, State chairman, Communist Party of Illinois.

Robert Pickus, a member of the social science department, University of Chicago, and former secretary of the peace section, American Friends Service Committee, will be the moderator.

Sponsors of the symposium include: The Reverend Muste, emeritus; the Rev. Alva Tompkins, director, Olivet Center; the Rev. William J. Faulkner, minister, Park Manor Congressional Church; the Rev. Robert Worth Frank, former president, McCormick Theological Seminary; Prof. Kermit Eby, social science departments, University of Chicago; Lawrence Scott, Peace section, American Friends Service Committee, and Hal Charbnau, national executive committee member, Socialist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 468-E

[Daily Worker, New York, Friday, October 19, 1956, p. 3]

FORUM OCTOBER 26 ON ELECTIONS

A symposium of Left Wing Policy in the 1956 Elections will be held under the auspices of the Socialist Unity Form (sic) October 26.

Participants in the forum, which will be held at 229 Seventh Avenue, will include Clifford T. McAvoy, former legislative representative of the New York City CIO Council and the national CIO-PAC; Albert Blumberg, legislative director, Communist Party; and David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation*. Mike Zaslow will chair the discussion.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Blumberg, have you been attending meetings of the American Forum for Socialist Education?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. I suppose you will not tell us who the members of that organization are?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator Butler, we have furthermore addressed a letter to Dr. A. J. Muste, dated May 17, 1957, in which we ask him to

answer many of the questions we have asked Mr. Blumberg here today.

Senator BUTLER. Is it the desire of counsel that that be made a part of the record?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, and Mr. Muste's answer when we receive it.

Senator BUTLER. It will be so ordered.

(Copy of letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 469" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 469

MAY 17, 1957.

Dr. A. J. MUSTE,

Fellowship of Reconciliation, New York, N. Y.

DEAR DR. MUSTE: The Internal Security Subcommittee has scheduled a hearing next Tuesday on the nature of the American Forum for Socialist Education. This is in connection with the subcommittee's inquiry into the nature of Communist activities in the United States.

You are listed as chairman of the forum, and therefore I would appreciate your answering just a few questions about the organization. It would be most helpful if I had your reply by Tuesday, in which event it will be put in the record on that day. In any event I ask you these questions for the record.

The subcommittee would like to know from you to what extent Mr. Albert E. Blumberg was a moving factor in the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education. Would you tell us the extent of your dealing with Mr. Blumberg in this and all related matters during the last 18 months? Did you present a memo to Mr. Blumberg outlining an exchange of opinion on the whole subject of a union by the Communist and Socialist-minded groups? If you did present such a memorandum, would you supply the subcommittee with a copy thereof?

Will you tell us also of your dealings with other representatives of the Communist Party, U. S. A., with relation to the forum?

The subcommittee would like to have a full account of the following matters pertaining to the formation of the American Forum for Socialist Education:

(1) When and by whom was the formation of this organization first suggested to you?

(2) Who handled contacts with prospective members of the AFFSE national committee? To what extent were these contacts personal, and to what extent by mail?

(3) What meetings have been held, when, and where, attended by persons now members of the AFFSE national committee, at which formation of the AFFSE and related matters were discussed?

(4) Has each of the 40 members of the AFFSE national committee personally assented to serving as such? To whom, and in what form, were such assents given? Does each of these 40 members have an equal vote in management of the affairs of the AFFSE?

(5) Is there any group or body other than the AFFSE national committee which is or will be concerned with AFFSE policy or administration? Who are the members of the administrative and executive staff of the AFFSE?

I ask you also to inform the subcommittee as fully as your knowledge permits respecting the source or sources of funds used by or available to the American Forum for Socialist Education.

Yours very truly,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

EXHIBIT No. 469-A

NEW YORK, N. Y., May 23, 1957.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

*Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. EASTLAND: I am in receipt of your letter of May 17, 1957, addressing to me a long series of questions relating to American Forum—For Socialist Education. May I call your attention to the fact that this letter was sent to an old

address and had to be forwarded from there? Consequently, it did not actually come into my hands until late yesterday, Wednesday afternoon, May 22, 1957.

It is relevant in this connection to point out also that many weeks ago I sent you and the subcommittee a copy of a letter dated April 2, 1957, and addressed to Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. A communication from Mr. Hoover to your subcommittee dealt with the presence at the Communist Party convention in February of a number of observers, all non-Communists and outspoken critics of Communist totalitarianism. Mr. Norman Thomas, among others, had been associated with me in working out this project.

Mr. Hoover in his communication to your subcommittee spoke of me as having "long fronted for Communists" which, as any one who has any acquaintance with these matters knows, was the exact opposite of the truth since I have for over 20 years been an intransigent opponent of united fronts with Communists. A major basis for Mr. Hoover's charge was that I had taken some part a year or so ago in a petition to the President for amnesty for Communists convicted under the Smith Act, a petition in which over 40 well-known citizens such as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, and Dr. John C. Bennett, the dean of Union Theological Seminary, New York, joined.

That there should be in such high quarters a pattern of thinking which can regard the exercise of the right of petition by such citizens as evidence of Communist "fronting" is truly alarming and exposes the existence of the virus of political inquisition, one of the marks of totalitarianism, in the highest official quarters.

Turning now to your letter of May 17 to me, I regard it in its context as evidence of the same dangerous tendencies. The American Forum has just come into existence. Its development has been completely open and aboveboard. Its launching was announced to the press together with the list of members of a provisional national committee whose connections were easily identifiable.

Now, before American Forum can engage in any activity other than announcing formation of a committee, your subcommittee announces that it is investigating the forum in connection with communism. It issues subpoenas to 5 persons, 1 of whom is not on the national committee. Mr. Victor Perlo is someone who has never had the remotest connection with discussions leading to formation of American Forum. I have never known him or had the slightest connection with him. It is impossible to avoid the inference that the purpose of bringing his name into this picture at all is to suggest some devious connection of American Forum, organized purely for purposes of open discussion, with espionage or other such treasonable activities. In any case, you and your staff workers are well aware of the fact that in the atmosphere which has been created in our country such an inference about American Forum is bound to be drawn by many people and because of this many who would like to take part in its work will be forced to shun it or be subjected to persecution.

There seemed for a time to be a tendency among congressional investigating committees such as yours to exercise some care in a matter of this kind, to investigate first without advance publicity and not to expose loyal citizens to public inquisition and persecution before there was some slight ground for supposing that questionable activities had taken place. In this case not even this minimum of care to observe the old American tradition of not branding citizens as somehow guilty before they have ever been charged with any crime, seems to have been observed.

I must on grounds of conscience and in line with my conception of my duty as a citizen in a democratic society, decline to answer the questions in your letter, written by you as chairman and on behalf of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

As I have already stated, American Forum was organized in a completely open and above board fashion. Since you make reference to such matters as united action and "the whole subject of a union between Communist and Socialist-minded groups" let me observe that there has never been any question of American Forum having anything to do with such matters or anything except discussion between people who differ on many fundamental issues, not people who have an agreed-upon basis for common action. In making this statement, I do not mean to imply that if there had been talks relating to legal activities of a political nature, your committee or any such Government agency would, in my opinion, have a right to conduct an inquisition into them, any more than I think any such agency has a right to conduct such an inquisition into your political activities which, as you must know, are also unpopular in many quarters.

Your letter makes a reference to memorandums. Any that I have had anything to do with or American Forum as a body have been freely sent around to anyone who might be interested and are in no way secret. In view of the persuasive espionage activities which unfortunately characterize our country in this period, I surmise your subcommittee already has these materials.

Primarily, my declination of the request to answer the questions presented by you in your official capacity is due to my firm conviction that inquisition into the political—the same would be true of religious—views and activities of citizens is evil, a resort to methods characteristic of totalitarian regimes, unconstitutional and profoundly un-American. In a free society, we have to draw a line between advocacy, discussion, and all such matters on the one hand, and acts which are illegal, subversive, or treasonable on the other hand. The line between the two may not always be easy to draw. This is precisely the basis on which totalitarian regimes seek to justify all their antidemocratic measures. We must not go up that road to perdition.

Should I be subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee, it would be impossible for me to do more than appear and state my reasons for declining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter of May 17, 1957. I can assure you that if this should come to pass, I shall not appeal to the fifth amendment. This is not meant, however, as a reflection on any individual who may have done so.

It happens, Mr. Eastland, that I differ profoundly from you on such very fundamental matters as the position citizens should take toward the unanimous Supreme Court decision on integration in the public schools and on the whole question of relations between races. I do not see how your attitude can be squared with democratic concepts or with the central teachings of the Christian faith. I also believe that because of its effect on hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world, your stand and activities relative to these matters constitute an immense threat to the security and good name of the United States and certainly give a major assist to Communist propaganda.

Yet I am aware of the complicated character of these problems and of relations between human beings. And I trust you can and will believe me when I say that I have no personal animosity toward you. Both of us, in the final analysis, do not stand before any human tribunal but before the judgment seat of God. May we both humbly seek divine guidance at all times and especially with regard to the situation in which we happen now to be involved.

Sincerely yours,

A. J. MUSTE.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel has made a compilation of some of the other individuals who make up the national committee.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you read the names of those people in the first two categories?

Mr. MANDEL. The following are all listed as members of the executive committee of the national committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education. They all have invoked constitutional privilege in refusing to affirm or deny Communist Party affiliation. James Aronson, John T. McManus, Russell Nixon, and Harvey O'Connor.

The following persons in that group have been cited in sworn testimony as members of the Communist Party: Carl Braden, Russell Nixon, Albert E. Blumberg, Joseph Starobin, and Clifford T. McAvoy.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel has compiled another grouping in that committee, Senator, which I am not sure we should put into the record as such. He has a category there of 14 additional names who have been identified with supporting Communist causes. Since a person could support Communist causes for a variety of reasons, I suggest we just note the number, and not put their names in for actual record.

Senator BUTLER. It will be so ordered.

Mr. MANDEL. There are 15.

(The list of names was placed in subcommittee files.)

Mr. MORRIS. Herman Singer, who is the national secretary—will you identify what organization he is in?

Mr. MANDEL. He is national secretary of the Socialist Party, which is a merger of the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Federation.

Mr. MORRIS. Speaking in that capacity, he has repudiated this merged organization, has he not?

Mr. MANDEL. He has done so in a letter which he sent out on May 15, 1957. He says in that letter:

In America, the Socialist Party-Socialist Democratic Federation is the affiliate of the Socialist International * * *. As such, the American Forum misuses the name Socialist. The Socialist Parties of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, which are affiliated with the Socialist International, have consistently condemned Soviet tyranny and advocated widest democratic rights for workers on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The statement of the American Forum says nothing of the Soviet dictatorship, nor does it mention the fact that Democratic Socialists have, as their first concern, a world in which the exploitation and enslavement of men by men and peoples by peoples is unknown.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, for the legislative purpose of this subcommittee in looking into this: If this, as the evidence all seems to indicate, is the beginning of an extensive plan on the part of the Communists to present themselves, camouflaged as the evidence would indicate today, it is certainly something of which the Internal Security Subcommittee should take cognizance. I would like the whole of Mr. Singer's letter inserted in the record.

Senator BUTLER. It will be so ordered.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 470" and reads as follows:)

MAY 15, 1957.

EDITOR, LETTERS TO THE TIMES,
New York Times, New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITOR: In commenting on the American Forum for Socialist Education, your editorial of May 15 deserves commendation for reaffirming the right of any group to set forth its political views. What the Times failed to make clear was that the American Forum is not representative of Socialist thought in America and that its spokesmen are not in any way affiliated with the organization of democratic Socialist parties represented in the Socialist International. In America the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation is the affiliate of the Socialist International.

As the New York Times news story reported, the American Forum includes members of the Communist Party and representatives of two Trotskyite organizations. As such, the American Forum misuses the name "Socialist." The Socialist Parties of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark which are affiliated to the Socialist International have consistently condemned Soviet tyranny and advocated the widest democratic rights for workers on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The statement of the American Forum says nothing of the Soviet dictatorship nor does it mention the fact that democratic Socialists have as their first concern "a world in which the exploitation and enslavement of men by men and peoples by peoples is unknown." In the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries exploitation and enslavement are the commonplaces of everyday life. The American Forum has no right to employ the name "socialism" if its members include spokesmen for the Communist Party, a group dedicated to the support of dictatorship.

Very truly yours,

HERMAN SINGER, *National Secretary.*

Senator BUTLER. Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to have Mr. Mandel, with respect to the 8 individuals or the 9 individuals who have been identified in the 1 case with Communist Party membership, 3 of them claim-

ing privilege in the fifth amendment, in addition, when asked about Communist associations, and 1 invoking his privilege under the first amendment with respect to Communist affiliations—may they go into the record?

Senator BUTLER. It will be so ordered.

Mr. MORRIS. Just those nine.

(The names referred to are as follows:)

James Aronson, John T. McManus, Russell Nixon, Harvey O'Connor, Carl Braden, Doxey A. Wilkerson, Albert E. Blumberg, Joseph Starobin, Clifford T. McAvoy.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel says there are a few other compilations. May they also go into the record?

Senator BUTLER. Yes.

Any further questions?

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions.

(The compilations referred to above are as follows:)

Publicly admitted members of the Communist Party: Albert E. Blumberg, Doxey A. Wilkerson, Joseph Starobin.

Writers for the American Socialist, a magazine edited by Bert Cochran: Carl Braden, Harvey O'Connor, William E. B. DuBois, Conrad Lynn, Kermit Eby, Clifford T. McAvoy, Michael Baker.

Writers for the magazine, Liberation, edited by A. J. Muste: Dave Dellinger, Bayard Rustin, Charles Walker, Sidney Lens, Mulford Sibley, Waldo Frank, Milton Mayer, William Neumann.

Condemned the Smith Act under which Communist leaders have been convicted: Derk Bodde, W. E. B. DuBois, Waldo Frank, Oliver S. Loud, Harvey O'Connor, H. H. Wilson.

Senator BUTLER. I hope the Internal Security Subcommittee will vigorously pursue its investigation of this organization. It is sometimes most difficult to tell the extent of the knowledge of the persons who associate themselves with organizations such as the one now under investigation. I hope that a large majority of the people who comprise this national board of directors, and who are taking part in the activities of this organization, are doing so unwittingly and unknowingly. We, of this Internal Security Subcommittee, certainly have no authority to say that any organization is subversive. That is not our purpose. Our purpose is to follow out the mandates of the resolution and the law under which we are created. However, the report of this committee for 1956 recommended that legislation be framed that would make acts in the time of cold war, which in the time of actual war may be considered treason, punishable by law.

This investigation may have some bearing on legislation of that type. It is my hope that the subcommittee will give consideration to the framing of such legislation.

In the meantime, I think persons and people in general would be well advised to make note of what we have heard here today on Communist affiliation and activity of the large number of people who comprise the board of directors of this organization. Meantime, I suggest to the Department of Justice that they proceed under the Subversive Control Act of 1954 at the earliest possible moment to determine whether or not this organization, the American Forum—for Socialist Education, is in fact a Communist organization, and if it is so found, that it suffer the penalties prescribed by that act.

The subcommittee will stand in recess until call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee adjourned at 11:50 a. m.)

A letter from Chief Counsel Morris to Mr. George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, and Mr. Meany's reply were later ordered into the record. The text of these letters follows:

MAY 18, 1957.

Mr. GEORGE MEANY,

President, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: On May 13, 1957, the Daily Worker carried an announcement of the establishment of a national committee of the American Forum for Socialist Education. The forum proposes to reach youths, labor unions, farm organizations, colleges, and churches. Included on this committee are two leading members of the Communist Party.

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee is planning to hold hearings beginning on Tuesday, May 21, dealing with the nature of this new organization. In view of the announcement made that it proposes to approach labor unions, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has instructed me to solicit your opinion of this new organization, its significance to labor and the American people generally. We would appreciate your earliest reply.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT MORRIS.

Chief Counsel.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D. C., May 22, 1957.

Mr. ROBERT MORRIS,

*Chief Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. MORRIS: This will acknowledge your letter of May 18 in which you solicit my opinion, as to its significance to labor and the American people generally, the recent establishment of a national committee—the American Forum—For Socialist Education.

The much-belated admission by the Soviet dictators that their master and teacher, the late Joseph Stalin, was a power-mad, ruthless murderer and the savagery with which the Kremlin rulers crushed the heroic revolt of the Hungarian people for national independence and human freedom have severely damaged Communist influence and strength throughout the world.

Under Moscow's instructions and direction, Communists everywhere are now frantically trying to overcome the moral ostracism which the above events have inflicted on them. In the United States, this effort to break out of the ensuing isolation has assumed national proportions in the organization of a new Communist front misnamed the American Forum—For Socialist Education.

The Communist Party's Daily Worker of May 14, 1957, editorially hailed the foundation of this body as "especially welcome" and boasted that it "also includes two leading Communists." The same editorial further confessed that, "the position of the Communists with regard to developments of this kind was set forth in the resolution adopted overwhelmingly at their recent national convention."

American labor will shun like a plague this self-styled American Forum For Socialist Education which obviously was conceived and created in line with a decision adopted by the last convention of the Kremlin-controlled Communist Party in the United States. This organization, like all other Communist fronts, has, in its aims and actions only one goal—to hide its Communist objective and, under a beguiling name, appeal to, mislead and entrap well-meaning Americans into serving the cause of Communist subversion and the interests of Soviet imperialism.

No self-respecting American trade unionist, no worker loyal to the ideals which have made our democracy vital and our country great will have anything to do with the so-called American Forum—For Socialist Education or any other front which the Communist fifth column may organize.

Very truly yours,

GEORGE MEANY, *President, AFL-CIO.*

Texts of correspondence between Senator Eastland and the Attorney General also were later ordered into the record and read as follows:

JUNE 5, 1957.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,
*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Thank you very much for your letter of June 4 transmitting copies of the transcript of hearing held under Senator Butler's chairmanship into the origin and control of the American Forum—For Socialist Education.

The Department of Justice is very interested in the possible Communist control of this organization, and I am referring the copies of the hearing transcript to the Internal Security Division, together with Senator Butler's suggestion that the Department of Justice might wish to proceed against the organization under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950.

With my personal regards,
Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Acting Attorney General.

JUNE 4, 1957.

HON. HERBERT BROWNELL, JR.,
*Attorney General of the United States,
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL: You are undoubtedly familiar with the fact that a new organization was recently formed under the name of the American Forum—For Socialist Education. It counts among its founders a number of active members of the American Communist Party, as well as a long list of individuals whose names are frequently linked with Communist-front organizations.

On May 21, 1957, under the chairmanship of Senator John Marshall Butler, the Internal Security Subcommittee conducted a hearing in which it attempted to ascertain the true origin and effective control of this new organization. I enclose herewith two mimeographed copies of the transcript of that hearing, and I think you will agree with me that the Communist Party appears to have played a very large role in the inspiration and domination of this new organization.

At the close of the hearing, Senator Butler suggested that your Department might wish to proceed under the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 to determine whether or not this new organization is a Communist organization within the meaning of that act. Accordingly, I am transmitting to you herewith his suggestion, and copies of the transcript for such action as you may deem appropriate.

With my personal best wishes, I remain,
Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

The following article from the Daily Worker also was later ordered into the record:

[From the Daily Worker, May 27, 1957, p. 1]

MUSTE REJECTS EASTLAND'S POLITICAL INQUISITION

The Reverend A. J. Muste, chairman of the recently formed American Forum for Socialist Education, yesterday refused to answer a series of questions put to him by Senator James O. Eastland.

Eastland, chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, had written a letter to Dr. Muste questioning him on the part Communists or the Communist Party may have had in organizing the forum.

In a letter replying to Eastland, Reverend Muste declared that "on grounds of conscience and in line with my conception of duty as a citizen in a democratic society, I must decline to answer the questions in your letter of May 17, 1957."

Dr. Muste gave as his primary reason his "firm conviction that inquisition into the political—the same would be true of religious—views and activities of citizens is evil, a resort to methods characteristic of totalitarian regimes, unconstitutional and profoundly un-American."

He declared that "if subpoenaed to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee, it would be impossible for me to do more than appear and state my reasons for declining to answer questions of the nature set forth in your letter of May 17, 1957." He added that "if this should come to pass. I shall not appeal to the fifth amendment."

The letter stated that American Forum was "organized in a completely open and above board fashion" solely for purposes of discussion among people with differing views, not for united action or mergers. Concerning Eastland's inquiry about memoranda about the forum, Dr. Muste stated that these were "freely sent to any who might be interested and were in no way secret" and adds that "in view of the pervasive espionage activities which unfortunately characterize our country in this period, I surmise your subcommittee already has these materials."

Dr. Muste, in a reference to Eastland's attitude toward the Supreme Court decision on integration in the public schools, declared that Eastland's racist attitude could not be "squared with democratic concepts or with the central teachings of the Christian faith."

Dr. Muste, who is a Presbyterian clergyman and a Christian pacifist, assures Eastland that he has "no personal animosity * * * . Both of us, in the final analysis, do not stand before any human tribunal but before the judgment seat of God. May we both humbly seek divine guidance * * * with regard to the situation in which we happen now to be involved."

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

MAY 14, 23, AND 28, 1957

PART 64

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MAY 14, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:40 a. m., in room 404, Senate Office Building, Senator John Marshall Butler presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine, associate counsel; William Rusher, associate counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator BUTLER. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, in connection with the hearings that the subcommittee is conducting on Communist activity among the labor unions, we subpoenaed four persons for this morning and, as you know, yourself and Senator Hruska conducted the executive session. We have been able to hear in the executive session testimony of only 2 of the 4 witnesses up to this time. In other words, Senator, as you know, the executive session took longer than we had anticipated. For that reason, Senator, we are prepared to have an open hearing at this time with two of the witnesses, Walter Dorosh, who is on the stand, and Mr. Boatman.

Will you please rise?

Senator BUTLER. In the presence of Almighty God, do you solemnly promise and declare that the evidence you give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. DOROSH. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER DOROSH, DEARBORN, MICH., ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Senator BUTLER. The witness is sworn. Counsel may proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Give your full name and address to the reporter.

Mr. DOROSH. Walter Dorosh, 2861 Roulo, Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business, Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. DOROSH. I am employed by the Ford Motor Co. I am a die-maker.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been with the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. DOROSH. I started in 1934, in the school, the Henry Ford Trade School, and continued with them in employment to the present time.

Mr. MORRIS. You served in the Army, did you not?

Mr. DOROSH. I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you in the Army?

Mr. DOROSH. About a year, I believe, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What year was that?

Mr. DOROSH. I went in in 1941 and—

Mr. MORRIS. And you stayed until 1942?

Mr. DOROSH. I believe that is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you attended the recent convention of the United Auto Workers at Atlantic City, did you not?

Mr. DOROSH. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were a delegate to that convention?

Mr. DOROSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I notice, Mr. Dorosh, you were listed as tool and die secretary.

Mr. DOROSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that a correct listing?

Mr. DOROSH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe what that position is?

Mr. DOROSH. Well, it is secretary of the skilled workers. We have 16 divisions there. It is one of the divisions that I am secretary of.

Mr. MORRIS. You say there are 16 divisions?

Mr. DOROSH. Eighteen divisions. I want to correct that.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what?

Mr. DOROSH. Eighteen unit divisions. Eighteen buildings set up there.

Mr. MORRIS. In what?

Mr. DOROSH. Ford local 600.

Mr. MORRIS. Ford local 600. In other words, 18 divisions of the Ford local 600 and the tool and die section is one of these?

Mr. DOROSH. One of the—

Mr. MORRIS. One of the 18, and you are the secretary.

Mr. DOROSH. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members in this particular unit?

Mr. DOROSH. About 4,300, I believe.

Mr. MORRIS. 4,300. What does the duty of secretary of that particular unit entail?

Mr. DOROSH. The usual duties of secretary, keeping minutes of membership meetings, executive board meetings, answering of communications, acting as coordinator on grievances. General duties of a secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is local 600?

Mr. DOROSH. What do you mean, what is local 600?

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, you said it is one of the 18 components of local 600. Now, would you tell us for the record what is local 600? That is a local of UAW, is it not?

Mr. DOROSH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is the jurisdiction of local 600?

Mr. DOROSH. I don't follow you. What do you mean?

Mr. MORRIS. Whom does local 600 organize?

Mr. DOROSH. Well, it represents the Ford workers.

Mr. MORRIS. The Ford workers.

Mr. DOROSH. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. At any particular plant or all Ford plants?

Mr. DOROSH. All Ford plants in the Detroit—in the River Rouge area.

Mr. MORRIS. Only the River Rouge area?

Mr. DOROSH. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Chairman, we have had sworn testimony that the witness here today has been at least, in the past, a member of the Communist Party. I would like to ask you, Mr. Dorosh, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me by the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the fifth.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Dorosh, do you feel that an answer to that question would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. DOROSH. I do, sir.

Senator BUTLER. You don't refuse to answer on some other basis. You feel that a truthful answer to that question would tend to directly incriminate you.

Mr. DOROSH. Yes, I do, for those reasons, sir.

Senator BUTLER. I didn't exactly get that answer.

Mr. DOROSH. Yes, I do, for those reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you presided as chairman at a meeting of the Ford Plastic Tool and Die Communist Club held at the West Side section of the Communist Party headquarters of Michigan at 5642 Michigan Avenue?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended a meeting of the Ford section council of the Michigan Communist Party at 2800 Salina, in Dearborn?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Progressive caucus of local 600?

Mr. DOROSH. Same grounds. I refuse to answer.

Senator BUTLER. What is the Progressive caucus of local 600?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question, too, on the same basis.

Senator BUTLER. Is it a part of the UAW?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that on the same basis, the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Ford section executive committee of the Michigan State Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Phil Schatz?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Has Phil Schatz been a superior of yours in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended a meeting of the Ford Progressive Club?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically holding a meeting at 8030 Michigan Avenue.

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question on the fifth.

Senator BUTLER. Is that the same organization that you have referred to, that has been referred to here previously as the Progressive council or caucus?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a combined meeting of Ford Progressives and Communists at 5911 Michigan Avenue in connection with

the stand that was to be adopted with respect to a certain forthcoming strike during the year 1949?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges granted me under the fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you later that year attend the Ford Dearborn section Communist Party conference held at Communist Party headquarters, the section headquarters, 5642 Michigan Avenue, on December 3, 1949?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. On January 7, 1950, were you present at a meeting of leading Ford Communist employees represented on the Communist Party Ford Dearborn section council held at 5642 Michigan Avenue in Detroit?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the purpose of this meeting a discussion of the Communist Party's position in the scheduled Ford local 600 union elections to be held in February and March 1950?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question, sir.

Senator BUTLER. I assume that these declinations—

Mr. DOROSH. All on the fifth.

Senator BUTLER. All on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. DOROSH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a banquet for the Michigan Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born on March 7, 1954?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question under the privileges extended me under the fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party, Mr. Dorosh?

Mr. DOROSH. I refuse to answer that question based on the privileges extended me under the fifth.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have many more questions but I think in view of the witness' responses I feel it would be unavailing to ask any further questions.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Sourwine, have you any questions?

Mr. SOURWINE. At this time; no, sir. I think we would get no more answers now.

Senator BUTLER. The witness is excused.

Have you another witness?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Mr. Boatín, Senator.

Senator BUTLER. Mr. Boatín, will you stand and hold up your right hand?

Do you, in the presence of Almighty God, solemnly promise and declare that the evidence you will give to the Internal Security Subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. BOATÍN. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF PAUL BOATÍN, DETROIT, MICH., ACCOMPANIED BY
MITCHELL COOPER, HIS ATTORNEY**

Senator BUTLER. Now, Mr. Morris, I understand that this witness is the witness, of course, that we have had in executive session. He has been cooperative?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. That is right, Senator.

Mr. Boatín, after the subpoena was served on you, I think you made the announcement that you had been served. Is that not right, Mr. Boatín

Mr. BOATIN. Well, the papers seemed to have known about it, so there was no point in my hiding it, Judge Morris.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. As I say, Senator, we have an extensive executive session which hasn't been finished yet, and the reason it wasn't finished is that he has been, as we pointed out, a responsive witness, Senator, and I think, in view of the fact that it is known that Mr. Boatín is here present today, I think we should have this short, open session.

Senator BUTLER. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Just so he might state what his position is.

Will you give your full name and address?

Mr. BOATIN. My name is Paul Boatín. I live at 2690 Woodmere Avenue, Detroit 9, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business, Mr. Boatín

Mr. BOATIN. I am an employee of the Ford Motor Co.

Mr. MORRIS. And what do you do at the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, I have just been elected president of the engine division at the River Rouge plant.

Mr. MORRIS. How big is the engine division?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, the particular area where I am confined, the building to which I am confined has about 5,000 people.

Senator BUTLER. Are they all members of a unit of local 600, UAW?

Mr. BOATIN. Yes, Senator. The River Rouge plant is composed of 18 divisions or units, as the company calls them, and the engine division is one of them. But the 18 units combine into making up the total local 600 of the UAW.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were recently elected, were you not, Mr. Boatín?

Mr. BOATIN. To one of the units; yes, last week.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Boatín, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. I was a member of the Communist Party from either late 1939 or early 1940 to about the late fall of 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. And what happened in the late fall of 1949?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, in the late fall of 1949, after considerable differences of opinion and criticism, I was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, was there an immediate transition; I mean was there a transitional period there, that I think you told us about in executive session?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, I would say that because of the fact that the River Rouge plant is such a compact area and you work closely with people, and I have been at Ford's now 31 years, since 1925, in August, it took me some time before I could actually understand what was transpiring and the policies being what they are and the spring of 1950 was an election year, it took me 6 months or thereabouts to digest, to fully realize my position, to understand the events that I was living through.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us, for the record—I think it would be helpful, would it not, Senator—the reasons why you broke with the Communist Party?

Mr. BOATIN. Well, I have had occasion to think very seriously about my position in the Communist Party in the past and my position on the Communist Party at present. I would say that, in relation to the policies of the Communist Party inside of the union, the Communist Party itself has admitted that many of the policies that they pursued over the war years and later were erroneous.

I had felt that they were, and, in relation to the influence of Soviet Russia on the thinking of Communists in this country, I had become disillusioned, and now, as I think back, with the cold war and the Korea situation and the revelations of the Khrushchev reports and many of the things that happened in the—oh, 1949 in the satellite countries where not only so-called enemies were done away with but even Communists themselves in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, and so on.

Subsequent to that, of course, the Hungarian situation, on which I took a public position, I think—I am pretty sure I wrote either 1 or 2 articles in our own union publication on the matter—all of these things combined—of course, in opposition to what was happening in Hungary, and I said very definitely that the Soviet Union was wrong and they should get out of there and let the Hungarian people run Hungary themselves.

I might say, too, that I support the position of the UAW, President Reuther's position in relation to Communists in the union, and the position of the union, of the UAW, is that no Communist should hold office in the union, and I, myself, have found it difficult to reconcile the two positions, the position of a Communist and a UAW guy during the period that I was in leadership, and it is difficult to reconcile the position of the Communists with that of a private citizen.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, in view of the fact that we have not completed our executive session, as you know, with this particular witness, I have no more questions to ask of him in the open session at this time.

Senator BUTLER. All right. You will stand by, subject to the call of the Chair.

Any further witnesses, Counsel?

The subcommittee will stand in recess subject to order of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12 noon, the subcommittee retired into executive session.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MAY 23, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:15 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator Olin Johnston presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; J. G. Sourwine and William Rusher, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, research director; and Frank Schroeder, chief investigator.

Senator JOHNSTON. The subcommittee will come to order.

In that we are dealing here today with labor, more in particular we are dealing with people affiliated with the AFL-CIO, I think it would be well for us at this time to make a part of our record here the AFL-CIO code of ethical practices.

I notice in this little booklet that I hold in my hand, on page 25, beginning at the middle of the page, it reads as follows:

First, the AFL-CIO and each of its affiliated unions should undertake the obligation through appropriate constitutional or administrative measures and orderly procedures to insure that no person who constitutes corrupt influences or practices, or who represents or supports Communists, Fascists, or totalitarian agencies, should hold office of any kind in any trade unions or organizations.

Second, no person should hold or retain offices or appointed positions in the AFL-CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions, or subordinate bodies thereof, who has been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade union morality.

I just read those two paragraphs, but it goes on. I think it would probably be well to have those incorporated in the record at this time, due to the fact that it does have some bearing on just what we are endeavoring to do at the present time.

(The booklet referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 471," and excerpts therefrom relating to the matter under study by the subcommittee read as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 471

1. AFL-CIO CONSTITUTION * * * ON ETHICAL PRACTICES

Article II, section 10

The objects and principles of this federation are:

To protect the labor movement from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism.

* * * * *

Article VIII, section 7

It is a basic principle of this federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist, Fascist, or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism. The executive council, when requested to do so by the president or by any other member of the executive council, shall have the power to conduct an investigation, directly or through an appropriate standing or special committee appointed by the president, of any situation in which there is reason to believe that any affiliate is dominated, controlled, or substantially influenced in the conduct of its affairs by any corrupt influence, or that the policies or activities of any affiliate are consistently directed toward the advocacy, support, advancement, or achievement of the program or of the purposes of the Communist Party, any Fascist organization, or other totalitarian movement. Upon the completion of such an investigation, including a hearing if requested, the executive council shall have the authority to make recommendations or give directions to the affiliate involved and shall have the further authority, upon a two-thirds vote, to suspend any affiliate found guilty of a violation of this section. Any action of the executive council under this section may be appealed to the convention, provided, however, that such action shall be effective when taken and shall remain in full force and effect pending any appeal.

Article XIII, section 1 (d)

The committee on ethical practices shall be vested with the duty and responsibility to assist the executive council in carrying out the constitutional determination of the federation to keep the federation free from any taint of corruption or communism, in accordance with the provisions of this constitution.

2. AFL-CIO RESOLUTION * * * ON ETHICAL PRACTICES

(Adopted by AFL-CIO Convention, December 1955)

The democratic institutions of the United States of America were established on the foundation of honesty, integrity, responsibility. The free and democratic labor movement of our country similarly rests upon the foundations of brotherhood, honesty, and integrity.

Any departure from the most exacting ethical principles is harmful not only to the people directly affected but to the whole fabric of our civilization.

The American labor movement has ever been quick in its denunciation of public officials who betray their trust. We have been equally critical of businessmen who have used corrupt methods and bribery to gain their selfish, acquisitive ends. We must be equally quick to recognize and condemn those instances of racketeering, corruption, and disregard for ethical standards when they occur inside our labor movement.

The vast majority of labor union officials accept their responsibility and trust. They endeavor honestly to carry out the democratic will of their members and to discharge the duties of their office. Yet the reputations of the vast majority are imperiled by the dishonest, corrupt, unethical practices of the few who betray their trust and who look upon the trade-union movement not as a brotherhood to serve the general welfare, but as a means to advance their own selfish purposes or to forward the aim of groups or organizations who would destroy our democratic institutions. By the adoption of the constitution of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, the American labor movement has clearly accepted the responsibility for keeping its own house in order and to protect the movement "from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist agencies and all others who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and free and democratic unionism." Only by their wholehearted dedication to this constitutional objective can labor unions meet their obligations to their memberships. Failure to meet these responsibilities can only result in governmental assumption of what are properly trade-union functions. Reliance on the agencies of government for keeping our movement free from the infiltration of racketeers, crooks, Communists, Fascists, and other enemies of free democratic unionism would constitute a threat to the independence and freedom of the entire movement;

Now, therefore, be it resolved:

1. The first constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO calls upon all its affiliated national and international unions to take whatever steps are necessary within their own organizations to effect the policies and ethical standards set forth in the constitution of the AFL-CIO. When constitutional amendments or changes in internal administrative procedures are necessary for the affiliated organizations to carry out the responsibilities incumbent upon autonomous organizations, such amendments and changes should be undertaken at the earliest practicable time.

2. This first constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO pledges its full support, good offices, and staff facilities of the AFL-CIO committee on ethical practices to all national and international unions in their efforts to carry out and put into practice the constitutional mandate to keep our organization "free from any taint of corruption or communism."

* * * * *

Ethical practices code III—

RACKETEERS, CROOKS, COMMUNISTS, AND FASCISTS

(Approved by the AFL-CIO executive council, January 31, 1957)

This is the third in a series of recommended codes which the committee on ethical practices has developed in accordance with the direction of the executive council that it should "develop a set of principles and guides for adoption by the AFL-CIO in order to implement the constitutional determination that the AFL-CIO shall be and remain free from all corrupt influences."

Article VIII, section 7, of the constitution of the AFL-CIO establishes that "it is a basic principle of this federation that it must be and remain free from any and all corrupt influences and from the undermining efforts of Communist, Fascist, or other totalitarian agencies who are opposed to the basic principles of our democracy and of free and democratic trade unionism." Under this constitutional provision there is no room within the federation or any of its affiliated unions for any person in a position of leadership or responsibility who is a crook, a racketeer, a Communist, or a Fascist. And it is the obligation of every union affiliated with the AFL-CIO to take appropriate steps to insure that this principle is complied with.

To be sure, neither the AFL-CIO nor its affiliated unions are law-enforcing agencies. It is not within the purview or authority of a trade union to convict its members of a violation of statutory law. But it is the duty and responsibility of each national and international union affiliated with the federation to see to it that it is free of all corrupt, Communist, or Fascist influences. Consequently, a trade union need not wait upon a criminal conviction to bar from office corrupt, Communist, or Fascist influences. The responsibility of each union to see to it that it is free of such influences is not a responsibility placed upon our unions by law. It is a responsibility which rests upon our unions by the AFL-CIO constitution and by the moral principles that govern the trade-union movement. Eternal vigilance in this area is the price of an honest democratic trade-union movement.

It is not possible, nor is it desirable, to set down rigid rules to determine whether a particular individual in a position of responsibility or leadership in the trade-union movement is a crook, a racketeer, a Communist, or a Fascist. Obviously, if a person has been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade-union morality, he should be barred from office or responsible position in the labor movement. Obviously also, a person commonly known to be a crook or racketeer, should not enjoy immunity to prey upon the trade-union movement because he has somehow managed to escape conviction. In the same manner, the fact that a person has refrained from formally becoming a member of the Communist Party or a Fascist organization should not permit him to hold or retain a position of responsibility or leadership in the trade-union movement if, regardless of formal membership, he consistently supports or actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party or any Fascist or totalitarian organization.

In this area, as in all others, determinations must be made as a matter of commonsense and with due regard to the rights of the labor unions and the individuals involved.

On the basis of these considerations, the ethical practices committee, under the authority vested in it by the constitution of the AFL-CIO, pursuant to the mandate of the first constitutional convention of the AFL-CIO, recommends that the executive council of the AFL-CIO adopt the following policies to safeguard the good name of the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions:

1. The AFL-CIO and each of its affiliated unions should undertake the obligation, through appropriate constitutional or administrative measures and orderly procedures, to insure that no persons who constitute corrupt influences or practices or who represent or support Communist, Fascist, or totalitarian agencies should hold office of any kind in such trade unions or organizations.

2. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL-CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who has been convicted of any crime involving moral turpitude offensive to trade-union morality.

3. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL-CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who is commonly known to be a crook or racketeer preying on the labor movement and its good name for corrupt purposes, whether or not previously convicted for such nefarious activities.

4. No person should hold or retain office or appointed position in the AFL-CIO or any of its affiliated national or international unions or subordinate bodies thereof who is a member, consistent supporter or who actively participates in the activities of the Communist Party or of any Fascist or other totalitarian organization which opposes the democratic principles to which our country and the American trade-union movement are dedicated.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may proceed.

Do you care to have anything else put in there?

Mr. MORRIS. No.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think that is sufficient for the project you have under consideration at the present time.

Mr. MORRIS. This is a continuation of the hearings which were held here last Thursday, at which time the witnesses were Mr. Paul Boatin and Mr. Walter Dorosh.

Since that time, Senator, the subcommittee had subpoenaed four officials of the IUE—that is a recently formed organization, AFL-CIO organization. They were subpoenaed to appear last Tuesday, Tuesday of this week.

Now, in view of the fact that there are hearings in New York by the SACB, the subject of which is the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America, UERMW, of which the four officials who were subpoenaed for Tuesday had been members in the past, the subcommittee decided to defer the hearing of these four IUE officials until a later time.

Senator JOHNSTON. I know I speak probably for all the members of this subcommittee. We are not having these hearings in order to do any injury to the American Federation of Labor or the CIO. I want it plainly understood, as far as I am concerned, I think organized labor has done a wonderful job in the United States, and I am in favor of organized labor. I am one southerner that believes in it. I think we need organized labor the same as we need organization in other activities in our life. At the same time we want to help organized labor, and we feel that probably we can do so by investigations such as we are endeavoring to make at this time.

Mr. MORRIS. Miss Van Horn, will you stand and be sworn?

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear that the evidence you give before this subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss VAN HORN. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF HARRIET EDITH VAN HORN, DETROIT, MICH.,
ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HER ATTORNEY**

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter, Miss Van Horn?

Miss VAN HORN. Harriet Edith Van Horn, 654 Continental, Detroit.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your occupation, Miss Van Horn?

Miss VAN HORN. My occupation is actually a production worker in the Chrysler Corp.

Mr. MORRIS. A production worker in the Chrysler Corp.?

Miss VAN HORN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where specifically do your work?

Miss VAN HORN. I work specifically in the wire room.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give us a short description of what your job is?

Miss VAN HORN. My job actually is chief steward at the present time of the wire room for Dodge Local 3.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you hold office in the UAW, do you not?

Miss VAN HORN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, chief steward?

Miss VAN HORN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what other positions do you hold in connection with that?

Miss VAN HORN. In connection with that? The education committee. I am a member of that.

Mr. MORRIS. You are a member of the education committee of Dodge Local 3.

Miss VAN HORN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what is the makeup of Dodge local? Who are eligible for membership in the Dodge local?

Miss VAN HORN. All the production workers and skilled workers in the Dodge main plant, Hamtramck, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. Even though you work for Chrysler, you are active in Dodge Local 3?

Miss VAN HORN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. How many members are there in the Dodge local; do you know?

Miss VAN HORN. Roughly, 26,000.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your work as a member of the education committee? What does it involve?

Miss VAN HORN. It involves serving on the committee once a month. Do you mean the duties of the committee itself?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Miss VAN HORN. The duties of the committee are to have charge of the editing of the Dodge Main News, our union paper, and to conduct the educational activities for the local.

Mr. MORRIS. Miss Van Horn, there has been sworn testimony by Mrs. Bereniece Toby Baldwin before the House Un-American Activities Committee that you have been educational director of the Dodge Club of the Communist Party.

Have you ever served as educational director of the Dodge Club of the Communist Party?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendments. I would like to add, though—no; that is all.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. I think we had better identify, too, that she has an attorney with her. It might be well to put your name and address in.

MR. REIN. David Rein, 711 14th Street NW.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. Proceed.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like a ruling on the witness' claim of privilege. She has claimed privilege under the first and fifth amendments.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. We acknowledge your right of entering a plea against answering the questions that you think might incriminate you, and set up the fifth amendment. Now, as to the first amendment, we do not acknowledge that you have any rights, under that amendment, to refuse to answer.

MR. MORRIS. You will not deny, then, Miss Van Horn, that the testimony of Mrs. Bereniece Baldwin that you were at one time the educational director of the Dodge Club of the Communist Party is true?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendments.

SENATOR JOHNSTON. Again, let me state that we acknowledge your right not to answer it under the fifth amendment, which really covers the situation at this time. We do not acknowledge that you have any such rights under the first amendment, and each time that you answer the question, I want to preserve time by saying my reply will be the same.

MR. REIN. May I suggest that, in the future, if the witness says she declines under the same reason, it includes your statement?

SENATOR JOHNSTON. I will include my statement, to preserve time.

MR. MORRIS. Miss Van Horn, have you acted as chairman of a Communist Party meeting at the auto miscellaneous section, at 2419 Grand River, Detroit, Mich., on May 17, 1949?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline, for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Now, have you attended a State convention of the Michigan Communist Party?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline, for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. In fact, you were, in 1948, elected as a member of the State commission of the Michigan Communist Party, were you not?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Did you, on April 23, 1949, attend a meeting sponsored by the Ford section of the Michigan Communist Party for the purpose of raising money for defense of the 12 indicted national Communist leaders?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline, for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Now, on July 23, 1949, did you attend a testimonial banquet honoring Nat Ganley on the occasion of his departure as editor of the Communist Michigan Daily Worker?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Was this meeting sponsored by the auto miscellaneous section of the Communist Party?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you attend, on September 14, 1949, a meeting of the Ford Foundry Club, Communist club, held at 5642 Michigan Avenue in Detroit?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, on October 20, 1949, participate in a picket line in front of the Detroit Federal Building for the purpose of protesting the guilty verdict passed on the 11 national Communist Party leaders? This was under the auspices of an organization known as the Emergency Committee To Save the Bill of Rights, Michigan Communist Party, and the Civil Rights Congress?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. On May 7, 1950, did you attend the annual Communist May Day meeting sponsored by the Michigan Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Was Fred Fine, national legislation director of the Communist Party, a speaker at that same meeting?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend, on May 4, 1952, the May Day cultural festival for peace and civil rights, sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress, the Michigan Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. On February 3, 1952, did you attend a mass meeting sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, on April 6, 1954, at the Carlton Theater, attend a showing of the film, Salt of the Earth?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, on March 22, 1952—going back now—attend a meeting of the Wayne County Club of the Progressive Party of Michigan, at which Mrs. Vivian Hallinan was the speaker?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Senator JOHNSTON. You mean for the same reasons that it might incriminate you?

Miss VAN HORN. It might tend to, Senator.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the record show that the motion picture, Salt of the Earth, was Communist financed?

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, do you have anything on that?

Mr. MANDEL. Salt of the Earth was a picture produced by the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, which has been testified to as under Communist control, and is presently under proceedings by the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the record show that the particular showing of this motion picture, with regard to which Mr. Morris has questioned the witness, was sponsored by the Communist Party?

Mr. MANDEL. The author, Mr. Waldo Salt, I believe, took the fifth amendment regarding his Communist Party membership.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am inquiring about the particular showing about which Mr. Morris questioned the witness.

Mr. MANDEL. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you last see Mr. Nat Ganley?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer, for the same reasons.

Could I at this point inject in the record that I am not now a member—

Mr. MORRIS. I was going to get to that.

As you know, Senator, when we asked Miss Van Horn if she was presently a member, she answered "No."

Senator JOHNSTON. As I recall, you asked questions about different times in the past. She answered parts of them, and some she refused to answer, and set up her rights under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. That is right.

I specifically asked you, Miss Van Horn, if you were a member of the Communist Party when you attended the May Day cultural festival for peace and civil rights on May 4, 1952. What is your answer to that? Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Miss VAN HORN. On that particular date, I was not a member. What was that again?

Mr. MORRIS. May 4, 1952.

Miss VAN HORN. At that time, I was not a member.

Mr. MORRIS. But you did attend the May Day cultural festival under the auspices of the Michigan Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Civil Rights Congress, did you not?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been a member of the Communist Party at any time since this date in May 1952?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Oh, the answer to that is no. I thought you said prior.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had stated that you were not a member on a particular date in 1952, and I was trying to establish if you had been a member since that date.

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Party at any time within a year prior to that date?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. At any time subsequent to the 1st of January 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time subsequent to the 1st of January 1952?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. This could progress to a particular date, Mr. Chairman. It might be of some interest to endeavor to do it. What is the Chair's wish? May I proceed?

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the last 6 months of the calendar year 1951?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the second calendar quarter of the year 1951?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the months of February or March 1951?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the month of January 1951?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, then, you have not been a member of the Communist Party at any time since January 1, 1951?

Miss VAN HORN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the last 6 months of 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that under the fifth amendment. I am sorry. The answer to that is no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the second calendar quarter of 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. Second calendar quarter?

Mr. SOURWINE. The months of April, May, and June.

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the months of February or March 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the month of January 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you have not been a member of the Communist Party at any time since the 1st of January 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you decline under your rights of the fifth amendment to answer a question with respect to since January 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. Not since then.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you then a member of the Communist Party at any time since January 1949?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the last 6 months of 1949?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the last 3 months of 1949?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at any time during the month of December 1949?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. We have this down to the month, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell me the circumstances of your leaving the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. But you have, since January 1950, associated with persons you know to be Communists?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen, within the last year, Mr. Nat Ganley?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you seen during the last year Mr. William Allen?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you will identify Mr. Ganley and Mr. Allen?

Mr. MANDEL. Nat Ganley, also known as Nat Kaplan, is a known leader of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan.

William Allen is also a known leader of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan, and a writer for the Daily Worker.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us, Miss Van Horn, what your associations with those two gentlemen have been during the past year?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you know either of those two men?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Did you effect any kind of a formal disassociation from the Communist Party?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Have you been active in the Civil Rights Congress in the past year?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. Have you been active recently in the Michigan Council for Peace, which is a Communist-front organization?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. You were a speaker, were you not, during the second session of the 2-day conference sponsored by that organization in May of 1952?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons.

MR. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness.

MR. SOURWINE. May I ask one question?

Senator JOHNSTON. Proceed.

MR. SOURWINE. During the period which you have testified you have not been a member of the Communist Party, since January 1950, have you been at any time subject to Communist discipline?

MISS VAN HORN. I decline to answer for the same reasons—Just a minute, please.

MR. REIN. If I may—

MR. SOURWINE. The witness has answered, Mr. Rein. Do you want to tell the witness to give the committee a different answer?

MR. REIN. Perhaps the witness didn't understand the question.

MR. SOURWINE. I will ask it again.

During the time which you have testified you were not a member of the Communist Party, that is, since January 1950, have you been at any time under Communist discipline?

MISS VAN HORN. No; I haven't.

MR. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. How long have you been an officer in the AFL-CIO?

MISS VAN HORN. I have held elected positions off and on for the past 10, 12, 13 years.

Senator JOHNSTON. What branch were you in prior to the amalgamation of the AFL and CIO?

MISS VAN HORN. I was still with Dodge Local 3, UAW.

Senator JOHNSTON. Was it connected with the AFL?

MISS VAN HORN. It is now, but it wasn't in the past. It was the CIO then.

Senator JOHNSTON. Are there any other questions?

MR. MORRIS. I have none, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may be excused, then.

Will you call the next witness?

MR. MORRIS. Mr. Fireman, will you be sworn?

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear the evidence you will give before this subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. FIREMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HYMAN FIREMAN, ROYAL OAK, MICH.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. FIREMAN. Hyman Fireman, 3223 North Connecticut, Royal Oak, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your business and occupation, Mr. Fireman, please?

Mr. FIREMAN. I work for General Motors Corp., and I am a metal-worker in the shop.

Mr. MORRIS. You are associated with the United Auto Workers, are you not?

Mr. FIREMAN. I am a member of the UAW.

Mr. MORRIS. And you hold an elective office in the UAW?

Mr. FIREMAN. I do, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. What position do you hold?

Mr. FIREMAN. I am a member of the bylaws committee of Local 160, UAW, AFL-CIO. I am also a member of the election committee of UAW, Local 160.

Mr. MORRIS. What other positions do you hold?

Mr. FIREMAN. Last year I was recording secretary.

Mr. MORRIS. You are recording secretary?

Mr. FIREMAN. I was recording secretary of my unit of local 160. I am not the recording secretary now. I declined to run.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how long have you been associated with the UAW?

Mr. FIREMAN. I think I joined the UAW in 1940 or 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. What principal offices have you held during that period?

Mr. FIREMAN. I think I have just enumerated them to you, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FIREMAN. Sir, I decline to answer, stating my refusal on the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Senator JOHNSTON. This committee acknowledges your rights to refrain from answering a question that you think might incriminate you. We think that under the fifth amendment you probably have that right. But we do not recognize that you have any rights for refusing to answer under the first amendment.

Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a meeting on May 16, 1953, sponsored by Mr. William Allen, editor of the Michigan Daily Worker?

Mr. FIREMAN. Sir, I decline to answer for the reasons that I just gave.

Senator JOHNSTON. We acknowledge your rights under the fifth amendment, if you think it might incriminate you—

Mr. FIREMAN. I would like to interject, please, if I may, it might tend to incriminate me.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a meeting of the Michigan Council for Peace, a Communist Party front organization on August 24, 1952?

Mr. FIREMAN. I decline to answer for the reasons I just gave, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. On September 1, 1952, did you attend a meeting sponsored by the Michigan Civil Rights Congress, and the Michigan Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, both of which are Communist-front organizations?

Mr. FIREMAN. I decline to answer, sir, for the reasons I just gave.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with the testimony of Bereneice Baldwin, a former member of the Communist Party in Detroit, to the effect that you have been a member of the Communist Party in the United States? Are you acquainted with the testimony?

Mr. FIREMAN. Yes; I am acquainted with the testimony.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that truthful testimony?

Mr. FIREMAN. I decline to answer for the reasons I just gave.

Senator JOHNSTON. The committee takes the position, then, that every time you set up the fifth amendment and the first amendment, you have a right to refuse to answer if you see fit under the fifth amendment. This committee rules that you have no rights under the first amendment to refuse to answer the questions.

Mr. FIREMAN. Well, I also consider it an invasion of my privacy.

Senator JOHNSTON. We hold otherwise.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Fireman, did you attend the Atlantic City convention a few months ago?

Mr. FIREMAN. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have some more specific questions to ask, but I think in view of the witness' responses, it will be unavailing to ask any more questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you have any more questions, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, sir.

Senator JOHNSTON. With no further questions, the witness is excused.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Sourwine would like to ask Miss Van Horn a few more questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are excused, Mr. Fireman, but please remain in the room for just a little bit.

Miss Van Horn, please come back. You have been sworn already.

FURTHER TESTIMONY OF HARRIET EDITH VAN HORN—Recalled

Mr. SOURWINE. I think it is possible to make the record perhaps a little clearer with respect to the witness' last question asked, as to whether she had been at any time under Communist discipline since January 1, 1950. Your answer to that question was "No," unequivocally, that you had not?

Miss VAN HORN. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at any time subsequent to January 1950, attend a meeting of which you were advised by a person known to you to be a Communist?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that—did you say at any time, Senator?

Mr. SOURWINE. Since January 1, 1950. I am not a Senator. I am an associate counsel of this committee.

Miss VAN HORN. No; I did not.

Would you restate that question, please?

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was whether you had at any time during this period since January 1, 1950, attended a meeting of which you were advised by a person known to you to be a Communist?

Miss VAN HORN. I didn't attend any meeting of the Communist Party, so I don't understand the question.

Mr. SOURWINE. I will break the question down.

Do you know any persons who, to your knowledge, are members of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you during the period since January 1, 1950, had any communication with any individuals known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you since January 1, 1950, received from a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party notice of a meeting of any kind?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you on more than one occasion since January 1, 1950, received from a person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party notice of a meeting of any kind?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you since January 1, 1950, attended any meetings of the Dodge Club of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you attended, on March 18, 1950, the banquet launching the Michigan Communist Party \$35,000 fund drive, did you have a ticket to that banquet?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that under the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you receive a ticket to that banquet from a person known to you to be a Communist, a member of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you attended a showing of the motion picture, *The Young God*, a Communist propagand film on June 10, 1950, did you have a ticket for that performance?

Miss VAN HORN. I have no recollection of that movie at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, I will ask you directly.

Did you, on June 10, 1950, attend a Jewish community center showing of the picture, *The Young God*, a film dedicated to the 30th anniversary of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union, and a film which was then and there shown by the Michigan chapter of the Labor Youth League?

Miss VAN HORN. I have no recollection of that at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have any recollection of attending the picnic of the Michigan Communist Party at Welcome Park, Clawson, Mich., in July of 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. No; I have no recollection of that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you attend a farewell banquet honoring James and Esther Cooper Johnson for their work in the progressive movement—in the Communist movement in Detroit in January 1950?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever received from a person known to you to be a Communist notice of a meeting of the Civil Rights Congress?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you ever, since 1950, January 1950, received instructions from any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you since January 1, 1950, received any requests from any persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Miss VAN HORN. I don't know what you mean.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know what a request is?

Miss VAN HORN. Do you mean in writing or verbally?

Mr. SOURWINE. Orally or in writing.

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no more questions.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to call the attention of the witness to the fact that Mrs. Baldwin has testified that you attended a Communist Party meeting on April 21 and April 22, 1950, at Jericho Temple, 2705 Joy Road, in Detroit. Will you deny that testimony?

Miss VAN HORN. I will decline to answer that under the first and fifth amendments.

Mr. MORRIS. The date, Mr. Rein, is April 21 and 22, 1950.

There is sworn testimony that you attended a meeting on those dates, Miss Van Horn.

Miss VAN HORN. I have no recollection of that meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. But she has so testified that you attended this meeting. Jericho Temple, 2705 Joy Road, Detroit.

Miss VAN HORN. I testified?

Mr. MORRIS. No; she has testified that you were present at that meeting.

Miss VAN HORN. I have no recollection of that meeting at all.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have testified here, I think, more than once, that you have not since January 1, 1950, attended any Communist meetings?

Miss VAN HORN. That I wasn't a member.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Sourwine, she was very careful not to say that. She has said she was not a Communist member at that time. When we asked her about particular Communist Party meetings, she has claimed her privilege.

Mr. SOURWINE. I thought I had asked the question whether the witness had, since January 1, 1950, attended any meetings of the Communist Party. If I did not, I will ask that question now.

Senator JOHNSTON. I believe the record shows that she testified that she was not a Communist since January 1, 1950.

Now, then, the question pending is, Have you attended any meeting of the Communist Party since January 1, 1950, and you knew that it was a Communist meeting?

Miss VAN HORN. I didn't attend any meetings, to my knowledge, that were meetings of the Communist Party since that date.

Senator JOHNSTON. Have you attended any meeting that you found out even later was a Communist meeting?

Miss VAN HORN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Miss Van Horn, you were at the May Day cultural festival for peace and civil rights sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress on May 4, 1952; were you not?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Certainly the May Day cultural festival at that time was a Communist meeting; was it not?

Miss VAN HORN. I decline to answer that.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to ask that the witness, Mr. Chairman, be ordered and directed to answer that question. That is in the nature of fair cross-examination on a question she had previously answered. I don't think she has any privilege with regard to that question.

Senator JOHNSTON. Would you please rephrase your question?

Mr. MORRIS. Would you read the question back?

(Whereupon, the pending question was read by the reporter.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, the witness having previously answered that she had not attended a Communist Party meeting, no meeting that she knew as a Communist meeting, this question is fair cross-examination by Mr. MORRIS on that question.

Senator JOHNSTON. You had answered that you had not attended any meetings since January 1, 1950, any Communist meeting that you knew at the time was a Communist meeting, or you even found out afterwards was a Communist meeting.

I believe that is your testimony, isn't it?

Mr. REIN. I wonder if I could address myself to this for just a second. I think I may clear it up.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may address yourself to it, but you are not fixing to testify for her, are you?

Mr. REIN. No; I think I can clear up any misunderstanding that there may be.

My understanding of the record, Mr. Chairman, is that she said she did not attend any meetings of the Communist Party. I understand this was a different question. It is not as to whether it is a meeting of the Communist Party, but whether it was a Communist meeting. I think that is the ambiguity here.

Mr. MORRIS. You think she will answer questions technically, if it is technically a Communist Party meeting, but involving groups that are led by the Communist Party, like the Civil Rights Congress, she will decline to answer?

Mr. REIN. I think the record is clear on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Counsel, speaking for the witness, seems to be making the point that she will claim her privilege about her attendance at meetings which were organized by, roughly speaking, Communist-front organizations, but with respect to technical Communist Party membership meetings, she will make a denial?

Mr. REIN. That is right. I think there is no inconsistency.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, that would be any meetings even down to date; is that right? You will claim privilege with respect to any Communist-front meetings, but you will enter denial as to any technical Communist Party meetings.

Mr. REIN. I am prepared to state what the record is at the present. But I think there is ambiguity between answering for a Civil Rights Congress meeting, and meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. The witness has made the distinction. It is acceptable to me, if it is to the Chair.

Mr. SOURWINE, is that acceptable to you?

Mr. SOURWINE. I have no further questions.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions of this witness.

I have one more witness, Mr. Trachtenberg. I will try to be very brief.

Senator JOHNSTON. All the witnesses who were here, remain in the room until the hearing is over, and we will tell you what we will do with you in the future.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Trachtenberg, will you be sworn?

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear that the evidence you will give before this subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MAX TRACHTENBERG, WYANDOTTE, MICH.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Trachtenberg, will you please give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Max Trachtenberg, 13126 Irene, Wyandotte, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Auto worker.

Mr. MORRIS. Where are you employed?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. De Soto plant for Chrysler.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you chief steward there?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Right now, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where are you a chief steward?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. In the trim division.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us what that is?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. The trim division is where they put all the upholstery into the bodies, the chrome, the handles, and the glass work; all that stuff.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been a chief steward?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. About 3 months.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been press director, specifically on October 30, 1951, the press director of the West Side Industrial Section of the Communist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of my rights under the Constitution, the first amendment and the fifth amendment.

Senator JOHNSTON. Let me warn the witness again, as far as the first amendment goes, we do not recognize that you have any right to refuse to answer all questions. But, if you set up the fifth amendment, we do recognize that you have a right if you think it might incriminate you.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your work as a chief steward—what local are you associated with in that connection?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I am in Local 227, UAW, CIO-AFL.

Mr. MORRIS. What is local 227?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. A local consisting of all De Soto workers.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, did you attend a Communist meeting in the home of Lee and Dorothy Marsh on October 1, 1951?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the same reasons I gave before.

Senator JOHNSTON. The same ruling of the Chair.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended meetings under the auspices of the Michigan Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds that I did before.

Mr. MORRIS. On December 23, 1952, were you the press director of the West Side Industrial Area of the Communist Party?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds as I gave before.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend meetings at the headquarters of the Michigan Worker, which is the Michigan Daily Worker?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline for the same reasons I stated before.

Senator JOHNSTON. Just to clarify the record, are you a Communist at the present time?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that for the same reasons I gave before.

I might interject here that I was in the middle of an election campaign of the local. The elections are going on there today, and I didn't think it was right for me to be here when I was having an election going on in my home local.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I did not know that. When the man called yesterday with regard to your appearing here today, he said the reason you couldn't be here today was you wanted us to advance the money for your trip. There was no mention of your having a union election today.

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Perhaps there was a misunderstanding, but there is an election going on, and I am running as a candidate, and I am not there.

Mr. MORRIS. I spoke to Mr. Joseph Forer yesterday, and I spoke to another lawyer from Detroit, and no mention was made of it.

Senator JOHNSTON. I certainly didn't know it until you mentioned it just now.

Mr. MORRIS. There has been testimony by Herbert H. Donnelly that you have been a member of the Communist Party. Will you deny that?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer on the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

I have one other thing.

Have you been employed by the city of Flint, Mich.?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. What position did you have in the city of Flint?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I helped to put sidewalks down, the rough work, laying sidewalks.

Mr. MORRIS. Physical work.

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Communist faction of the Communist Party in the city of Flint, Mich.?

Mr. TRACHTENBERG. I decline to answer that question for the same reasons I gave before.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. Are there any more questions, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Senator JOHNSTON. You may be excused.

Is there any further reason for holding these witnesses here?

Mr. MORRIS. No, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. You are excused, Mr. Trachtenberg, and so are the witnesses who appeared before you.

Mr. MORRIS. I would like to offer for the record an issue of the Ford Facts, which is a publication of the UAW, local 600, Saturday, March 18, 1957, which has a large front-page story about a report of Carl Stellato, who was president of local 600—which I understand is the largest local of the UAW—in which he gives a report to the local after he came here to Washington.

Now, we extended to Mr. Stellato the courtesy of sitting in on the executive sessions, and he has now apparently given a full report to Ford Facts about what happened at these particular executive sessions. He takes the position, Senator, which seems rather extraordinary, of criticizing Mr. Paul Boatin, who was the UAW official who appeared here and gave responsive testimony to the committee's questions. We asked him if he had been a Communist, and he said "Yes." We asked him certain other questions. Our records show that he has been a completely responsive witness. That is the man Mr. Stellato criticizes.

With respect to Mr. Walter Dorosh, another member of the local UAW, who claimed privilege to all questions, Stellato is very obviously, as this will appear, defending that particular man.

He also made some statements about what went on in the executive sessions' testimony, and I think particularly with respect to the testimony of James Watts, and I think the Internal Security Subcommittee should give consideration as to whether it will put Mr. Watts' testimony in the record.

I wonder if you will accept this for the record. It is a report of Carl Stellato on the Washington security hearings—the hearings held here.

Senator JOHNSTON. I think it would be well for it to be printed in the record at this time in order for us to have the full information.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 472" and reads as follows:)

[From Ford Facts, May 18, 1957, p. 1]

PRESIDENT CARL STELLATO REPORTS ON WASHINGTON SECURITY HEARINGS

Regrettable as it is, my responsibilities are such that it necessitates my bringing to your attention a time-worn adverse problem—adverse in a sense that it hurts the union and its membership. I am, of course, referring to the subpoenaing of four local union officeholders, namely, Brother John Orr, vice president of local 600; the local union editor, James Watts; Brother Dorosh, recording secretary, tool and die unit; and Paul Boatin, president-elect of the engine plant.

ANTIUNION FORCES ON THE MOVE

If the membership does not fully realize the daily increase in the activities of the antiunion forces in the country, then it is my thinking that we had better get hold of ourselves and take a good hard look at the situation.

For example, the McClellan Senate committee, which was established by the Senate to investigate improper activities in labor-management relations, has so far confined its headlines to alleged gangsterism and racketeering in trade unions to the exclusion of management. While I am vigorously opposed to racketeering in unions, I am just as vigorously opposed to it on the part of management or anyone else.

SEEKING "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS

In my way of thinking, this committee is concerned more with the passage of legislation comparable to the present "right-to-work" laws now enacted in 18

States than to help the unions in winning the new goals set in the 16th UAW constitutional convention necessary for a better life for all of the people in the country.

The counterpart of the McClellan committee active today is the Eastland Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, of the Senate Judiciary Committee. I don't feel that I should get into all of the ramifications of the activities of this committee which is charged with policing the Internal Security Act passed in 1950. I will not quarrel with the United States Senate on its investigative need. I feel they are properly constituted by law and therefore must be respected as an agency of Congress.

WHY CONCENTRATION ON LABOR?

A considerable number of American citizens are asking, and I am wondering if they are not correct in asking, why is there so much concentration on labor. Yes, the concentration is on militant trade unions and unionists. Shouldn't the Eastland Committee on Internal Security spend some time investigating and curbing the activities of organizations that pose an equal security risk to the United States, such as the KKK, White Citizens Councils, etc.? Have we as a democracy deteriorated so much that some 200 million people don't know right from wrong? Are we on our way to outlawing the right to dissent? Has democracy become weak and is crumbling? I believe not.

We are fast approaching a new era for mankind. Just imagine the century of atomic energy just before us. Automation, shorter workweek, more leisure time for recreation, educational, and cultural purposes for ourselves and our children. The UAW stands at the fore united with millions of other organized workers.

MILITANT TRADE UNIONIST

In our eagerness to accomplish these goals, we become militant, our thoughts become dynamic and we can't wait for the day when our visions will be accomplished.

Isn't it possible that before the birth of our great unions that amongst our ranks we had those with great vision in the organization of the workers in the union—visions of security rights, vacations, holiday pay, pensions, and who, because of their visions, sometimes may have become militant—and to those in opposition may be overmilitant?

I journeyed at my own expense to Washington, D. C., with three subpoenaed officers of the local—Brothers Orr, Watts, and Dorosh. My purpose was to defend my local union and learn firsthand what were the reasons for calling some local and unit officers. I acted, at their request, as counsel for Vice President Orr and Editor Watts in an executive hearing before the Subcommittee on Internal Security. In this hearing Senator Butler acted as chairman.

PROUD OF BROTHERS ORR AND WATTS

Brothers Orr and Watts agreed that both would testify in an executive hearing in the presence of each other along with myself. My conclusions on this phase of the hearings are that I am proud of the way both Brothers John Orr and James Watts answered all questions relating to their own activities within the union and as Americans.

Brother Orr made it crystal clear to Senator Butler and counsel for the committee, Mr. Morris, that he, as an American, resented and felt personally insulted in having been subpoenaed to testify. He said that a subpoena from the Committee on Internal Security left the impression with many people that he had something to hide or that he had to be forced to appear for questioning when the opposite was true. John said, "I have nothing to hide. I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party," and proceeded to answer all questions.

WATTS ANSWERED ALL QUESTIONS

Brother Watts also answered all questions and admitted having attended some Communist meetings for some 9 months in 1943 or 1944. Neither of them availed himself of any constitutional amendments. Their testimony was confined to answering questions based on information about their own activities that were contained in the committee files.

Brother Dorosh, tool and die recording secretary, gave testimony in the executive session and the open hearing on trade-union matters dealing with his post

as unit secretary. When the question arose of whether he was a Communist now, or was in the past—after having consulted with the international union and being told that union policy frowns on the use of constitutional privileges when testifying on union finances but not when dealing with civil liberties and upon advice of his attorney—Brother Dorosh invoked his constitutional privileges. Brother Dorosh refused to discuss the activities of other union members or the activities of the progressive caucus which seemed to be the central point of the committee's questioning. Brother Dorosh was dismissed by the committee.

FIFTH PART OF UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

My conclusion on this phase of the hearing is that whether one agrees with an individual using the fifth amendment or the first amendment is not important.

What is important, in my opinion, is that as Americans we all recognize that both the first and fifth amendments were written into the Constitution of the United States of America by the fathers of our country. The Constitution of the United States of America is the very basis and the "guts" of American democracy and all Americans are entitled to exercise their rights and privileges. To frown upon one who exercises his right under our Constitution is, in my opinion, to frown upon democracy.

The other witness was the president-elect from the engine plant, Paul Boatin. Boatin, I am given to understand, consumed a little better than an hour in the executive session on Tuesday.

BOATIN ADMITS COMMUNIST TIES

In the open hearings, Paul Boatin admitted membership in the Communist Party and went briefly into his experience before his alleged expulsion. The counsel for the committee interrupted the hearing after some 5 minutes of testimony and suggested that Boatin be held on a standby basis—for further hearing, I suppose.

My conclusions on this phase of the testimony concerning Paul Boatin are that Boatin has a right to confess to Senator Eastland his subversive activities and leadership in the Communist Party from 1939 to 1949. And while Boatin was quoted in the Detroit Free Press, dated Wednesday, May 15, 1957, as stating:

"The lawyer the local hired at that time, Ernest Goodman, advised us to claim the fifth amendment protection" Boatin said after Tuesday's hearing.

"The local took the position at the time that the Un-American Activities Committee was antilabor, and refused to cooperate."

BOATIN LIED UNDER OATH

Paul Boatin lied again. (1) The local did not hire Ernest Goodman or any other attorney in 1952 when the Un-American Activities Committee visited Detroit; (2) Boatin and others who were represented in the hearings by Goodman paid for his services out of their own pockets; (3) the local did not instruct, advise or indicate in any way how anyone should behave.

Is it true that Paul Boatin in the 1952 Un-American Committee hearings used the fifth amendment to protect himself from possible prosecution and possible deportation under the immigration law for having possibly falsified his application for citizenship, for, by his own testimony in 1952, he said he applied for and received his naturalization papers in 1947 after having enjoyed the fruits of American democracy for 25 years? At the recent hearings he admitted being a member of the Communist Party between 1939 and 1949.

BOATIN WILL BE STAR WITNESS

Without question, Brother Boatin, in my opinion, will be a star witness in future hearings for both the Un-American Activities Committee and the Senate Committee on Internal Security.

I imagine in the 10 years of admitted leadership in the Communist Party Paul Boatin must have signed up into the Communist Party many decent, honest American union members whom he was able to convince with his lies that the answer to all of the problems facing American workers would be found in the Communist Party.

I would like to conclude by bringing to the attention of the membership the need for complete unity. I need only refer you to the flat and emphatic "No" that Mr. Bugas gave to Brother Reuther as his answer to the union's request that a joint committee be set up to lay the groundwork for a shorter workweek. However, neither Bugas' "No" answer and the attacks on us from various committees, nor the attacks upon union officers by former Communists will deter local 600 from moving ahead to do the job for the membership.

Mr. MORRIS. Just one other order of business. One other man appeared here today in executive session. I would like the public record to show that he was a responsive witness. We will be very careful not to allow his name to come out, because he says he would be embarrassed if it were known that he testified here.

In the event it is known through some source other than the committee, I would like the record to show that the fourth man who appeared here today in executive testimony was a responsive witness.

Senator JOHNSTON. It shall be so entered, and I want the record to show that I verify this statement, also.

That shows when they come and testify and give information that shows clearly to us that they are not in any way connected with the Communist Party, we do not want to embarrass them in any way.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you, Senator.

Senator JOHNSTON. Are there any other matters to come before the subcommittee?

Mr. MORRIS. These hearings, Senator, will be continued next Tuesday, when we will have witnesses of the same general category of those today scheduled to appear.

Senator JOHNSTON. The subcommittee is recessed until next Tuesday.

(Thereupon, at 12 noon, the subcommittee adjourned.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, MAY 28, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11:05 a. m., in room 424, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland, chairman, presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

Senator EASTLAND. We may as well swear all the witnesses together.

Mr. MORRIS. Will all the witnesses please stand.

Senator EASTLAND. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CINZORI. I do.

Mr. SIMMONS. I do.

Mr. PHILO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MACK CINZORI, DEARBORN, MICH., ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter?

Mr. CINZORI. My name is Mack Cinzori. I live at 3021 Syracuse, Dearborn, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that spelled C-i-n-z-o-r-i?

Mr. CINZORI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or occupation?

Mr. CINZORI. I am a diemaker.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you work?

Mr. CINZORI. Ford Motor Co.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been a diemaker with Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. CINZORI. Well, I have 1932 seniority.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been elected as tool and die committeeman for local 600; have you not?

Senator EASTLAND. What union?

Mr. CINZORI. CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. United Auto Workers?

Mr. CINZORI. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the membership of United Auto Workers?

Mr. CINZORI. I would estimate 1,300,000.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the membership of local 600?

Mr. CINZORI. That is another estimate. I would estimate around 45,000.

Mr. MORRIS. How big is the tool and die division of that local?

Mr. CINZORI. Tool and die division is between 4,000 and 4,500.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been the tool and die committeeman?

Mr. CINZORI. Since 1943.

Mr. MORRIS. And you also were the convention delegate from the tool and die division of the local, were you not?

Mr. CINZORI. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Where was that convention held?

Mr. CINZORI. At Atlantic City.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that?

Mr. CINZORI. I believe that was—it started on April 7 or 8, 1957.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, based on the privileges granted me under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I would like to point out that three witnesses have identified this witness here today as having been a member of the Communist Party, and having attended Communist Party meetings.

Senator EASTLAND. Where?

Mr. MORRIS. These witnesses have testified before the House Un-American Activities Committee March 11—

Senator EASTLAND. Where were the Communist Party meetings?

Mr. MORRIS. In Detroit, Senator.

Mr. CINZORI, have you attended Communist Party meetings in Detroit?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons mentioned before.

Senator EASTLAND. When was the Atlantic City convention?

Mr. CINZORI. 1957, last April.

Senator EASTLAND. In April, 1957.

Now, did you attend any caucuses of Communists during that convention?

Mr. CINZORI. I did not.

Senator EASTLAND. Proceed.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you attended the Atlantic City convention?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, claiming privilege under the fifth amendment?

Mr. CINZORI. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the special meeting organized by the Communist Party of Michigan, featuring Harry Bridges of the International Longshoremen's Union, on December 7, 1952?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. On March 13, 1950, were you present at a meeting of the Ford Progressives of local 600, held at the YMCA located across the street from Clark Park in Detroit?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons mentioned previously.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Progressive Caucus of local 600?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended Communist meetings at Arabian Hall, at 1040 Dix, in Detroit, Mich.?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons mentioned before.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Ford section of the Michigan Communist Party?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. Is there now a Ford section of the Michigan Communist Party, presently.

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended the State convention of the Michigan Communist Party; did you not?

Mr. CINZORI. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons.

Mr. MORRIS. I think I have no more questions of this witness at this time.

Senator EASTLAND. Call your next witness.

Mr. MORRIS. James M. Simmons.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES M. SIMMONS, DETROIT, MICH., ACCOMPANIED BY DAVID REIN, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your name and address to the reporter, please?

Mr. SIMMONS. My name is James M. Simmons.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. SIMMONS. 8797 Epworth, Detroit.

Mr. MORRIS. May the record show that the preceding witness and the witness here are accompanied by counsel?

Senator EASTLAND. Will you state your name, please?

Mr. REIN. The reporter has my name and address; David Rein, 711 14th Street NW.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Simmons, were you recently elected vice president of the steering gear and machine unit of Local 600 of the United Auto Workers?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. When were you elected to that position?

Mr. SIMMONS. About May 3 of 1957.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how big a unit is the steering gear and machine unit of local 600?

Mr. SIMMONS. There are approximately 750 members.

Mr. MORRIS. And you are the vice president?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you aware of the fact that four witnesses have publicly identified you in 1952 and 1954 as having been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you aware of the fact—

Do you know Richard O'Hair?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, do you know that Richard O'Hair has testified that you were a member of the Midtown Club of the Communist Party in the State of Michigan?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. For the same reason?

Mr. SIMMONS. For the same reason.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Elisio Romano?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question, on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know Shelton Tappes, T-a-p-p-e-s?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that you have been identified as having attended Communist Party meetings by Shelton Tappes?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, on the same basis, my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you not carry, in the year 1948, Communist Party membership card No. 70848, signed by Carl Winter, Communist Party organizer?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, on the same basis.

Mr. MORRIS. You will not tell us whether or not that was your Communist Party card number in 1948?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you have a card now?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Ford section of the Michigan Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a vice president of the Wayne County CIO?

Mr. SIMMONS. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. You were?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party—

Senator EASTLAND. Well, when? When was he a vice president? What are the facts?

Mr. MORRIS. When were you a vice president of the Wayne County CIO? Did you hold that office on August 26, 1948?

Mr. SIMMONS. In order to avoid having any difficulty along that line, I will refuse to answer that on the basis of the fifth amendment, as to the exact time.

Senator EASTLAND. Is that the fifth amendment again? I can't hear you.

Mr. SIMMONS. In order to avoid any complications relative to that, I know I was a vice president of the Wayne County Council in or around that time. As to the exact date, I would not be able to answer. On that basis, I would invoke the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you at that time petition President Truman to set aside the indictment of the 12 national Communist leaders on conspiracy charges, in your capacity as vice president of the Wayne County CIO?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended Communist Party meetings in the company of Phil Schatz, S-c-h-a-t-z?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that on the basis of my privilege under the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been nominee of the State committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator EASTLAND. You were elected on the 3d of this month, the 3d of May 1957?

Mr. SIMMONS. That is correct, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Who opposed you? Did you have opposition in the election? Did anyone run against you for vice president?

Mr. SIMMONS. There were three of us.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, before the election, did you attend any caucuses or meetings? Did you and your supporters further your campaign for vice president?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that, sir, on the basis of the fifth amendment.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, were they Communist meetings, in order to further Communist candidates in that election for offices in the division of the local?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question.

Senator EASTLAND. You refuse to say whether or not.

Now, was there a Communist plan to elect officers and to take that local over?

Mr. SIMMONS. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that, on the basis of the privilege of the fifth amendment.

Senator EASTLAND. On the basis of the fifth amendment, you refuse to say whether there was a plan.

Now, I would like to ask you:

Were the Communists successful in electing a slate of officers in that election?

Mr. SIMMONS. I refuse to answer that question, for the same reasons.

Senator EASTLAND. You refuse to answer that, on the fifth amendment?

Mr. SIMMONS. Yes, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. That is all.

Mr. MORRIS. Call Mr. Philo.

TESTIMONY OF HARRY M. PHILO, DETROIT, MICH.

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter.

Mr. PHILO. Harry M. Philo, 3201 Lawrence, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. MORRIS. And you were recently elected financial secretary of the STAR plant, were you not?

Mr. PHILO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the STAR plant?

Mr. PHILO. The standard transmission and radiator department of the Rouge plant.

Mr. MORRIS. How many employees are there in the STAR plant?

Senator EASTLAND. That is Ford?

Mr. MORRIS. Right.

Mr. PHILO. In our bargaining unit, there are about 1,700 workers. That doesn't include everyone in the building, in the standard transmission and radiator building.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, there are people in the building who are members of some other plants?

Mr. PHILO. Tool and diemakers.

Mr. MORRIS. So you are financial secretary of a unit comprised of 1,700 men?

Mr. PHILO. Well, we have some 400 or 500 retirees who are members of our unit, too.

Mr. MORRIS. So the STAR plant would have, roughly, 2,200 members?

Mr. PHILO. Somewheres around there.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your occupation?

Mr. PHILO. I am a major assembler.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been a major assembler?

Mr. PHILO. About 2 years.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how many plants are there, such as the STAR plant, in Local 600 of the United Auto Workers?

Mr. PHILO. I don't know the exact number of buildings, but there is, I believe, 18 bargaining units within local 600.

Mr. MORRIS. Yours would be 1 of the 18 comprising the whole local?

Mr. PHILO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, by what vote were you elected financial secretary of this plant?

Mr. PHILO. I believe I received 791, and my opponents received 639. I am not positive of those 2 figures, but I know I won by 152 votes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, you previously worked in the Ford Motor Co., Green Island plant in Troy, N. Y., did you not?

Mr. PHILO. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. At what time?

Mr. PHILO. I believe it was 1950, probably from May till December or June till December.

Senator EASTLAND. Green Island plant of what?

Mr. MORRIS. Ford Motor Co.

Now, Mr. Philo, did you know a man named John Patrick Charles, C-h-a-r-l-e-s?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, because I don't care to be a witness against myself, under the guaranties provided by the fifth amendment of the Constitution.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know that Mr. Charles has testified that you were an organizer and cochairman of the American Labor Party, and also a member of the city committee of the Communist Party of Albany?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you acquainted with his testimony on April 7, 1954, to that effect?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the Arbor Hill group of the Communist Party in Albany?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been an organizer for local 471, hotel and restaurant union?

Mr. PHILO. I was employed in an organizational capacity for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILO. No, I am not a member.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member at the time of your election on May 3, 1957?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds stated previously.

Senator EASTLAND. Was that the fifth amendment?

Mr. PHILO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You will refuse to answer whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party at the time of the election on May 3, 1957?

Mr. PHILO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. But you are not a member of the Communist Party now?

Mr. PHILO. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you consult a lawyer here in Washington?

Mr. PHILO. Yes; I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time you conferred with the lawyer?

Mr. PHILO. I refuse to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. MORRIS. After you contacted the lawyer, did you effect a tactical resignation from the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILO. I refuse to answer that, for the same reasons.

Senator EASTLAND. When did you consult a lawyer?

Mr. PHILO. I consulted a lawyer yesterday.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, the day before yesterday, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. PHILO. Senator, I don't care to pinpoint any particular date to the committee. I decline to answer this question on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator EASTLAND. Well, now, if it is under the fifth amendment, it will be recognized. If not, I will have to order and direct you to answer the question.

Mr. PHILO. I declined on the same ground.

Senator EASTLAND. The fifth amendment?

Mr. PHILO. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no further questions, Senator.

Senator EASTLAND. Now, did you attend caucuses or meetings with your supporters when you were a candidate for financial secretary?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that question, sir.

Senator EASTLAND. Were there Communist meetings to promote your candidacy?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Senator EASTLAND. Were you the Communist candidate for financial secretary on May 3?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Senator EASTLAND. Was there a Communist slate now to take over your division of local 600?

Mr. PHILO. My opinion whether there was a Communist slate or not?

Senator EASTLAND. Do you know whether there was or not? I don't want your opinion. Do you know?

Mr. PHILO. I decline to answer that, on the same grounds.

Senator EASTLAND. That will be all.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think you are acquainted with the fact that in the last 3 sessions here of the Internal Security Subcommittee, there have been 7 elected officials of the United Auto Workers about whom the subcommittee have evidence of Communist Party membership, and who, when asked about this evidence and other information in evidence, refused to answer questions under the fifth amendment.

As far as we know, there has been no action taken of any kind on the part of the AFL-CIO with respect to this.

Senator EASTLAND. I hope there is no double standard between Beck and these things.

We will recess now.

(Whereupon, at 11:25 a. m., the subcommittee adjourned.)

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Note.—The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee attaches no significance to the mere fact of the appearance of the name of an individual or an organization in this index.

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

JULY 3, 1957

PART 65

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, JULY 3, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 11 a. m., in room 457, Senate Office Building, Senator Roman L. Hruska presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel, Benjamin Mandel, research director, and F. W. Schroeder, chief investigator.

Mr. MORRIS. Are the following witnesses present, please? If they are please say so for the record.

Milton Burns?

Mr. RAUH. He is here.

Mr. MORRIS. And he will listen to Senator Hruska's opening statement.

DeWitt Gilpin?

Mr. RAUH. He is here.

Mr. MORRIS. Andrew R. Newhoff?

Mr. RAUH. He is here.

Mr. MORRIS. And they will be present during Senator Hruska's statement. Let the record so show.

Senator HRUSKA. If at any time the witnesses will not be able to hear me while I read this rather lengthy statement, I wish they would make it known so I can speak louder or have them move closer because we want to be sure they hear it.

This meeting of the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee is being held pursuant to the rules of that committee and under the authority with which it is vested. This authority is not only by reason of the inherent power of the Congress and its committees to conduct investigations as a part of its legislative process but also by reason of Senate Resolution 366 of the 81st Congress, and Senate Resolution 58 of the 85th Congress, and pertinent parts of rules of the Judiciary Committee, copies of which have been duly furnished to the witnesses before us today and to their counsel as well.

This subcommittee is charged with and engaged in making a complete and continuing study and investigation of: The administration, operation, and enforcement of the Internal Security Act of 1950, title I of which contains, among other things, a provision prohibiting employment of members of Communist-action groups in defense facili-

ties; and the administration, operation, and enforcement of other laws relating to espionage, sabotage, and protection of the internal security of the United States; and the extent, nature, and effects of subversive activities, and infiltration by persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organization controlling the world Communist movement or any other movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.

The subject of inquiry at this particular session will include the subcommittee's continued study and investigation in the general fields and respects already referred to.

It will also include, but not be limited to, the following: The existence, activity, programs, and objectives of the Communist Party of the United States of America, and any other Communist Party, organization or movement which seeks to or is engaged in efforts to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence, or to engage in illegal and subversive acts toward those ends; the location of headquarters or offices of such parties, organizations, or movements; the methods, agencies, and other organizations by or through which they are engaging or seeking to engage in such illegal and subversive acts or to obtain or execute such activities, programs, or objectives.

Also, to ascertain the membership in such parties, organizations, and movements, from whence and by whom they were recruited; by whom they are employed, in what capacities, and the nature of the work they do; the training and instructions, if any, such members are given in regard to and for the execution or attainment of the programs, objectives, and activities of such parties, organizations, or movements, and by whom such training or instructions are given; the number of such persons recruited for membership, and their names and identities in order that they also may be interviewed or questioned on like subjects and in like manner as outlined and described herein.

It is the plan and intention of this subcommittee to ask of today's witnesses, questions which will bear upon and relate to the subject of inquiry as just described.

Questions asked of these witnesses will also include such as these: Whether the witness is or has been a member of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, and if so, when and for how long; the names of the present officers of said union, or those who were officers of the union during such membership, if any; similar questions in regard to the United Auto Workers; and to the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union; whether to the knowledge, information, or observation of witness a Communist cell or organization was existent or active within any of these unions I just named, and if so, the extent of the activity in, or the control of, the union as exercised or possessed by such Communist cell or organization; in what fashion and by what means such activity or control was achieved.

Whether the witness is now or ever has been a member of or active in the Communist Party of the United States of America or any other Communist Party, organization, or movement having for its objective, or seeking the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence or the commission of any illegal or subversive acts; and, if so, the details as to such membership or activity, the knowledge, information, or observation of witness as to the pro-

grams and objectives of such party, organization, or movement within the labor unions referred to hereinabove, and any activities relating thereto; whether witness attended any meetings of any Communist Party or organization since he joined the United Auto Workers or the Farm Equipment Workers Union, or the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, and, if so, the particulars relating thereto; whether witness knows of members of the United Auto Workers Union or the Farm Equipment Workers Union who are or have been members of or active in the Communist Party of the United States of America, or any other Communist Party, organization, or movement which has for its objective or which seeks the overthrowing of the Government of the United States by force and violence, and, if so, how many such union members did so join, where and by whom they are or were employed, the nature of the work in which they were or are engaged; and their names and identities and other related information.

The subject of inquiry as referred to hereinabove has an urgent, present legislative purpose and necessity. Among other reasons for this is the fact that testimony already taken by this subcommittee indicates that existing legislation in this field has its shortcomings. On May 8, 1957, Robert L. Applegate, the Staff Director of the Industrial Security Programs Division of the Office of the Secretary of Defense, testified before this committee. Although this subject immediately at hand was the communication system, this statement by him is pertinent:

Up to this time we have been unable to satisfactorily meet under existing legislation all the security problems which arise in this complex field. This is best illustrated in the facility where we may or may not have classified information, but which, because of the nature of the service rendered by the facility, the Department of Defense depends upon to a high degree. Many public-utility-type facilities fall into this category.

In such facilities, when classified information is involved, we are able to determine the employee who is considered a security risk and to prevent him from working on classified work or from having access to classified information. Such an individual, however, may continue his employment with the facility, thus constituting a potential threat to our security posture.

This situation is further aggravated in instances where the employees of the facility, who, with minor exceptions, are loyal, trustworthy Americans, yet are being represented in labor-management relationships by a union which is Communist controlled. Such loyal employees, although ostensibly serving a genuine union cause, can be misled to serve a purpose which, in fact, is politically inspired and contrary to our Government's best interests. Notwithstanding the good intentions of a majority of the members of such a union, the fact that Communist leadership controls the policy of the union presents a real danger.

We should recognize that whenever any kind of situation, such as that discussed here, is identified and then permitted to continue, the element of risk to our Nation's security runs unacceptably high.

Another instance is found in the Communist Control Act of 1954, which, according to the evidence in our subcommittee record, seems to be inadequate to meet the requirements that the Department of Defense seems to feel are necessary at this time.

Under the act, before action could be instituted against a labor union as a Communist-infiltrated organization, it would have to be established by the Department of Justice that the organization is—substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by an individual or individuals who are, or who within 3 years have been actively engaged in, giving aid or support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government,

or the world Communist movement referred to in section 2 of this title, and (B) is serving, or within three years has served, as a means for (1) the giving of aid or support to any such organization, government, or movement, or (2) the impairment of the military strength of the United States or its industrial capacity to furnish logistical or other material support required by its Armed Forces * * *.

This subcommittee is seeking to learn, among other things, whether this standard of proof is too stringent.

Congress has very serious obligations to the country in the face of the potential dangers involved. It is in the public interest and for its safety that thorough investigation and study be accorded these matters in detail such as referred to in this statement, in order to determine the adequacy of present laws, the desirability of additional or new laws, or amendment of old ones.

The questions we propose to ask as referred to and described in this statement are clearly related and highly pertinent to the subject of inquiry. In this regard let us recall the role, the mission, and the proven record of the World Communist Party and movement with its headquarters in Moscow, and the Communist Party of the United States, which has been a satellite of the Soviet Union since its inception more than 30 years ago.

The findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board included the following about the Communist Party of the United States of America:

At the outset of its existence it joined the Communist International * * * In joining the international, the party agreed to accept its direction and to adopt the policies enunciated by it * * * Thus there is inside our borders a disciplined organization which under Soviet Union control seeks, by unconstitutional means, to install a Soviet style dictatorship in the United States, just as other Communist parties in other countries have done * * * Our reconsideration of the record as expunged leads to the conclusion that the evidence established beyond doubt that respondent is substantially directed, dominated, and controlled by the Soviet Union, which controls the world Communist movement * * * and operates primarily to advance the objectives of such world movement; and our prior determination to this effect is reaffirmed. We find, therefore, that the Communist Party of the United States is a Communist-action organization as defined.

Highly pertinent in this connection are the recently declared aims and program of the Communist Party of the United States of America as disclosed in its 16th convention held in New York City last February. One of the resolutions adopted and released by that convention reads:

To end its isolation and expand its mass work, the main task of the party today is to overcome completely the influence of left-sectarian estimates, policies, and tactics in all fields of work * * * This effort has been underway in the party particularly since the end of 1952. Following the results of the 1952 elections, the national committee began a serious struggle against left-sectarianism as the main danger in our mass work. This found expression: * * * in serious efforts to influence the left-led unions to reenter the mainstream of the labor movement * * *

J. Edgar Hoover in a statement analyzing that Communist Party convention of February 1957, stated that the strategy and tactics of that party convention were designed to accomplish, among others, the following objectives:

1. To gain greater mass acceptance. Aboveground activities of the Communist Party have suffered ever since 1950. The party now

hopes to send its members out among the non-Communist masses and to gain for them through false representations of being "loyal" and "democratic" a sympathetic hearing.

2. To lay a foundation for possible unity with other leftwing groups. The Communists desperately hope to "make contact" with Socialists, members of the non-Communist left, liberals, etc., in an effort to secure their support for Communist projects. Such policies were not possible in the recent years of party underground activity. This is merely an echo of the aims of the international Communist movement.

In another part of his statement, J. Edgar Hoover stated:

The 1957 party convention was no different from previous party gatherings which brought about revisions in the constitution of the Communist Party 18 times, and the changing in the name of the party on 9 prior occasions * * *. The Communist Party before and after its 1957 convention is part and parcel of the worldwide Communist conspiracy. It is still responsive to the will of Moscow; it still works for the destruction of the American way of life; and it is still dedicated to the building of a Soviet United States patterned after the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism.

The foregoing makes very pertinent the material contained in *The Communist Party—A Manual on Organization* by J. Peters, published in July 1935 by the Workers Library Publishers, in which it is stated:

The most important points where the Communist Party must work untiringly so as to fulfill the task of winning the majority of the working class for the struggle against capitalism are the following:

1. The big factories, mines, mills, docks, ships, railroads, etc., where the great masses of the basic sections of the proletariat are employed. The Communist Party puts its main energy into building party organizations in these places.

Now, it is true that that manual was written back in 1935 and yet it is current. The Communist Party has demonstrated that it does not rewrite its rule books. It does not reconsider and redraft its gospel, and as J. Edgar Hoover so well put it, those doctrines are still effective today and they are the guidebook by which the party still goes.

Quoting from the proceedings in the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A.:

Workers who are Communists are organized on the basis of their natural day-to-day working life in shops and industries. (289) * * *

The Communist Party is deeply convinced that the workers of our country are that class which will lead the whole people toward a better future. This conviction leads the Communists to do all in their power to help the workers in their struggles, to assist in organizing them, and to stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow unionists in the front ranks when the battle grows hot. (290) * * *

The point of view of the Communist Party is that of class struggle * * *. (290) * * *

The foregoing detail has been set out in order to avoid the vice of vagueness. The subcommittee is desirous of adequately informing the witnesses as to the subject of inquiry, the clear and urgent legislative necessity which exists, a description of the field, area, and nature of the questions we propose to ask, and their relevancy and pertinence to the subject of inquiry.

And as the Chair has already stated, a copy of this entire statement which this chairman has been reading has been furnished in advance to counsel for each of the witnesses here this morning.

The subcommittee has no desire to expose the private affairs of individuals without justification. It will make every effort to avoid unjustifiable encroachment upon the witnesses constitutional rights and privileges.

But we have a job to do. We have the defense, the safety, and the well-being of our country and its citizens to protect. We can do so only by enacting proper and effective laws toward that end.

But we cannot legislate in a vacuum. Laws cannot be made in the abstract. They must be designed and drafted for ultimate application to definite, concrete situations, and to hard, real conditions, and circumstances. It is to enable the Congress to legislate in that fashion and with that goal in mind that we seek to elicit from the witnesses the information referred to and described hereinabove. These questions are asked for a public purpose, and for specific legislative needs.

This statement is a long one. This is so deliberately and with the realization that assertion of privilege under the first amendment as the witnesses have declared they will do, is a decision which they make at their own peril. In fairness to the witnesses, we point out that an erroneous judgment on their part in this regard will result in their being subject to prosecution for contempt of the Senate, either under title 2, United States Code, section 192, or at the bar of the Senate, whichever of these methods that body decides upon.

Now, Judge Morris, will you let us know who the first witness is. We will proceed to swear him and interrogate him.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. Senator, the three witnesses this morning are generally in the same category. They are three staff members, international representatives of the United Auto Workers, about whom the subcommittee has evidence that they were members of the Communist Party at some time in the past, and they were also people who were associated with the Farm Equipment Workers Union at a time when the Communist influence within that union was quite extensive.

Up to date, Senator, we have had seven officials of the United Auto Workers who appeared before the subcommittee in this series of hearings who have invoked the fifth amendment privilege rather than answer questions of the subcommittee about their Communist Party membership. As you have said, Senator, the three witnesses this morning have indicated they are not going to claim this privilege under the fifth amendment but instead, invoke their privilege under the first amendment as they believe it defined by Chief Justice Warren's decision in the Watkins case.

First, the witness, Milton Burns, who has appeared in executive session.

Mr. RAUH. Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Burns takes the stand, I request that the lights be turned out and all the photographers and television cameras and movie cameras up there be dismissed from the room. It seems to me the witness has a right to appear before any subcommittee of the Senate without being sensationalized. It indeed seems to me evidence of the committee's purpose of exposure rather than legislation.

I ask that the gentlemen be asked to leave the room.

Mr. MORRIS. Before we go into the hearing, Senator, I think the record should show, in view of the unwarranted statements made by counsel, that he appeared earlier before us to make a request and he was told, Senator, that the subcommittee rules are that the subcommittee does not discriminate against any form of reporting and that, when we had an open hearing, anyone is entitled to be here.

However, if some reporter carries on in such a way that it actually distracts the witness, as a matter of fact, then the subcommittee will ask the particular reporter to desist from distracting the witness.

Senator HRUSKA. The chairman would like to state that, insofar as counsel's statement refers to the desire to unduly publicize this hearing is concerned, the Chair is somewhat resentful and wants to say that is not true whatsoever. An announcement has been made that witnesses here intend to take advantage of the first amendment and assert certain rights under it. That first amendment also asserts the right of freedom to the press and, to the extent the representatives of the press are present here, they are asserting that privilege under that same first amendment.

Now, to the extent that the presence of any of the members of the press will be contributing to the physical discomfiture of any of the witnesses or distracting to his testimony, to that extent the witnesses will be fully protected, as counsel was assured before this meeting commenced, and, therefore, gentlemen manning the bright lights of the cameras, we will ask that they be dimmed and put out so that the witness will not be discomfited, the subject of discomfiture, in that way. Any of the still photographers who are here will desist from taking pictures during the course of the testimony of the witness. Either before or afterward, they may do so. Insofar as the request of counsel is concerned that these men manning these cameras leave the room, that request is very forthrightly and firmly denied.

Mr. RAUH. But it is your ruling, then, that they may take no further pictures in this room: is that correct?

Senator HRUSKA. That is not the ruling. Insofar as the bright lights are concerned and any action that results in discomfiture of the witness and undue distraction, that is true, and, if at any time during the course of the hearing counsel or the witness feel they are being encroached upon in that respect, the Chair invites his attention to be called to those acts.

Mr. RAUH. Counsel feels, after discussing with the three men, that the use of television or movie cameras or any of the cameras that are up there will itself distract the witness and unduly publicize the hearing. We request that the cameramen be instructed not to use their cameras in this room.

Senator HRUSKA. In the past, the committee has followed the policy that, if the cameramen want to take pictures of other objects in the room besides the witness, they are free to do so, and that ruling will stand in this particular instance.

Mr. RAUH. But they may not take a picture of the witness, then, or his counsel, I take it.

Mr. MORRIS. While he is actually testifying.

Senator HRUSKA. While he is testifying. That is true.

The witness will be sworn.

Mr. RAUH. This is testimony, when you get up to be sworn. There was a man actually shooting the camera at that moment.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair will have to request that the cameramen desist from taking pictures, and, if they do not choose to obey the Chair, we will ask them to leave the room.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BURNS. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MILTON BURNS, CHICAGO, ILL., ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., AND DANIEL H. POLLITT, HIS ATTORNEYS

Mr. MORRIS. Give your name and address to the reporter, Mr. Burns.

Mr. BURNS. My name is Milton Burns. I live at 9532 South Bennett Avenue, in Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, before I answer the questions, I would like to, by your leave, read a short statement for the record.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair wants to say for the record that the statement which the witness now proposes to read was submitted to the subcommittee as of yesterday, as required by the rules of the subcommittee, and it is, therefore, in order that he read it now, if he so chooses.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, I am here, unwilling, in response to the subpoena of this committee. I have no information about current or recent Communist activities in the labor movement. In view of this, I do not believe that this committee has any authority to ask me questions about my past activities and associations under its resolution or under the Watkins decision.

Despite my personal feelings on this matter, I am going to answer all questions about my own past activities, no matter how irrelevant or unconstitutional those questions may be. I do this in line with the policy which the United Automobile Workers has adopted, that its staff members shall answer all questions put to them by a congressional committee about their own activities.

I will not, however, name persons whom I knew long ago and subject them to public stigma and scorn. Identifying these men could not possibly aid this committee or Congress in its legislative activities, and I most respectfully invoke my rights under the first amendment as to this type of question.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you are setting yourself up as the judge of what information can help this subcommittee?

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, that isn't what I said. I didn't say I was setting myself up as a judge of anything. I think the statement is clear.

Senator HRUSKA. You may proceed.

We will deal with the questions—we will deal with the statement as it applies to specific questions as we go along.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Burns, have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. I was a member of the Communist Party up to 1947, at which time I left it.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. I joined the Communist Party, I believe—I am not sure—in 1938 or 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with your last formal membership in the Communist Party, will you tell us what kind of a unit you belonged to?

Mr. BURNS. Prior to and up to 1947, I belonged to a unit of 4 people.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what was that unit? Would you tell us the general nature? I am not asking you at this time the names of the individuals in that, but give me the general jurisdiction of the unit.

Mr. BURNS. This was a group of staff people.

Mr. MORRIS. In what union?

Mr. BURNS. In the Farm Equipment Union.

Mr. MORRIS. Farm Equipment Workers Union. In other words, this unit of which you were a member was at staff level of the Farm Equipment Workers Union?

Mr. BURNS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Was the unit made up as a result of the reorganization of the Communist Party, which was effected in late 1946 and 1947, which indicated that the Communist unit should be broken down into groups of 3 and 4, and that there would be a top-level group of 3 or 4 which would be responsible for the activities of the lower group, which in turn would be responsible for a lower group within a particular given area?

Mr. BURNS. The unit I referred to, regardless of what structure was changed, was a consistent unit.

Mr. MORRIS. Was a what?

Mr. BURNS. It was a consistent unit for the entire time I was in the party.

Senator HRUSKA. Were the personnel of that unit always the same?

Mr. BURNS. I don't remember, Mr. Chairman, whether it was a unit.

Senator HRUSKA. Where there different people that met with you? You and three others would meet in this unit. Were those three others that met with you always the same people?

Mr. BURNS. I think they were, but I am not sure. I think they were.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, we have had testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee, by Mr. Lee Lundgren, to the effect that this particular witness was a member of the Communist Party.

Now, are you acquainted with that testimony of Mr. Lundgren?

Mr. BURNS. I knew that Mr. Lundgren had testified and, of course, this morning you told me the nature of that testimony. Yes. From what he said, and I pointed out that Mr. Lundgren was, I think—I think the first time I had seen him or met him was during the time of that hearing.

As a matter of fact, he came up to me afterwards and I asked him, "Where did you get all this information? I don't even know you."

Mr. MORRIS. Was his testimony accurate about your party membership?

Mr. BURNS. I don't recall the exact testimony. If you will read it to me, I will tell you.

Mr. MORRIS. You say up until 1947 you were a Communist?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you told us in executive session that for security purposes, the Communist Party had these units at various levels within the Farm Equipment Workers, to the best of your belief.

Mr. BURNS. I assume that is what they did, because I knew of our unit being restricted to that number.

Senator HRUSKA. In the meetings which you had, what did you do?

Mr. BURNS. We discussed the so-called line of the party, with respect to trade unions.

Senator HRUSKA. What would be some of the outstanding items of that line?

Mr. BURNS. Lend-lease; opening the second front.

Senator HRUSKA. Would you speak a little louder?

Mr. BURNS. The question of lend-lease. I think the party was attacking it at that time.

Mr. MORRIS. This was not in 1947?

Mr. BURNS. I don't recall the exact positions, but whatever the line happened to be at that time, that is what we were discussing and using.

Senator HRUSKA. What was this lend-lease to which you refer?

Mr. BURNS. One time the Communist Party was in opposition to the lend-lease program.

Senator HRUSKA. The lend-lease program of the United States with England and France and other countries?

Mr. BURNS. I think that is what it was.

Senator HRUSKA. And you were instructed in that committee, were you, that that is what the line was, and that is the opinion you should express?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

We knew what the line was, and we were to use the influence to the best of our ability to carry that line out.

Senator HRUSKA. And in what other respect were you instructed or were you informed about party line?

Mr. BURNS. Well, that was the respect in which we learned it, was in this unit. We knew what the line was in the Daily Worker, and so on, and we just discussed how we could carry it out.

Senator HRUSKA. How was it proposed that it be carried out?

Mr. BURNS. Simply by using your influence with local unions and local union people, to try to get them to take the same position.

Senator HRUSKA. And with the press, if you knew any members of the press, or with radio stations or magazines, or anything of that kind? Was that included in it?

Mr. BURNS. No. We had no such instructions.

Senator HRUSKA. During the course of your meetings in this unit of four, were you informed as to the other working parts of the Communist Party organization?

Mr. BURNS. I am sorry; I didn't quite hear you.

Senator HRUSKA. During meetings of this unit of four, were you informed about the other working parts of the Communist Party organization?

Mr. BURNS. We were informed to the effect that the entire party organization was interested in getting that line carried out wherever they happened to be.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you informed about other units which existed?

Mr. BURNS. Not—We didn't concern ourselves with other units. We only concerned ourselves with what this unit could do, in terms of carrying out its responsibilities at that time.

Senator HRUSKA. Were you informed as to the officers of the Communist Party, as to who they were?

Mr. BURNS. We knew who they were, as a matter of public record.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you indicated in—Go ahead.

You indicated that it was your belief there was a unit above you and a unit below you. In fact, you called the unit below you a rank-and-file unit of the Communist Party.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, when this question was asked, I said I assumed there was such a unit. I assumed that would be the structure.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with the workers within your particular unit, for instance, did you discuss strike strategy at these various meetings?

Mr. BURNS. Strike strategy? That was a trade-union function. As trade unionists, we would discuss it.

Mr. MORRIS. As a matter of fact, you did. Is that your answer?

Mr. BURNS. I assume we did. A bunch of trade unionists—

Mr. MORRIS. How did—

Mr. BURNS. Pardon me. A group of trade unionists getting together under any conditions, if there is a strike, would discuss strike strategy.

Mr. MORRIS. We wanted to know whether the Communist Party formally and officially was discussing strike strategy.

Mr. BURNS. No. If you are saying that the Communist Party had laid down a strategy—

Mr. MORRIS. I am not saying—we are wondering if you, at your formal Communist Party meetings, discussed strike strategy?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir; no, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. How long were you in this unit of four?

Mr. BURNS. Well, I would say for about, in the farm-equipment union, for about 3 years, 4 years.

Mr. MORRIS. What kind of a unit were you in prior to that time?

Mr. BURNS. It was another unit of the same type.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean a small unit of four?

Mr. BURNS. Four.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the general jurisdiction of this unit? You say from 1947 running back for about 3 years you were in this unit of 4. That was about back in 1944?

Mr. BURNS. In 1944, I was in the United States Marine Corps overseas, so I could hardly have been in a unit.

Mr. MORRIS. Prior to that, what unit were you in?

Mr. BURNS. Prior to 1943—that is when I went into the service—I think I still was in this same unit, but prior to that I was in another unit of four of the same type.

Mr. MORRIS. Of what union?

Mr. BURNS. Of the farm-equipment union.

Mr. MORRIS. And still the unit was only of 4 and you knew only 4 Communists in that unit?

Mr. BURNS. That is the way we operated; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you have knowledge that there were other units within the farm equipment?

Mr. BURNS. I am sure there were.

Mr. MORRIS. You didn't know them?

Mr. BURNS. I didn't know them.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the leader of the unit in 1947, the unit of four, in the Farm Equipment Workers Union when you were present? Who was the leader? Who was the Communist leader of that Communist group?

Mr. RAUH. Mr. Chairman, I made a request in executive session to be able to deal with the questions of pertinence myself. You didn't rule on that at the opening. Do you care to rule now?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes. The Chair will rule now. Because of the precedent which has grown up in this subcommittee that counsel is not allowed to interpose objections to such questions on any grounds, I feel reluctant to depart from that precedent at this time. I would prefer to defer to the chairmanship of this committee, or the full Judiciary Committee, the parent committee of this subcommittee.

However, the Chair does want to state that that ruling will not go to the point of preventing counsel from conferring with witness at any time or the witness with counsel.

Mr. BURNS. I believe at the time you stated, I was the leader of that unit.

Mr. MORRIS. You were the leader of the unit?

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Now, who were the other individuals who were in the unit at the time?

Mr. BURNS. Pardon me, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HRUSKA. All right, the record will show that opportunity is being given for counsel to confer with witness.

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, the other members of that unit are not in the labor movement at this time and therefore, I don't—and I have heard your statement that you read—I don't think answering that question with respect to those people is pertinent to the inquiry as outlined, and I certainly don't want to engage in identifying people who might be out of the party at this time and may be hurt because of their civilian occupations.

Therefore, I must respectfully stand on the rights of the first amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. Well, the Chair, of course, and this subcommittee, have their own ideas, and their own judgment as to pertinency and relevance of questions, and information which they seek. Now, before accepting the asserting of privilege which you are making, I want to ask you again whether you heard me read the very detailed statement at the opening of this meeting and whether you have considered its substance and its contents, in which an effort is made to show the relevance and pertinence of the question at hand, and the answer which we seek to elicit.

Mr. BURNS. Yes. I heard the statement and I don't think that this question that was put to me is pertinent in view of the statement that you read.

Senator HRUSKA. Now, as I understand it, you are relying then upon the privileges accorded you by the first amendment of the Federal Constitution and all decisions thereunder; is that true?

Mr. RAUH. Are you asking me, sir?

Senator HRUSKA. No. I am asking the witness.

Mr. RAUH. Then we will have to consult because you are now engaging in a legal discussion with a witness who is not a lawyer.

Senator HRUSKA. You may consult with your witness.

Mr. BURNS. I almost answered it before—

Mr. Chairman, I am relying on the first amendment, but I am also relying on the fact that I don't think this type of question is pertinent to the inquiry at hand.

Senator HRUSKA. You are not, however, relying upon the fifth amendment in any way, self-incrimination?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. The rights against self-incrimination.

Mr. BURNS. No, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair will instruct and direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. BURNS. I respectfully decline for the reasons I just stated, Mr. Chairman.

Senator HRUSKA. Next question.

Mr. BURNS. And in my statement which I originally read before the questioning began.

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is overruled. The record will so show.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Senator, this brings us to an important point that I think the subcommittee should face. Here is a witness who testified that he was the head of a Communist unit in 1947 and that he knows and can tell us the names of the 4 particular individuals who were—3 individuals who were subordinates of his in this Communist organization. He says he doesn't want to tell us because they may not be now Communists.

In other words, he himself is setting himself up as the judge as to their present Communist Party membership, and he has also said he doesn't believe they are in the labor movement.

I would like the record to show that we have only to go by man's own interpretation of what the labor movement is. Not knowing the individual, we don't know the connection, direct or indirect, with the labor movement. They may be in the newspaper field reporting on the labor movement. They may be in some other area; even though it does not bear directly on the labor movement, it may be directed to our own investigation and, therefore, having the information could warrant the subcommittee to go from there further into this present investigation and into the next investigation.

If, for instance, three of these people are now holding jobs in some place, let us say, suppositiously, in the defense industry. In other words, this witness is taking the position that he shall be the final arbiter as to what we should know in connection with our investigation for the Senate. I think it is an unjustifiable position, Senator, and on that basis I ask that he be directed to answer the following questions.

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair will ask the witness—first of all, the Chair would like to observe that we have already taken the position that the question is relevant; it is pertinent to the subject of inquiry.

I should now like to ask the witness if, after the comments of counsel, he would like to reconsider his answer and answer the question?

Mr. BURNS. Mr. Chairman, first, the people that Judge Morris was referring to I can unequivocally state that they are not in the labor movement or any adjunct thereof.

Secondly—

Mr. MORRIS. How do you know that?

Mr. BURNS. Let me finish the answer, please. Secondly, after your outline of what the relevance of the question is, I still don't feel that the question is pertinent.

Senator HRUSKA. I take it the objection, then, is the same as that which you have asserted heretofore?

Mr. BURNS. Yes, sir.

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is overruled.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, can you tell us if any of these particular people have gone into the newspaper field, for instance?

Mr. BURNS. They have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Can you tell us whether they have gone into Government service?

Mr. BURNS. They have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with the group that you were in in 1943, will you tell us who the individuals were in that particular group, 1943; who was the leader of the 1943 group?

Mr. BURNS. I was.

Mr. MORRIS. You were again?

Mr. BURNS. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, how many subordinates did you have in the 1943 group?

Mr. BURNS. How many—

Mr. MORRIS. Subordinates in the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. We had no—you say subordinates.

Mr. MORRIS. You were the leader, Mr. Burns?

Mr. BURNS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. If you were the leader, the others were subordinate to you in the sense that you were the one imposing the discipline?

Mr. BURNS. I have never—when I say “the leader,” I never imposed any discipline on these people. I wasn't an officer in that respect.

Senator HRUSKA. The question, Mr. Witness, is who were the other members of the unit as of that time?

Mr. BURNS. The answer is the same. These people are also not in the labor movement, nor in the newspaper business, nor in the other business.

Senator HRUSKA. Where are they; what fields are they in?

Mr. BURNS. General civilian occupations, nondefense, if that is what you are interested in.

Senator HRUSKA. Have you maintained contact with them in the intervening years, Mr. Witness?

Mr. BURNS. I have seen them from time to time as friends. I have run into them; yes, although—

Senator HRUSKA. Have you consulted with them about matters pertaining to the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. Absolutely not.

Senator HRUSKA. What has been the nature and extent of your contacts with them?

Mr. BURNS. Old friends, known them many years, social; had a drink, talked to them about baseball, whatever—

Senator HRUSKA. Are they members of the UAW?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Burns, since you have left the Communist Party—according to your testimony, you left the Communist Party—you have participated in Communist Party rallies and demonstrations; have you not?

Mr. BURNS. Judge Morris, if you are referring to rallies or meetings open only to members of the Communist Party, the answer is "No."

Mr. MORRIS. No; I am not. Let me give you an example. Did you specifically address the May Day rally at Union Park, march in the May Day parade in 1948, the year after you say you left the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. You said earlier that I did. I have no recollection of that. I am not challenging the fact. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. I think you acknowledged that you did; did you not?

Mr. BURNS. I say it may well be that I was there because the union endorsed this rally, this FE.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a broad Communist meeting at Viani Grove in Chicago in 1948, Viani Grove Park?

Mr. BURNS. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Communist Party mass meeting at Ashland Boulevard Auditorium in Chicago on October 10, 1948?

Mr. BURNS. If this was a meeting open only to Communists—

Mr. MORRIS. I mean a Communist rally is something not open only to Communists. The purpose of a meeting like that is to draw new people into the Communist Party. It is a broad, general Communist Party rally, Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, specifically on October 10, 1948.

Mr. BURNS. Judge Morris, I just don't recall. That is 1948, about 9 years ago. I just don't remember.

Mr. MORRIS. And that is the best answer you can give us to this question?

Mr. BURNS. If I don't remember, it is, yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, on November 1, 1948, urge the President of the United States to dismiss the indictments of the 12 Communist leaders in New York as reported by the Daily Worker of that date?

Mr. BURNS. It is possible. I don't recall. I still am against the Smith Act indictments of that kind.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Communist Party rally on March 19, 1949, at the Ashland Boulevard Auditorium in Chicago?

Mr. BURNS. I just don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. In your official position as political action director of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, did you protest Judge Medina's ruling on Gil Green as reported by the Daily Worker of June 23, 1949?

Mr. BURNS. Yes, we did, and I don't see anything wrong even now with protesting Smith Act indictments.

Senator HRUSKA. Was that protest also endorsed by the union and taken as a union position?

Mr. BURNS. The union at that time endorsed any policy on the fight for civil rights, and the union was opposed to the Smith Act indictments at that time. And the Supreme Court has subsequently apparently taken the position with respect to that.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you attend a Paul Robeson rally sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress which is a Communist front organization?

Mr. BURNS. Is that the one you asked me about in Washington Park?

Mr. MORRIS. No; 4130 South Indiana Avenue, Chicago, September 24, 1949.

Mr. BURNS. I don't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you attended any Civil Rights Congress meetings in the intervening years?

Mr. BURNS. That is entirely possible.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the 15th anniversary of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Veterans at Chopin Cultural Center at Chicago on May 25, 1952?

Mr. BURNS. Judge Morris, I would have to say the same thing I asked you. Was this a social affair? I don't really know. I may have, if it was a social affair. If it was an affair open only to members of the Communist Party; no.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know that the Abraham Lincoln Brigade Veterans is a Communist organization; do you know that?

Mr. BURNS. I don't know that.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't know that?

Mr. BURNS. It is possible.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in May of 1953 a member of the organization commission, district 8, of the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That is an unequivocal answer.

Mr. BURNS. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you participate in the Chicago Area Conference for World Peace at the Fine Arts Building in Chicago on October 17, 1953?

Mr. BURNS. I will have to give you the same answer, Judge. I don't recall. It is possible.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you been a member of the International Workers Order?

Mr. BURNS. I may have been.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you remained a member of the International Workers Order subsequent to 1947?

Mr. BURNS. I don't think so.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would tell us, what is your present position, Mr. Burns?

Mr. BURNS. I am an international representative assigned to the International Harvester department of the union, processing grievances, policing the contracts, and I am also one of the two people who handle arbitration of grievances which can't be resolved at any other level.

Mr. MORRIS. You are not, as such, an official of the UAW. You are a staff member?

Mr. BURNS. Just a staff member.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you could tell us the circumstances surrounding your departure from the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. Yes, sir; I can. In 1947—I think that is the year the Taft-Hartley Act was passed—we had quite a rhubarb in our union over this question of signing or not signing the Taft-Hartley Act.

I was one of those who, although disciplined by the union's position of not signing it, fought against this position. I thought it was wrong, and I felt that that would lead to the destruction of the farm-equipment union, which it did subsequently.

And, as a result, I then broke and I said I don't want to be subject to any discipline of any kind, because this is wrong and it will probably be consistently wrong, and that was it.

And, as a result of this situation, I then, from that point on, wanted to get the farm-equipment union—what was left of it, and particularly the Harvester segment, which I was a part of—into some organization where their rights would be protected; and I would say that, over the violent objections of the UE leadership, I negotiated with the UAW top officers this breakaway from the UE, and brought them into the UAW.

Senator HRUSKA. Can you give us at this point the chronology of the farm-equipment workers, the UE, and the—

Mr. BURNS. Yes; I can.

Senator HRUSKA (continuing). And the UAW?

Mr. BURNS. In 1947, when the farm equipment union went on record against the signing of the Taft-Hartley Act, Taft-Hartley affidavit, so that they could use the facilities of the NLRB, after a series of raids, and so on, the union having lost some of its locals as a result, in 1949 there was a decision to go into the UE, late in 1949. I think it was December, as a matter of fact; I am not quite sure. They became part of the UE, and, as a matter of fact, even there we had some problems because we were always called FEUE because we had this division and hostility from the time we went into the outfit.

In 1952 we lost a strike in the Harvester chain, as a result of not being united, being split between two unions. From that point on there was a group of us who caucused and decided that we would pull that group out, something like 20,000 workers, out of the UE, and in 1954 we started that. In 1955 it was accomplished.

Senator HRUSKA. What strike do you refer to as having been lost?

Mr. BURNS. 1952, the Harvester strike. That portion of Harvester chain covered by the UE, or the FEUE, was lost.

Senator HRUSKA. And it was in 1952, then, that you pulled out?

Mr. BURNS. No; in 1952 the strike was lost, and in 1954 a group of us began this fight to get the Harvester people out, over the objections of the National UE leadership, and in 1955 we accomplished it.

Senator HRUSKA. And became a part of the—

Mr. BURNS. United Auto Workers.

Mr. MORRIS. You have been a correspondent for the Midwest Daily Record; have you not?

Mr. BURNS. I was. I wrote a—I wrote a sports column for them.

Mr. MORRIS. That was not in connection with your activities as a labor organizer?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. That was a Communist newspaper; was it not?

Mr. BURNS. It was called that, although my relationship was as a sports contributor. I like sports, and—I think that was back in—I don't remember the date, Judge.

Was that in 1939, 1937, or 1938 or something?

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I have no more questions of this particular witness.

Have you told the United Auto Workers' officials that you were once the head of a Communist unit?

Mr. BURNS. No, sir; I did not, because when I went into the UAW, the position of the union was that what you had done before is your business. One thing is for sure: You cannot be in this union and be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Had you told them about the long attendance and participation in Communist rallies from 1947 right down to 1954? Have you told the UAW about those activities?

Mr. BURNS. Well, I didn't tell the union that, because, as I said here, I broke away in 1947, and there was no sense, after 7 or 8 years, to discuss this question with them.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Burns, you have testified here that you have, since 1947, not attended any meetings which were held exclusively for Communist Party members; you have, however, attended a great many rallies, demonstrations, and social meetings and things of that kind from time to time. Is that true?

Mr. BURNS. That is possible.

Senator HRUSKA. Which were sponsored by the Communist Party, or some part of the Communist Party?

Mr. BURNS. I don't know about that, about being sponsored by the Communist Party. Some of the meetings he asked me about, I don't know whether they were or they weren't, and I don't know whether I was there or not. But, as a trade-union official in the union I was in, we did attend meetings and did explain the position of the union.

Senator HRUSKA. Several times during the course of your testimony you referred to meetings having been endorsed by the labor union.

Mr. BURNS. Like the May Day rally, sir?

Senator HRUSKA. Sir?

Mr. BURNS. Like the May Day rally.

Senator HRUSKA. Were there any other examples like that?

Mr. BURNS. That is the only one I know of.

Mr. MORRIS. How about the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. BURNS. I don't know.

Senator HRUSKA. Was it the policy of the labor union to encourage its representatives and staff members to keep in close touch with rallies and meetings sponsored by the Communist Party, Mr. Witness?

Mr. BURNS. No; it wasn't. However, on the May Day, this had a relationship to our particular union because that was tied in with the celebration of the Haymarket situation. I don't know the date, and that was why—

Mr. MORRIS. You attended a Lenin memorial meeting at the Coliseum in Chicago.

Mr. BURNS. I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. I just want to know whether he has attended any. Can't you remember whether you attended a Lenin memorial meeting at the Coliseum in Chicago?

Mr. BURNS. I don't believe so.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, on January 13, 1946.

Mr. BURNS. I just said I don't believe so.

Mr. MORRIS. How many May Day rallies have you attended?

Mr. BURNS. One or two.

Mr. MORRIS. You can't recall more than 1 or 2?

Mr. BURNS. Pardon?

Mr. MORRIS. You cannot recall more than 1 or 2.

Mr. BURNS. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you, specifically, attend the May Day rally in 1946 at the Ashland Boulevard auditorium?

Mr. BURNS. That is possible. I don't recall. Mr. Morris, since I have been in the UAW I have attended no such meetings, and there I can state unequivocally.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. All right; the witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Senator HRUSKA. Next witness, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Gilpin.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony which you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. GILPIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF DE WITT GILPIN, ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., AND DANIEL H. POLLITT, HIS ATTORNEYS

Mr. MORRIS. Will you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. GILPIN. DeWitt Gilpin, 548 Eugenie, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. GILPIN. I am an international representative for the United Auto Workers, staff member.

Mr. MORRIS. And, Mr. Gilpin, in connection with that address, 548 Eugenie Street, how many apartments are there in that building?

Mr. GILPIN. Before I answer that question, I would like to submit the same statement that Mr. Burns did, get that into the record at this time.

Senator HRUSKA. You may do so, and, if it is agreeable with counsel and yourself, it can be considered read, having been submitted to the subcommittee, its staff, and chairman, the presiding officer, yesterday pursuant to committee rules. The record will show it as inserted at this point.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

I am here, unwilling, in response to the subpoena of this committee.

I have no information about current or recent Communist labor movement. In view of this, I do not believe this committee has any authority to ask me questions about my past activities and associations under its resolution or under the Watkins decision.

Despite my personal feelings on this matter, I am going to answer all question about my own past activities, no matter how irrelevant or unconstitutional those questions may be. I do this in line with the policy which the United Automobile Workers have adopted that its staff members shall answer all questions put to them by a congressional committee about their own activities. I will not, however, name persons whom I knew long ago and subject them to public stigma and scorn. Identifying these men could not possibly aid this committee or Congress in its legislative activities, and I most respectfully invoke my rights under the first amendment as to this type of question.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with the address, 548 Eugenie Street, how many apartments in that building?

Mr. GILPIN. That is a two-apartment building, also with a furnished basement.

Mr. MORRIS. Now—

Mr. GILPIN. I live on the top floor.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, that is owned by Elmer Johnson, a known Communist, is it not?

Mr. GILPIN. It is owned by Elmer Johnson, who is my landlord.

Mr. MORRIS. Does he live on the premises?

Mr. GILPIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, to your knowledge, is Elmer Johnson a Communist?

Mr. GILPIN. On that, sir—well, sir, I don't quite see the pertinence of my landlord in this inquiry, but I am going to answer it, anyway. To my knowledge, I have no knowledge as to whether or not he is a Communist or not. I don't think he is.

Mr. MORRIS. It is not your knowledge that he is a known Communist in the Chicago area?

Mr. GILPIN. It is not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know a man named Sam Hammersmark?

Mr. GILPIN. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, has he lived in that building?

Mr. GILPIN. He occupied a room there several years ago. He is now in an institution for the senile. Again, I do not see what the pertinence of—

Mr. MORRIS. When did he live there?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I think I answered that he has been gone from there several years. If there is any attempt to connect it with this inquiry or the UAW, he certainly left before I became a staff member of the UAW, but I am not certain of the exact date of his departure.

Senator HRUSKA. When did you become a staff member of the UAW?

Mr. GILPIN. March 1, 1955.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, have Communist Party meetings been held at 548 Eugenie Street?

Mr. GILPIN. To my knowledge, they have not.

Mr. MORRIS. And you know of no circumstances that would indicate Communist Party meetings were held there?

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. And have you attended any meetings in the apartment of Elmer Johnson?

Mr. GILPIN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You maintain friendly relationship with Elmer Johnson?

Mr. GILPIN. I have the relationship of a tenant to a landlord, and he is known to me.

Mr. MORRIS. Apart from that relationship, is the relationship friendly?

Mr. GILPIN. It is the normal relationship.

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, do you visit him socially?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, sir, again I question the pertinency, but I don't visit him any more socially than I think you would if—there is a patio

on the place; you cook out, you barbecue; you are up and down stairs. In terms of calling on Elmer, visiting with him, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, the reason the issue of pertinency has come up, the subcommittee has learned from one of our men who was out in the Chicago area who learned this, Communist Party meetings have been held at 548 Eugenie Street, and they particularly revolved about a man named Elmer Johnson.

I think, Senator, it is pertinent. Here we have a competent witness to testify what goes on in these premises, and this witness is now an official of the United Automobile Workers. We just want to get your best information on it. That is all, Mr. Gilpin.

Mr. GILPIN. Well, sir, I have given you the information at hand as far as I am concerned.

Mr. MORRIS. You do not mean Elmer Johnson is a Communist and you have no reason to believe he is?

Mr. GILPIN. I think I answered that question.

Mr. MORRIS. That is your answer?

Mr. GILPIN. That is my answer.

Mr. MORRIS. You yourself have been a Communist, have you not?

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically when?

Mr. GILPIN. I would say roughly from 1936 to—1935, 1936—I am a little hazy there, but I know I left the party in 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, at the time—I think I asked you in executive session, did you use the name Ralph Monroe?

Mr. GILPIN. Yes, sir; and I answered that that testimony was given by the former editor of the magazine, Confidential, and I want to say about that name, I will stipulate that I may have used it in 1936, 1937. I will state categorically I have never used it since.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, now, since 1951—I will try to make this brief—you have participated in rallies which we have called very loosely Communist rallies, have you not, Mr. Gilpin?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I know that you want to get through—

Mr. MORRIS. Specifically, Paul Robeson concerts, Civil Rights Congress, May Day parades, May Day rallies?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, you see, you are making a sweeping statement.

Mr. MORRIS. I don't mean to. Forgive me. I know it is a broad thing.

Senator HRUSKA. You may withdraw that and ask a more specific one.

Mr. GILPIN. If I may try to suit your purpose, I would say that I have attended meetings endorsed by the union in which the union at that time was participating, and I am speaking of the—well, we had better get this straight because, you see, there is a big gap in my history. I came back shortly before when I went into the UE and as my counsel knows, I was not in the labor movement for a number of years after I got out of the Army.

So, what are we talking about? What kind of meetings?

Mr. MORRIS. You were a writer for the Daily Worker in the 1930's, were you not?

Mr. GILPIN. I would say "Yes," although actually, as I think you know, I worked on the Midwest Record.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, and then you were field representative of the Farm Equipment Workers in Des Moines, Iowa, at the same time you were

active in the Communist Party matters in the Woods plant in Des Moines, is that right?

Mr. GILPIN. Sir, I think that information is incorrect. It is incorrect.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work in Des Moines, Iowa?

Mr. GILPIN. No, sir. The only connection I had with the Woods Bros. plant in Des Moines, Iowa, was as an international representative who went there, I believe, on 1 occasion, possibly 2, to negotiate contracts.

Mr. MORRIS. The Daily Worker of October 30, 1940, reported that you were active in Communist Party matters in the Woods plant in Des Moines, Iowa.

Mr. GILPIN. I would like to hear that report, and I would deny it. I would dispute it.

Mr. MORRIS. You say you did go to the Woods plant?

Mr. GILPIN. To negotiate a contract with the union. At that time it was the FE union.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work with any Communists? Did you meet any Communists at that time?

Mr. GILPIN. You are talking about the period of my employment with the FE which ended in 1941, and it was in the same year that I dropped my party membership. Now, your question is did I meet with any Communists?

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with this Woods plant activity. Was it a straight union activity, or was it a Communist activity, or can you not separate them?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I am having difficulty because I don't know to what witness you are referring or what evidence you are referring to, and I am saying to the best of my knowledge—you realize that this is 15 or 16 years ago—the only thing that I can remember about Wood Bros. is those ex-coalminers up there that I worked with and negotiated the contract.

Mr. MORRIS. And there was no Communist Party activity?

Mr. GILPIN. I think I answered that. I can't recall.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you a member of the Illinois and Indiana district executive committee of the Communist Party in 1941?

Mr. GILPIN. I don't think so. I am pretty positive I wasn't. Again, that is a long time ago, but I have a pretty good idea of what my relations were with the party at the time I was an international representative for FE. Frankly it doesn't ring a bell.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your activity in the party, Mr. Gilpin?

Mr. GILPIN. My activity in the party—that was in the early days of CIO. We were organizing drives. I used the party apparatus for the purpose of getting names of people from plants, to organize those plants, get a union in there. I also used the Communist Party operators for aid and assistance in strikes. At that time we were engaged in knocking out the company union in International Harvester, and I carried out my duties as a trade union official, as a Communist, and remember, that historical period. That was the early days of CIO and a lot of people have similar objectives. Communists, Socialists, workers, progressives.

Senator HRUSKA. Are they still similar?

Mr. GILPIN. I would say no, although that is a pretty general question.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Gilpin, in 1946 were you a writer for the Communist controlled veterans' magazine, Salute?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I certainly don't conceive that that magazine was Communist-controlled, and just because Waltman wrote an article that said so doesn't seem to me that people like Bill Mauldin and Marion Hargrove and people that contributed and edited that magazine were Communists or under Communist control.

Mr. MORRIS. I'm sorry. The way I should have asked the question was not as it was told to us but I should break it down.

Were you a writer for the magazine Salute?

Mr. GILPIN. I was both a writer and later an editor, executive editor.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, is that a Communist-controlled paper?

Mr. GILPIN. To my knowledge, it was not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you present in the office of the mayor of Chicago on March 17, 1951, during a citywide demonstration sponsored by the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. GILPIN. That is likely.

Mr. MORRIS. It is likely.

Mr. GILPIN. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was the Civil Rights Congress a Communist organization?

Mr. GILPIN. I would not be there as an individual. If I was there, I was there in my capacity as an international representative of the union.

Senator HRUSKA. Which union?

Mr. GILPIN. At that time that would be the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge, was the UE or UAW controlled by the Communists?

Mr. GILPIN. To my knowledge, no.

Mr. MORRIS. In your opinion, I mean—I ask you this question as a sophisticated political person, someone who has been a member of the Communist Party and who knows how the Communist Party works, as you were a representative of the UE. In your belief, is that a Communist-controlled union, to your knowledge?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I will answer that to the best of my ability. You have remarked about my political sophistication. I will try to give you a sophisticated answer. Obviously, I had no firsthand knowledge of Communist domination or control of the UE.

Mr. MORRIS. Even though you were the international representative at that time?

Mr. GILPIN. I am trying to finish my statement.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry.

Mr. GILPIN. There were certain policies taken that were under attack that gave an indication, at least, that on some major questions the UE was not seeing eye to eye with the rest of the labor movement.

Mr. MORRIS. It was expelled by the AFL-CIO as a Communist-controlled union, was it not?

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct, sir. Well, historically I would like to check that. I don't know whether that was the specific charge or not; was it? I would let the record of the AFL-CIO speak for itself on that. I just want to be accurate in answering the question.

(The following letter and affidavit bearing on this testimony were later received by the subcommittee:)

RAUH AND LEVY,
Washington, D. C., August 8, 1957.

Judge ROBERT MORRIS,

Chief Counsel, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE MORRIS: On July 3, 1957, Mr. Dewitt Gilpin testified as a witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee. During the hearing he was asked the following question: "It (referring to the UE) was expelled by the AFL-CIO as a Communist-controlled union; was it not?" He replied as follows: "That is correct, sir. Well, historically I would like to check that * * *. I just want to be accurate in answering the question."

Since the date of the hearing, Mr. Gilpin has had occasion to check the accuracy of his testimony, and his notarized statement is enclosed as additional testimony on this point.

Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATEMENT OF DEWITT GILPIN TO THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNAL SECURITY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

During my testimony on July 3, 1957, I testified that I had no firsthand knowledge that the UE was a Communist-controlled union. I was asked for my opinion on this subject and was also asked if the UE was expelled by the AFL-CIO as a Communist-controlled union. I answered that the UE was so expelled, but then added that I would like to check. I had been out of the labor-union movement for 7 years (4 in the Army and 3 in private employment) up to 1949. I returned to the FE a very short time prior to its merger with UE, and had no firsthand knowledge of the events leading up to the expulsion of the UE from the CIO. Since my testimony, I have checked on these facts.

In 1949 10 CIO unions including the UE were charged by the CIO with policies and activities consistently directed toward the achievement of the programs or purposes of the Communist Party rather than the objectives set forth in the constitution of the CIO. The FE had merged with the UE a short time before and consequently had passed out of existence as an independent organization and did not receive any charges nor was any action taken against the FE as an independent organization. The UE refused to answer the charges and resigned from the CIO. Simultaneously with the UE resignation, the CIO adopted a convention resolution expelling the UE on the basis of the charges issued.

I told the committee that I would have to check my original statement that the UE was expelled as a Communist-controlled union because of these procedural aspects. I was not and am not in any doubts as to the political aspects.

To me, as "a sophisticated political person," (to use the committee's words) it was apparent that the UE followed the Communist Party line on the important political issues of the moment, including the position of resisting the non-Communist oath requirement of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was the UE's position on these issues, plus the UE's policy of opposing trade-union unity, that led me and the leaders of the Harvester locals with whom I worked to break with the UE and seek affiliation with the UAW, it being our conviction, as I stated at the hearing, that the policies and programs of the UAW offered the right economic and political answers for myself and the Harvester workers.

Since the affiliation of the former FE-UE Harvester locals with the UAW, I have been the international representative servicing three of the locals in Chicago. In my work with these three locals I have publicly stated my opposition to the Communist Party, and I will continue to do so. I am proud to say that these local unions under the UAW have a record of faithfully carrying out the policies of the international union, including the UAW's opposition to the Communist Party and all other totalitarian groups. These locals have maintained high wages and good working conditions without industrial strife, they have raised large sums for Hungarian relief, and they have actively supported our union's position on foreign policy, civil rights, and political actions.

DEWITT GILPIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 3, 1957.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 2d day of August, 1957.

[SEAL]

MARGARET T. WHISTON,
Notary Public.

My commission expires November 14, 1961.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the William L. Patterson rally at the UE hall, 37 South Ashland Avenue, Chicago, April 15, 1952?

Mr. GILPIN. I could, counsel, because that was the district office of the UE. I worked out of there. I may have been at that meeting. I assume that the union had something to do with it or they wouldn't have rented them the hall.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, may I have an identification from Mr. Mandel, our research director, about William L. Patterson?

Senator HRUSKA. Certainly.

Mr. MANDEL. William L. Patterson has run for office on the Communist Party ticket on a number of occasions and has been a leading Communist for a number of years.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the annual May Day rally of May 1, 1952, at the People's Auditorium at 2457 West Chicago Avenue?

Mr. GILPIN. Again I don't want to not be cooperative on this question, but you asked me that in executive session and honestly I can't remember that. I think I referred to another meeting held at my own union hall, which I said it seemed to me it would be very likely I was there, because it was being held at my own union hall and apparently had been rented by my local to that particular committee who is holding the meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Paul Robeson rally at Washington Park, Chicago, on July 12, 1953?

Mr. GILPIN. Possibly. I stated before that I have attended meetings where Robeson sang and spoke.

Mr. MORRIS. And the same for a Paul Robeson concert at the Chopin Center in Chicago sponsored by the Chicago Committee for Paul Robeson on October 31, 1954?

Mr. GILPIN. I would give the same answer.

Senator HRUSKA. What was the answer?

Mr. GILPIN. The answer was, while I am not clear, the chronological order of dates, I am willing to say to you that I have attended meetings, I assume during this same period—I haven't been following the dates too closely—when Paul Robeson sang and spoke.

Mr. MORRIS. In the Communist Party, what kind of a unit were you attached to?

Mr. GILPIN. Again, going back into ancient history and hoping my memory is reliable—

Mr. MORRIS. You refer to this ancient history, but all these events led right down to 1954.

Mr. GILPIN. But the events you referred to it seems to me it ought to be said for the record, don't have any connection with the Communist Party, nor connecting me with it.

Mr. MORRIS. Certainly May Day rallies are connected with the Communist Party, aren't they?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, just on that, you know, the tradition of Harvester workers goes back to Haymarket, my own local does too. They rent halls to a lot of people and they are also, sir, interested in civil liberties. Just because Communists may sponsor civil liberties doesn't make the sponsoring of civil liberties communistic, and I think that situation more or less exists in the attitude of my local leader, union leadership now. We are not going to let a Communist or the Communist Party endorsement of civil liberties stop us from being for civil liberties.

Mr. MORRIS. This Civil Rights Congress, the May Day parades, they are organized by the Communists. They are Communist functions, are they not?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, you have stated that. To my knowledge I don't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us what was the last unit you were in in the Communist Party?

Mr. GILPIN. I don't—as I recall, I did not operate in a unit. I was a paid official of the union. The dealings I had, and here we are speaking of the Chicago period, of course, I met with Communist functionaries, Morris Childs, Jack Johnstone, people of that type, and I was in no—in the period ending 1941 to the best of my recollection, I can't recall an organized group of cells as you call it. It seems to me that my membership was more or less at large, and because of the position I was occupying at that time, I dealt only with the top people in the party in that particular city.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your assignment at that time?

Mr. GILPIN. I had no assignment as such from the Communist Party. I was a Communist holding a trade-union position and carrying out my trade-union duties, and I have testified before that I used the Communist Party's apparatus in organizing drives and strikes. If you go back to that period, sir, and try to unscramble what the party was for, and what the CIO was for, and the New Deal, it is not an easy thing.

Mr. MORRIS. Is it your testimony you weren't a member of any unit?

Mr. GILPIN. To the best of my knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. You just worked directly with these Communist Party functionaries?

Mr. GILPIN. I think that would be true, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have any knowledge that any official of the Farm Equipment Workers Union was a member of the Communist Party, any direct knowledge?

Mr. GILPIN. Yes. I would like to have the question rephrased.

(Question read.)

Mr. GILPIN. In answer to the question, I refer to my opening statement, but I would add to that that I certainly had no present knowledge of anybody in that group.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, present knowledge. When you were in the Farm Equipment Workers Union did you have any knowledge?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I have to stand on my opening statement with just the addition that none of the—if you are talking about officials, none of those people are currently in the labor movement.

Mr. MORRIS. None of what?

Mr. GILPIN. If you are talking about FE officials, officials of FE—

Mr. MORRIS (continuing). Or staff members. Any of them, to your knowledge. Were there any of them, to your knowledge while you were there, Communists?

Mr. GILPIN. None of them are presently in the labor movement.

Mr. MORRIS. I don't mean presently. While you were in the Farm Equipment Workers Union.

Mr. GILPIN. I stand on my statement on that.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean you refuse to tell the committee; refuse to answer that question?

Mr. GILPIN. Sir, I don't think—well—too many opinions here. It doesn't seem to me pertinent to the inquiry of the present situation, my being in the UAW. I will say this. Searching my memory—these people that I knew, sir, are all out of the labor movement. I don't think the question is pertinent. I stand on my opening statement, and, just so there is no confusion in the record here, even though Mr. Burns has testified that he was a member of the Communist Party, at the time I was in the union and up until the time I left the party—the union to go into service—at that time I did not know Mr. Burns as a member of the Communist Party in the union.

Senator HRUSKA. Does the Chair understand, then, that you refuse to answer whether or not the officers of the farm-equipment workers at the time you were a member were Communists or not?

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct, sir, for the reasons already stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Your objection is overruled, and you are directed to answer it, Mr. Witness.

Mr. GILPIN. I respectfully decline, sir, for the reason stated.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when you were a field representative of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, was there any Communist Party official, to your knowledge, at that time who was active in the Farm Equipment Workers Union?

Mr. GILPIN. Would you repeat that, sir?

(The question was read.)

Mr. GILPIN. What period is that, now?

Mr. MORRIS. When were you the field representative?

Mr. GILPIN. I think from 1938 to 1941.

Mr. MORRIS. Are there any persons who were Communist officials or Communists generally who were working in the Farm Equipment Workers Union?

Mr. GILPIN. It seems to me like the two questions are the same. I would have to give the same answer, the same—

Mr. MORRIS. Your first answer.

Senator HRUSKA. And your answer is predicated on the first amendment and not on the fifth amendment; is that true? Your objection, rather?

Mr. GILPIN. Pardon me, sir. I am sorry. My answer is that my position is predicated on pertinence and the first amendment.

Senator HRUSKA. The objection is overruled, and you are directed to answer.

Mr. GILPIN. I respectfully decline, for the reasons stated.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, when did the Farm Equipment Workers Union go into the UAW?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I think I know what you want, but that question, I think, is wrong. At that time we went from the UE into the UAW. If you will recall the chronological order—

Mr. MORRIS. Will you describe the chronological order, briefly?

Mr. GILPIN. You asked me when the Harvester workers that I was associated with went into the UAW.

Mr. MORRIS. And your answer is it went in via the UE?

Mr. GILPIN. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, just what is the answer?

Mr. GILPIN. March 1, 19—well, the agreement, I believe, was consummated March 1, 1955, but the mechanics of carrying it out through labor-board elections, it took several months.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened on March 1, 1955?

Mr. GILPIN. Sir?

Mr. MORRIS. What happened? Precisely what happened?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I think Mr. Burns has testified on that. I was not in all of the meetings that led to this move for affiliation. But what happened was a culmination of a policy that Burns and some of the other representatives had adopted, as he told you, deciding that the place that these workers could best be served economically was in the UAW.

Mr. MORRIS. That is, the farm-equipment workers?

Mr. GILPIN. The Harvester local then in UE, whom we led into the UAW.

Mr. MORRIS. Prior to the time they went into the UE, they were members of the Farm Equipment Workers Union.

Mr. GILPIN. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Then into the UE and then, on March 1, 1955, as the Harvester local of UE, went into UAW?

Mr. GILPIN. That is substantially correct. There is a timelag there. As I said, the mechanics of labor-board elections; each plant had to vote in a labor-board election.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have also written articles for March of Labor; have you not?

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you done that since March 1, 1955?

Mr. GILPIN. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. I note you did write an article, The Man Who Becomes a Machine, in that particular magazine in November 19—

Mr. GILPIN. November?

Mr. MORRIS. 1954.

Mr. GILPIN. That is correct.

Mr. MORRIS. Is that a Communist publication?

Mr. GILPIN. I have no knowledge what it was. My own local, where I carry my membership, and I think this would partly explain my connection, had subscribed to the magazine for all of its shop stewards.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Chairman, I know these things are hard to be precise about, but I ask if you will call on Mr. Mandel to just describe the nature of the publication, March of Labor.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Mandel will proceed.

Mr. MANDEL. March of Labor is a labor magazine which was the subject of a special report by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which described it as a Communist publication. It was for years edited by John Steuben, a leading member of the Communist Party.

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I would have to—I am sorry. But I would like to say that, again, I want to state, as far as my knowledge is concerned—I am not arguing with the report—as far as my firsthand knowledge is concerned, I have no knowledge of that being a Communist publication.

Senator HRUSKA. They gave you no certificate to the effect that they were a Communist paper; did they?

Mr. GILPIN. Not only that, sir, but they printed all kinds of articles about the labor movement in general; many of them very favorable to AFL-CIO.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know John Steuben?

Mr. GILPIN. I have seen him at the union hall. He came there in connection with the magazine.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know he was a Communist?

Mr. GILPIN. I didn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. He acknowledged that before he died recently, that he was a Communist. Did you know that?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I assume you are asking me my firsthand knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; that is right.

Mr. GILPIN. My answer is "No."

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions of this witness.

Senator HRUSKA. Mr. Witness, you have testified that you left the party in 1941. By leaving the party, what do you mean: by surrendering your card and stopping paying dues or breaking with it emotionally, as the language goes? Just what do you mean when you say you left the party in 1941?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, I think it means all those things you said—I stopped the mechanics. The date of my emotional break, that is a little harder to figure. I was in the Army 4½ years. I got out. How long that exact emotional break took I don't know. I think GI's returning have a lot of emotional impacts about everything. But I testified that I had been out of the party and I testified that I—I will testify that since getting out of service I have attended no meetings that were open only to Communists. I haven't taken this me, paid dues or knowingly given them any money.

Mr. MORRIS. Did the United Auto Workers know of your Communist Party membership at the time you entered the UAW?

Mr. GILPIN. Well, the record shows it was quite a while ago. Whether they knew or not—because, for example, you brought out the fact that I was the correspondent for the Midwest Record. Whether there were any in the auto union knew that I don't know. They could have.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you know whether the UAW knew of your activity with these organizations which I have described as Communist Party rallies, and like characterizations, going down to—and your writing for publications down as late as 1954?

Mr. GILPIN. Again, I don't know about their knowledge.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. All right. The witness is excused.

The next witness, please.

Mr. MORRIS. Mr. Newhoff.

Senator HRUSKA. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give to this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I do.

TESTIMONY OF ANDREW NEWHOFF, CHICAGO, ILL., ACCOMPANIED BY JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR., AND DANIEL H. POLLITT, HIS ATTORNEYS

Mr. MORRIS. Give your full name and address to the reporter, please.

Mr. NEWHOFF. My name is Andrew Newhoff. My address is 5008 South Dorchester Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Mr. Chairman, before I answer questions, can I also read this statement which was introduced?

Senator HRUSKA. You may, if you choose, but we will consider it as having been read and it will be inserted in the record at this point as having been read by you, and it also was submitted on your behalf to the subcommittee yesterday, pursuant to the rules of the subcommittee. The record will so show.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

I am here unwilling in response to the subpoena of this committee.

I have no information about current or recent Communist activity in the labor movement. In view of this, I do not believe this committee has any authority to ask me questions about my past activities and associations under its resolution or under the Watkins decision.

Despite my personal feelings on this matter, I am going to answer all questions about my own past activities, no matter how irrelevant or unconstitutional those questions may be. I do this in line with the policy which the United Automobile Workers has adopted that its staff members shall answer all questions put to them by a congressional committee about their own activities. I will not, however, name persons whom I knew long ago and subject them to public stigma and scorn. Identifying these men could not possibly aid this committee or Congress in its legislative activities, and I most respectfully invoke my rights under the first amendment as to this type of question.

Mr. MORRIS. What is your business or profession?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I am an international representative of the United Automobile Workers of America.

Mr. MORRIS. In the Chicago region?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, not necessarily, sir.

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

Mr. NEWHOFF. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you join the Communist Party?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I joined the Communist Party, according to my best recollection, around 1928.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave the Communist Party?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Also according to my best recollection, around 1939.

Mr. MORRIS. What unit were you in, in 1939, when you left the Communist Party?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I have to correct that statement of unit.

At the time when I was in the Communist Party there were no units. They were known as branches.

Mr. MORRIS. What branch were you in at that time?

Mr. NEWHOFF. It was a branch of the Communist Party, I think, in Minneapolis, on the north side. I am not exactly clear in my mind

what part of the city it was, but it was one of the branches in Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the leader of that branch?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Who was the leader of that branch?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. NEWHOFF. To be very candid, I wouldn't remember. This is a long time ago, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. MORRIS. Who made up that branch? What was the jurisdiction of it? Was it a neighborhood branch?

Mr. NEWHOFF. It was a neighborhood branch which met regularly each 2 weeks, at which people came to speak on various topics that were pertinent at the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Did any union officials come and address that branch?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Not to my knowledge, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, is it your testimony you left the Communist Party in 1939?

Mr. NEWHOFF. 1939.

However, I want to add to that, counsel, the fact that, as I stated in the executive session, my emotional and friendly ties with the party were not severed, that I went into the service right after the first break with the party—I mean, the break with the party—and that I served for 3 years in the United States Army, and when I came back I did attend a number of meetings, as you well know I testified to in the executive session.

Mr. MORRIS. You attended meetings. Generally, what kind of meetings were they?

Mr. NEWHOFF. General popular meetings of all types, open meetings.

Mr. MORRIS. What was your relationship with the Communist Party at that time, the subsequent period, the postwar period?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, should I say it would—to use the vernacular, I would say it would be called fellow traveler more than anything else.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the Lenin memorial meeting at the coliseum in Chicago on January 13, 1946?

Mr. NEWHOFF. 1946. Well, I wouldn't remember the exact date on that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Lenin memorial meeting?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I remember attending a Lenin memorial meeting; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In the coliseum?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Whether it was the coliseum or some hall, I will say I attended such meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the May Day rally in Ashland Boulevard Auditorium in Chicago on May 1, 1946?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I would say I was there.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you speak and request collections to cover the expenses of Gerhardt Eisler at a meeting in the Viking Temple on January 17, 1947?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I have already admitted that, sir; yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you speak at a meeting sponsored by the 9th and 10th congressional sections of the Communist Party, at the Viking Temple in Chicago, on March 13, 1947?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Did I what, sir?

Mr. MORRIS. Speak at a meeting sponsored by the 9th and 10th congressional sections of the Communist Party at Viking Temple, Chicago, March 13, 1947.

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, now, you say did I speak there?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes. We have been told that you spoke there.

Mr. NEWHOFF. I did speak at an Eisler meeting. I remember that specifically. But this particular point I am not clear about. I don't remember that.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Communist Party rally in the vicinity of Ashland Boulevard Auditorium on February 15, 1948?

Mr. NEWHOFF. What was that, again?

Mr. MORRIS. Attended a Communist Party rally in the vicinity of Ashland Boulevard Auditorium on February 15, 1948.

Mr. NEWHOFF. Would you know what the rally was about, sir? I mean, if you know that.

Mr. MORRIS. I am afraid I don't know that.

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, then, I would have to say I wouldn't remember, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did you take a part in the May Day rally in Union Park, Chicago, May 1, 1948?

Mr. NEWHOFF. You see, you have asked me about one May Day meeting.

Mr. MORRIS. This is later.

Mr. NEWHOFF. It is very possible.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you attended more than one?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I did, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, were you organizational secretary of the Illinois Civil Rights Congress in 1951?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Organizational secretary? Is that the designation you have there, sir; organizational secretary?

Mr. MORRIS. That is the best of our information. On these cases I give you the best information.

Mr. NEWHOFF. I was connected with the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. MORRIS. But you don't know whether, technically, you were the organizational director. Did you do organizational work?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I did.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you work in the office of the American Peace Crusade, in June 1951?

Mr. NEWHOFF. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you in charge of the Civil Rights Congress bazaar, People's Auditorium, December 12, 1951?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Yes, sir; I was.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a Paul Robeson jubilee peace and freedom, Washington Park, June 1, 1951?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I was at one of the Paul Robeson meetings. I know that. And it was an outdoor meeting in Washington Park. Whether it was that exact date or not, I can't say.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, if you will bear with me, I have about 4 or 5 more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the Civil Rights Congress carnival, People's Auditorium, Chicago, December 6, 1952?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Carnival, you say?

Mr. MORRIS. Civil Rights Congress carnival, People's Auditorium, Chicago, December 6, 1952.

Mr. NEWHOFF. I don't remember a carnival, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. All right. Now, how about a Steve Nelson rally at the People's Auditorium in Chicago, 2457 West Chicago Avenue, sponsored jointly by the Civil Rights Congress and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on April 4, 1953?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Yes; I think I was there, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend the May Day rally at Labor Temple, 1110, South Oakley Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1953?

Mr. NEWHOFF. An indoor meeting, you say? An indoor meeting at where?

Mr. MORRIS. Attended the May Day rally at Labor Temple, 1110, South Oakley Boulevard, Chicago, Ill., May 1, 1953?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I wouldn't remember that, sir. I don't remember that particular one.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend a meeting called Spare the Rosenbergs, at 410 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill., May 28, 1953?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. And then did you attend the Sam Hammersmark birthday party at the Greek Workers Hall February 20, 1954?

Mr. NEWHOFF. What was that?

Mr. MORRIS. Sam Hammersmark's birthday party. He is a Chicago Communist; is he not?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I have heard of him.

Mr. MORRIS. These are concrete instances of things you engage in in your activity, what you call fellow traveling activity.

Mr. NEWHOFF. I would say it would be that; yes, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you consider yourself now a fellow traveler?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I do not, sir; by no means.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you desist from being a fellow traveler?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, I desisted from being a fellow traveler several years ago because of the fact that I don't agree with many of the questions that have come to light in relation to the Communist movement with which I do not agree.

Mr. MORRIS. Subsequent to 1954.

Mr. NEWHOFF. I would say it was before that. Way before that, because I broke with the Communist Party way before that, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean claimed friendly relations, as you say.

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, there were friendly relations based on my own feeling about certain civil-rights cases, sir. And certain questions that I also felt a kinship to. I was always connected with the civil-rights movement in this country, and that was the real reason for what one might call my fellow traveling. I use the word. It may not describe it adequately.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, did the United Auto Workers know of this activity on your part when you became a staff member of the United Auto Workers?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, I guess not. But they know it now, I'm sure.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, I think in view of the witness' responses, which have been—he has been very candid and direct as far as I am concerned, Senator. I have no more questions.

Mr. NEWHOFF. One thing. May I state one thing?

Senator HRUSKA. Yes.

Mr. NEWHOFF. When you asked about the Sam Hammersmark question—

Mr. MORRIS. The birthday party.

Mr. NEWHOFF. "Did you know that he was a Communist"—did you say that?

Mr. MORRIS. I mean, is he known as a Communist?

Mr. NEWHOFF. Well, I don't know that, sir. I mean, all I know him as, or as I recall him was as a bookstore man. That is the only way I have seen his name connected with anything.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, he is a— It a Communist bookstore that he has been associated with; is it not?

Mr. NEWHOFF. I don't know that, but I do know one thing, that Sam Hammersmark dates way back in the labor movement, so far as that is concerned, and that is how I have heard of him.

Mr. MORRIS. I have no more questions.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well. The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Senator HRUSKA. The Chair would like to observe that all three of these witnesses, although they have all testified that they quit the party at certain dates, yet our evidence shows, and some of their testimony indicates, that they have maintained some contact, and they have been friendly with many of the organizations sponsoring various Communist activities and affairs. And it is that area in which this committee will make further research and further investigation, because we believe it pertinent to the subject of inquiry and for our legislative needs.

Mr. RAUH. Wouldn't it only be fair, Senator Hruska, to state for the record equally that there hasn't been one bit of testimony or suggestion that any 1 of the 3 men at any time since they have become connected with the United Automobile Workers have attended any of the functions to which you referred, and that their conduct as representatives of the United Automobile Workers has not been in question here in any way, shape, or form?

Senator HRUSKA. The record will speak for itself in that regard, and I think counsel has fairly stated that since March 1, 1955, there is an absence of testimony in that regard. I mention it only because they have asserted their privilege under the first amendment and then by the very text of the record which we have, and part of which is in open testimony, as well as by their very apparent reluctance to testify, there is some reason to doubt whether there was such a complete break as that which they have testified to as of the time that they testified.

Mr. RAUH. The record will also show that they answered every question except a few about ancient associations, going back as far as 20 years.

Senator HRUSKA. That—we will let the record speak on that, and the Chair has made his own observations as to the very evasive character of some of the testimony, and counsel may form his own judgment in that regard.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, there is a Mr. Albert Verri who was subpoenaed by the subcommittee to testify and we told his counsel that we were not ready to take his testimony at this time.

Now, I have been informed by counsel that he has come forth anyhow and is here to testify.

Senator, I am not prepared. I haven't gone into the case. The investigation on that particular subject is not completed by any means and I ask that he be directed to appear at a later date and not today. And he has been freely told that he was not to appear here today.

Mr. RAUH. That is correct, Mr. Morris. We are not challenging that. He was here, and we thought simply you might be able to deal with him. If not, can we get a date?

Mr. MORRIS. You understand in many of these cases we have to make inquiry. The staff work necessary, as you can see for the first three witnesses—

Mr. RAUH. We have no argument on that score, I would like to say. I would just like to know the date whenever you are ready.

Senator HRUSKA. Very well.

Mr. MORRIS. We mentioned the name of Clair Feller last week in connection with the testimony. She works in the Western Union Co. in New York and she was identified in the record.

Pursuant to our practice, if any name comes up like that as someone who was identified as a Communist, we would like as much as possible to give them an opportunity to answer it. May we communicate on that?

Senator HRUSKA. You may do so, and the committee will entertain any request on your part to appear before this committee at any reasonable time when we can accommodate her presence to make such statement or denial as she desires to do in that connection.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you.

(Whereupon at 1 p. m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.)

The following affidavit of Albert Verri was later received by the subcommittee and was ordered into the record on July 17, 1957:

AFFIDAVIT

Albert Verri, being duly sworn, deposes and says that:

1. By subpoena dated the 14th of June 1957, I was directed to appear on June 25, 1957, before the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States. By telegram dated June 19, 1957, signed by Senator James O. Eastland, I was informed that my appearance before the subcommittee had been postponed until Tuesday, July 9, 1957. I was present at the hearings held before the subcommittee on July 3, 1957, when Messrs. Burns, Gilpin, and Newhoff were called as witnesses. At the close of that hearing there was some confusion as to the time of my appearance and my attorney, Daniel H. Pollitt, called William Rusher, associate counsel for the subcommittee, in my presence during the afternoon of July 3 and it was agreed between Pollitt and Rusher that I would appear on July 9, 1957, as scheduled unless I heard to the contrary.

2. I appeared as directed on July 9, 1957, but no hearing was held. Instead, it was agreed that I would submit this notarized statement in lieu of testimony this morning. I shall conform this statement as closely as possible to the testimony given by Messrs. Burns, Gilpin, and Newhoff.

3. My name is Albert Verri.

4. I live at 2912 North Pine Grove, Chicago, Ill.

5. Since March 1955, I have been employed as an international representative of the United Automobile Workers, coming in through the FE-UE route.

6. I joined the Communist Party in 1939 and I left it in 1949.

7. Since that time, I have not attended meetings open only to members of the Communist Party, I have not paid dues or made any contributions to the

Communist Party, and I have not accepted the discipline of the Communist Party.

8. My break with the Communist Party started in 1946 and in 1946 I stopped regular attendance at meetings and I stopped periodic payment of dues. However, I was still emotionally tied to the Communist Party until a final break in 1949.

9. I started to break with the Communist Party because of their unrealistic position on the Marshall plan and aid to the underdeveloped countries and because of the party-line decision to refrain from signing Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits. Last year I collected almost \$1,000 to aid the Hungarian refugees and in the course of my campaign to raise this money I spoke vehemently against the Communist dictatorship.

10. Prior to and up to 1946 I belonged to an area branch of the Communist Party made up of housewives, students, professional people, business people, and rank-and-file shop workers.

11. In 1949, when I left the Communist Party, I was attached to a neighborhood industrial branch of the Communist Party made up of rank-and-file shop workers.

12. Up until 1946, I was a shop worker in South Bend, Ind., and my function as a Communist Party member was confined almost entirely to aiding the Government in its total war efforts against the enemies of our country. I worked actively in the shop and local union promoting programs to help win the war by increasing production and by combating inflation, discrimination, etc.

13. From the latter part of 1946 until 1949, I was an organizer for the Farm Equipment Workers Union, CIO. My function as a Communist Party member at that time was to try to influence people in the union to adopt the policies of the Communist Party. During most of this 1946-49 period, I was assigned to different locations by the union for organizational purposes and I had little, if any, contact with the Communist Party.

14. Since 1949, I have attended a very few meetings and rallies. One was a concert by Paul Robeson. Another was a demonstration in favor of the Rosenbergs sponsored by the Rosenberg committee. As to this latter meeting, I had no prior intention of attending this meeting and in fact I did not even know it was scheduled. I was in the vicinity, saw it and joined in as a spectator. A third meeting was sponsored by a peace organization, whose name I do not recall, and I participated at the request of my union to explain why trade with China would decrease the then heavy unemployment in the farm-equipment industry. Another meeting was sponsored by the Negro labor council and I attended as an inactive participant. There were a few Civil Rights Congress meetings which I cannot recall too well and I think that is about the extent, since 1949, of the association I have had with the type of groups about which this committee asked Messrs. Burns, Gilpin, and Newhoff.

15. None of the persons I knew as Communists during my period of membership (1939-49) are presently employed by the Government or any labor union.

16. I was present when Senator Hruska read his opening statement at the hearing on July 3, 1957, and since that time I have read it in the report of the proceeding. I have also heard and read the opening statements of Messrs. Burns, Gilpin, and Newhoff, and I adopt their opening statements as my own. I trust this affidavit will meet the needs of the subcommittee.

ALBERT VERRI.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 9th day of July 1957.

[SEAL]

MARY C. ASAY, *Notary Public*.

My commission expires December 31, 1957.

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE
UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 8, JUNE 27, AND AUGUST 1, 1957

PART 66

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



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Superintendent of Documents

JAN 29 1958

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SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 2:30 p. m., in room 253, Senate Office Building.

Present: Senator Olin D. Johnston.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; William A. Rusher, associate counsel; and Benjamin Mandel, director of research.

Also present: Chester T. Lane, 150 Broadway, New York, N. Y., and Byron N. Scott, 517 Wyatt Building, Washington, D. C.

Senator JOHNSTON. Do you swear the evidence you are to give before this subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TYTELL. I do, Senator.

Mr. MORRIS. Let the record show that, at the direction of Senator Johnston, we are proceeding to room 155, where the interrogation will be had, and counsel for Mr. Tytell have so consented.

(Thereupon, the following proceedings were had in room 155, Senate Office Building.)

TESTIMONY OF MARTIN KENNETH TYTELL, ACCOMPANIED BY CHESTER T. LANE AND BYRON N. SCOTT, AS COUNSEL

Mr. MORRIS. Would you give your full name and address to the reporter?

Mr. TYTELL. Martin Kenneth Tytell.

Mr. MORRIS. Where do you reside?

Mr. TYTELL. 3031 Scenic Place, Riverdale 63, N. Y.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business or profession, Mr. Tytell?

Mr. TYTELL. I am a typewriter mechanic; I am a typewriter dealer; and I am a typewritten-document analyst.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have your own business?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the name of your business?

Mr. TYTELL. Tytell Typewriter Co., Inc.

Mr. MORRIS. I see. Is that the only corporation with which you are associated in the businesses you have stated?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you operate under the New York corporation laws?

Mr. TYTELL. New York corporation.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that incorporated?

Mr. TYTELL. Approximately, oh, about 10 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. And will you tell us generally the nature of that business?

Mr. TYTELL. I rent typewriters. I sell typewriters. I rebuild typewriters. I convert typewriters to any one of 100 or so languages and any special technical keyboards that are required. I build special typewriters for television, for the handicapped, for all special purposes.

Mr. MORRIS. And what is your business, is it one that would be called a successful business?

Mr. TYTELL. I believe so.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, do you specialize in any particular type of typewriter construction or repairs or business?

Mr. TYTELL. Special machines are our specialty, languages or technical, any special purpose. But I also do the normal typewriter business.

Mr. MORRIS. What do you mean, "normal"?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I mean, we buy and sell normal typewriters.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you do any export?

Mr. TYTELL. No; we do not do export directly to a foreign firm. In other words, people who buy here have orders and we sell directly to those people.

Mr. MORRIS. Not to the export company, you mean, to the people who buy them from you?

Mr. TYTELL. No; to people who are agents of these foreign buyers.

Mr. MORRIS. And would you tell us to whom and what countries those machines are sent?

Mr. TYTELL. By that, do you mean since I have been in business, or currently, or what?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I think if you could answer it generally, I would appreciate it.

Mr. TYTELL. Well, lately, my machines have been going to Brazil. I should say my typewriters are being put out and used all over the world. I have made practically every language or dialect—

Mr. MORRIS. Do you specialize in any particular language?

Mr. TYTELL. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Like Russian—

Mr. TYTELL. I have all of them—Serbian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, anything you can think of, we have 2 million types in stock.

Mr. MORRIS. And you construct and manufacture them?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I did explain what we do. We do actually, to go into it further, we actually solder the letters upon the machines, we put in the letters they want, we solder them. We do not manufacture the machine. We convert it to what the customer wants.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you done any business at all with any of the countries in the Soviet bloc, directly or indirectly?

Mr. TYTELL. I did some work for Amtorg during the Second World War.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you tell us the circumstances surrounding the establishment of that particular business? I mean, the circumstances, how you got the business.

Mr. TYTELL. They called us and said they wanted to buy a few Russian typewriters and asked for a quotation and we gave them a quotation and they gave us an order.

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately what was the extent of this business with them?

Mr. TYTELL. Very little, maybe a couple of hundred.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you remember the name of the individual with whom you dealt?

Mr. TYTELL. No; I cannot.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you done any business for the Soviet embassies?

Mr. TYTELL. No; I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Any of the Soviet consulates?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, the correct answer would be that I have people calling in, speaking all languages. I do not ask them if they come from any consulate. There is a possibility somebody might come from one of the Soviet consulates and has brought a typewriter but I don't ask questions.

Mr. MORRIS. But if someone comes in and speaks in broken English or Russian, the presumption would be that he was from the Russian consulate and—

Mr. TYTELL. Well, they speak English very well, these fellows.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you answer this question: When the gentlemen come in and order typewriters, what language do they order to be placed on the typewriter? Some languages have different letters.

Mr. TYTELL. And I answered, I don't ask them where they come from.

Mr. MORRIS. No; but you make the language for them on the typewriter, don't you, you construct the typewriter with a certain language?

Mr. TYTELL. I have Russian typewriters, if that is what you want, ready at all times to sell.

Mr. MORRIS. And these are made, if I want a typewriter in a certain language, you give me that language imposed on the typewriter, you do impose that language on the typewriter?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, tell us the language of the typewriters you have sold to people from consulates who have come to your shop.

Mr. TYTELL. The only way of answering that is, we bill everybody that we sell, and I could get the bills going back to 15 years ago.

Mr. MORRIS. I thought you had only been in business 10 years.

Mr. TYTELL. Oh, no; I have been in business since I have been about 15 years of age.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you owned your own business?

Mr. TYTELL. Since I was a kid of 15.

Mr. MORRIS. I see, and this company you incorporated, that particular company, 10 years?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what business did you have prior to the incorporation of this? What was its name?

Mr. TYTELL. Tytell Typewriter Co. which became Tytell Typewriter Co., Inc., and I don't know the exact date but we could get that for you.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long has that business been in being?

Mr. TYTELL. Since I was about 15 years of age. I am 43 now.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you mean, that is the one prior to the one that you have now?

Mr. TYTELL. It is the same business, it is just that it was incorporated.

Mr. MORRIS. And you cannot tell us with any degree of particularity without, as you say, referring to your own invoices, what language typewriters were sold to whom over the years?

Mr. TYTELL. I could specifically tell you by referring to my bills. I could tell you every machine I have ever sold, going way back.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, have you sold any typewriters to any Bulgarians, would you say, in the last 10 years?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes; I have.

Mr. MORRIS. Could you give us an estimate of the extent of that?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, there again, I could show you the bills, who bought it, what he paid for it, and the keyboard.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, is the same true with respect to Albanian?

Mr. TYTELL. Any language in the world.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I think as a practical thing I might suggest that maybe what we should do is that after you get back, after you leave here, if you could look through the bills and give us a general estimate.

Mr. TYTELL. I asked Mr. Frank (Mr. Nelson Frank of the subcommittee staff) what he wanted me to bring and he said to bring my material for the talk that I gave before the American Association of Science, the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Had he asked me for it, I would have brought it.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry, and I do not have any idea why he said that.

Mr. TYTELL. If any of you would like to come into my office, if your research director would care to come to New York I would be glad to sit down with him.

Mr. MORRIS. I am sorry, the only way that we can find what—

Mr. TYTELL. If you let your research director come down, at any time he wants, he can see every language—every bill, and it is all open to you.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much.

Now, did you ever build a typewriter for Marshal Zhukov?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us the circumstances?

Mr. TYTELL. My commanding officer, Colonel Morris, gave me an order to build one.

Mr. MORRIS. You were in the service?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes, working for the colonel in the Adjutant General's Office.

Mr. MORRIS. Where were you then?

Mr. TYTELL. 165 Broadway.

Mr. MORRIS. And where was Marshal Zhukov at the time?

Mr. TYTELL. He was supposed to arrive at the Pentagon Building. I was sent over to the Pentagon with the typewriter and I waited for him and he never showed up and I went home.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you made any other typewriters for any individuals of the Soviet personalities?

Mr. TYTELL. What do you mean by "Soviet personalities"?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, such as Marshal Zhukov, Soviet officials.

Mr. TYTELL. Well, again, sir, I will open to you every bill and you can decide for yourself who is a "personality" and who is not. I sell typewriters regardless of—

Mr. MORRIS. That is very good. Your suggestion is perfectly reasonable and we will be very happy to accept your invitation.

Now, have you ever been to the Soviet Union or any of the satellite countries?

Mr. TYTELL. I have not.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, in connection with the operation of this particular type of business, are there any Soviet individuals or you might say communistic individuals that you know of with whom you may have been carrying on business relations?

Mr. TYTELL. No.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, all your transactions have been, you might say, off the street?

Mr. TYTELL. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. The man walks in and buys?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have a reputation for selling typewriters in whatever language is desired?

Mr. TYTELL. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And strictly on that basis?

Mr. TYTELL. Right.

Mr. MORRIS. And you have now what you would call good business friends in the Soviet Union or satellite countries?

Mr. TYTELL. No, I don't.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you once registered as a member of the American Labor Party?

Mr. TYTELL. To the best of my knowledge, no.

Mr. MORRIS. You don't think you could have been a member of the American Labor Party and not recall at this time?

Mr. TYTELL. Have been a member—

Mr. MORRIS. Member, registered.

Mr. TYTELL. Register when you went to vote, you mean?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes.

Mr. TYTELL. I don't remember. Anything is possible, though.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I mean, as a matter of fact, were you a member of the American Labor Party?

Mr. TYTELL. I don't recall having been a member of the American Labor Party.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, have you ever been active in that party?

Mr. TYTELL. Definitely not.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you lecture at any university?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us which ones?

Mr. TYTELL. I have lectured at New York University.

Mr. MORRIS. How often have you done that and over what period of time?

Mr. TYTELL. I took the police science course, 104, last year and I taught the document section of New York University last year and it is being repeated this September and I am also going to Puerto

Rico for NYU in June to take a course in document identification.

Mr. MORRIS. Take a course or give one?

Mr. TYTELL. I am going to give a course there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, where else have you lectured?

Mr. TYTELL. New York Institute of Criminology.

Mr. MORRIS. What is the New York Institute of Criminology?

Mr. TYTELL. It is a private school that trains investigators.

Mr. MORRIS. Where is it located?

Mr. TYTELL. 40 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. MORRIS. And who is the director of that school?

Mr. TYTELL. Donald E. J. McNamara.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long to your knowledge has that school been in existence?

Mr. TYTELL. About 15 years or more.

Mr. MORRIS. And how long have you known Mr. McNamara?

Mr. TYTELL. Since 1955. I took a course with him in New York University in homicide investigation. He was the instructor.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you come to know Mr. McNamara?

Mr. TYTELL. I took a course with Mr. McNamara. He was an instructor. A course in homicide investigation which I took in 1955 at NYU, as a requisite or one of my courses for my doctor of philosophy degree. I am working for my doctor of philosophy degree.

Mr. MORRIS. Are you familiar with a series of four articles that recently ran in the Daily Worker?

Mr. TYTELL. I have read them.

Mr. MORRIS. And a name appears on the article, Milly Salwen. Do you know who Milly Salwen is?

Mr. TYTELL. She called me on the phone to tell me the articles appeared.

Mr. MORRIS. Have you ever spoken to or seen Milly Salwen prior?

Mr. TYTELL. Not prior to this call, no.

Mr. MORRIS. Not what?

Mr. TYTELL. Not prior to this phone call.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone in the Daily Worker interview you in connection with those articles?

Mr. TYTELL. No, sir.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, according to the articles, you undertook an investigation of the so-called Yerevin documents of Stalin, did you not?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes, I did.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you would just tell your interest in that?

Mr. TYTELL. As a documentary hoax, it is a forgery——

Mr. MORRIS. Will you tell us what your interest was?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, my interest was that—do you want me to go into Life magazine?

Mr. MORRIS. Please do.

Mr. TYTELL. If you want to, I can give the entire material to you. I have slides that I used in the talk before the American Association——

Mr. MORRIS. Well, that is not necessary.

Mr. TYTELL. If you want a copy of my talk, you can have it.

Mr. MORRIS. I would appreciate it very much.

Now, would you tell us from the very beginning how you became interested in this thing and what you did after you became interested?

Mr. TYTELL. At the time this article appeared in Life magazine, I was teaching at Brooklyn College.

One of my students brought this to me and asked me to justify this opinion here, that a typing expert was convinced that the Stalin letter (1), and the document known to have come from the St. Petersburg Police Department (2), were both written on machines of the same model and make then in use in Russia, yet it is obvious—

Mr. MORRIS. What was the name of the student?

Mr. TYTELL. Oh, I don't know. I had about—I think I had 70 students at that time, I can't remember.

And so I asked Life to send this thing down to my class and they sent us a batch of these and we used them in the class—

Mr. MORRIS. Approximately when was this?

Mr. TYTELL. Sometime in May.

Mr. MORRIS. Of 1956?

Mr. TYTELL. 1956.

Mr. MORRIS. And at that time you were then teaching at Brooklyn College?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. As a regular staff member?

Mr. TYTELL. As a lecturer.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you been at Brooklyn College?

Mr. TYTELL. That was the first term. I had taught previously isolated lectures. This was a complete course.

Mr. MORRIS. And you had 70 students?

Mr. TYTELL. Approximately.

Mr. MORRIS. And one particular student brought you the article and asked you about it and excited your interest?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. What did you do?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I could not understand how an expert could say that the questioned documents were done on the same typewriter, especially since I know the Remington Russian type.

So I checked my files. I have extensive documentary files of most typewriters, and I could not find any standard of this particular type.

And my students were able to point out differences and none of them could come to the conclusion this expert had, that this was the same make and model of typewriter.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, in this Life article an expert is represented to say—

Mr. TYTELL. That both of these are the same make and model typewriter.

Mr. MORRIS. And you made an analysis, samples of which you have given me?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, those are the same, this one is enlarged so you can see it easier.

Mr. MORRIS. And the samples indicate they were not?

Mr. TYTELL. Impossible to have been.

Mr. MORRIS. Then what did you do?

Mr. TYTELL. I contacted Life magazine to see if I could get a better copy because, if you put this under the microscope, you get the Ben Day dots.

Life magazine referred me to Howard McCann, the publisher of a book by Mr. Levine, and Howard McCann referred me to Mr. Levine.

So I called Mr. Levine and Mr. Levine agreed to meet with me in New York and bring other papers to show me that this was indeed a Remington typewriter or at least he had been advised it had been.

I also contacted the Stanford University Library and requested a copy of what had been used as a standard.

Mr. MORRIS. With whom did you speak at Stanford University Library?

Mr. TYTELL. I wrote to the librarian on May 31.

Mr. MORRIS. You mean just to "Librarian"?

Mr. TYTELL. To "Librarian," right.

And I did not get any reply. So on June 13 I called on the telephone and I spoke to Mr. Sworakowski.

Mr. MORRIS. And then what happened?

Mr. TYTELL. And I wanted additional information because he said they had been looking for it and they couldn't find anything, and I followed up with a letter on June 20 and then I got a letter back on July 3 but they still had not been able to find it but they did find some correspondence that they had sent to Mr. Levine.

Would you care to look at these? You are welcome to have them.

Mr. MORRIS. I wonder if you will leave them. I will see that you get them back in a day or so.

Mr. TYTELL. Why not.

Mr. LANE. Could they be marked?

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, mark them as "Exhibit A, B, C."

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits A, B, C," and read as follows:)

TYTELL EXHIBIT A

MAY 31, 1956.

LIBRARIAN, HOOVER LIBRARY,
Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

DEAR SIR: In the April 23, 1956, issue of Life Magazine an article by Issac Don Levine, A Document on Stalin as Czarist Spy, makes references on page 50, to, " * * * a document preserved in the Hoover Library at Stanford University. It came from the acting director of the department of police in St. Petersburg and was dated Nov. 5, 1912, * * *."

This article has a photograph of the salutation of this document.

I am to deliver a paper at the next meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science to be held at the Hotel Statler in New York City, and would like to prepare an exhibit of this document in connection with my talk.

May I please have a good sharp copy of this document, or preferably a negative that I may use to prepare my blowup. I will cheerfully defray any charges in connection with this service.

If my request is not practical, may I please have permission to examine this document at your earliest convenience, to enable me to prepare my material.

Sincerely,

MARTIN K. TYTELL.

TYTELL EXHIBIT B

JUNE 20, 1956.

LIBRARIAN, HOOVER LIBRARY,
Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.

DEAR SIR: Reference is made to my letter of May 31st, 1956, with regard to obtaining a sharp photograph or preferably a negative of " * * * a document preserved in the Hoover Library at Stanford University. It came from the acting director of the department of police at St. Petersburg and was dated Nov. 5,

1912, * * * referred to in the article by Isaac Don Levine in Life Magazine issue of April 23, 1956.

On June 13, 1956, I phoned your office and was connected with Mr. Sworakowski, who promised to write to me about this letter; to date I have received no communication. He also stated that if I could furnish some reference number it would assist in locating the document.

Enclosed is a photostat of the letter given to me by Life Magazine. There appear to be some numbers on the documents; perhaps they are your file numbers. At any event it should aid in clearing up the question of the existence of this document in your archives.

Your cooperation in definitely establishing the existence of this document in your files is extremely important as it was used as a standard to establish the authenticity of a questioned letter.

May I please hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

MARTIN K. TYTELL.

TYTELL EXHIBIT C

THE HOOVER INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY
ON WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PEACE,
Stanford University, Stanford, Calif., July 3, 1956.

Mr. MARTIN K. TYTELL,
123 *Fulton Street,*
New York 38, N. Y.

DEAR MR. TYTELL: Upon receipt of your letter of June 20, I began a search for the original document from which the negative photostat you sent was made. The photostat gave me an idea of where to look for the material, and I was also able to learn from our files that Mr. Don Levine received this photostat from the Hoover Library in August 1949. The correspondence between the Library and Mr. Levine establishes beyond any doubt that the photostat in question is a copy of an original deposited in our Library. In order to find the original I have had to check, page by page, a large file pertaining to the year 1912. I have done some 30 percent of the checking and will proceed as time permits me. However, I do not see what additional evidence you can receive from a new photostat. It will be identical with the one you have.

I am still keeping your photostat as it will guide me in the search for the original.

Sincerely yours,

WITOLD S. SWORAKOWSKI,
Assistant Director.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened next?

Mr. TYTELL. Mr. Levine was able to give me a photostatic copy of the standard and the Tolstoy Foundation gave me a copy of the questioned document.

So, I now had something to work with. So I checked my files very thoroughly.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, what you were doing, what you are now describing, was a task you were undertaking in an amateur way, or as a business venture?

Mr. TYTELL. Maybe I did not make myself clear. One of my specialties is the identification of typewritten documents.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes; but for your own—

Mr. TYTELL. As a professional challenge.

Mr. MORRIS. A professional challenge; you were not working for anyone?

Mr. TYTELL. Oh, no; as a professional challenge and also material to be used for lectures. I always need material to keep my courses alive and anything that currently happens makes them more interesting.

And I checked all my files that I had on Remington and I could find nothing to match that, and yet the expert here says it is a Remington. So, that looks to me like some kind of forgery.

I went to Elmira—no, first, I checked with Remington Rand in New York and then I went to Elmira and I went through everything they had at Elmira.

Do you wish to see copies of all of the different types made at Elmira in Russian?

Mr. MORRIS. I don't think so; no.

Mr. TYTELL. I have copies of all of them. And I was convinced this was not a Remington. And then I checked Royals, Underwoods, L. C. Smiths, and all of the foreign machines and I could find nothing to match this type. So, by this time, that made me really curious. Well, I had planned on going to Europe to visit the crime labs and—

Mr. MORRIS. The what?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, the various documentary laboratories. My idea of a busman's holiday is to visit typewriter plants, where I watch them manufacture types and I go through the plants and I do this whenever I can, but I hadn't done any foreign—and the laboratories, I went to Scotland Yard, the French Surete, the police lab in Stockholm, in Berlin, in Wiesbaden, the International Police, the Irish Police—

Mr. MORRIS. You say you did visit all of them?

Mr. TYTELL. I visited these laboratories—

Mr. MORRIS. You mean generally?

Mr. TYTELL. Generally. In fact, I had planned this for a long time and this thing gave me the opportunity to find out further—well, what impressed me was what Mr. Levine gave as his chain of evidence, Mr. Levine said that he was not just sure because of—well, he had this chain of evidence. Now, I teach documentary research, and so I decided to follow up on his chain of evidence, which I did.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you follow it up?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, Mr. Levine mentioned the fact that he went to a church on Nachodstrasse in Berlin, this being the result of an interrogation he had with General Spiridovitch.

He pressed General Spiridovitch, and General Spiridovitch reluctantly gave him the name of an individual he regarded was the last of the agents that could have had contact with Stalin.

Mr. MORRIS. What was that name?

Mr. TYTELL. Dobroliubov, and that this man was believed dead, but that, in fact, he was hiding out as a sexton in this church, and, as Levine puts it very dramatically, here, among all of this political and foreign intrigue, this man was hiding out. That interested me. It sounded very romantic. So I went to the same church and checked with the priest.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. TYTELL. I have affidavits. That is why I wanted to read this—

Mr. MANDEL. Was it Adamantov?

Mr. TYTELL. No; that was at Wiesbaden; that is another priest. I have here attached the affidavit he gave—the affidavit of my interpreter or guide that I employed in that church. This man was a prisoner of war of the Americans and he spoke very fine English.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. TYTELL. Igor Fromke. And he wrote up what happened for me. And the first man I interviewed was Father Sergius—

Mr. MORRIS. You went there, is that right, to Berlin?

Mr. TYTELL. I was in Berlin. I wanted to visit, actually, the type factory—

Mr. MORRIS. Where was this sexton?

Mr. TYTELL. This alleged sexton was supposed to be working at this church.

Mr. MORRIS. In Berlin?

Mr. TYTELL. Initially, yes; and then, according to Levine—and this priest said he never heard—

Mr. MORRIS. Who was the priest?

Mr. TYTELL. Father Sergius.

Mr. MORRIS. And while there you met this Mr. Fromke?

Mr. TYTELL. He was administering—an altar boy—I explain all of that. And at this point I wanted to be sure I was in the right church, because I had the right priest, or thought I had, and on further interrogation it developed that they had another priest. So I immediately went to visit this other priest on Sunday, but the other priest was preaching someplace else, and so I came back and I was introduced to the second priest, and he was even more emphatic that he never knew of Dobroliubov. And also he had never met Mr. Levine. I showed a book with a picture and neither priest had ever spoken to Levine or Dobroliubov, and neither had a sexton by that name, because the present incumbent sexton had been there the last 25 years. And then Mr. Levine goes on to say how his quarry had fled to this church in Wiesbaden, which had been erected by a prince in the memory of his wife—

Mr. MORRIS. What church?

Mr. TYTELL. It is called the Greek Orthodox Church of Wiesbaden.

Actually, I had planned to go to Wiesbaden anyway, to visit the state center of the Federated—it is called the Bundes Kriminal Amt, Federated German Police. They have, incidentally there—off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. TYTELL. And so then I went to this adjoining cemetery, after. They have a regular guided tour, it is a tourist spot and I interviewed the priest.

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. TYTELL. I have affidavits from him. Archpriest Paul Adamantov.

Mr. MORRIS. And what was the purpose of interviewing him?

Mr. TYTELL. To find out if there was a man by the name of Dobroliubov that this priest had taken Levine—according to Levine's book, this priest had taken Levine, taken him to the tombstone in the cemetery and showed him the final resting place, and I wanted to see this. But there was no tombstone, no grave. I had the grave register read to me, 2 times and there was no name like that going back 15 years. And I interviewed the priest's daughter, who speaks English very well—

Mr. MORRIS. Did the priest himself speak English?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes, not too coherently, but he understands—in fact, he reads English, he reads several languages. And I have an affidavit

here from the priest's daughter who checked the register. We went to the cemetery——

Mr. MORRIS. What names did you look for?

Mr. TYTELL. All the names since the last 15 years and there was no name——

Mr. MORRIS. No similar name?

Mr. TYTELL. No name with any resemblance to Dobroliubov.

Mr. MORRIS. And they did not by any chance point out there was a name resembling that name?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I was looking for any resemblances, I had that in mind that somebody might have had a similar name, but there wasn't any.

Mr. MORRIS. Nor by the first name?

Mr. TYTELL. I didn't have the first name. All I had was the Dobroliubov, that is the second name.

Mr. MORRIS. You did not have the first name?

Mr. TYTELL. No; the book does not speak of any first name, just Dobroliubov.

Mr. MORRIS. But it is your testimony there was not that name or any similar name?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right. And I have also an affidavit from the priest's daughter and from my guide, Fromke, who went with me.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you have copies?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes; I took Fromke with me because I did not know if anybody there could speak English.

Mr. MORRIS. And he was present all the time?

Mr. TYTELL. All the time.

Mr. MORRIS. Shall we make the same arrangement with these exhibits?

Mr. LANE. I make the suggestion Mr. Tytell offer the originals.

Mr. TYTELL. Here are the originals and the photostats. This is Fromke's original. And this is the priest's daughter's—who, incidentally, writes double, a very fascinating way in which to write.

(The material supplied by Mr. Tytell appear as an appendix in this volume.)

Mr. MORRIS. What language is this?

Mr. TYTELL. This is Russian and I have the translation in my speech.

Mr. MORRIS. Is this the only affidavit he gave?

Mr. TYTELL. The priest, Adamantov—it tells that I was there and nobody by the name of Dobroliubov is buried there.

Mr. MORRIS. The specific question: Was there another affidavit he gave?

Mr. TYTELL. Adamantov, no, just one.

Mr. SCOTT. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. The point is that you did ascertain from conversations with Adamantov, the daughter, the register, that there was no one by the name of Dobroliubov or anything like that?

Mr. TYTELL. Dobroliubov or any similar name as having been interred in that cemetery or registered in the grave register.

Mr. MORRIS. And none similar?

Mr. TYTELL. None whatsoever. My guide was very eager to see——

Mr. MORRIS. And Mr. Fromke was the man you took?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How long have you known Mr. Fromke?

Mr. TYTELL. When I employed him.

Mr. MORRIS. You never met him before?

Mr. TYTELL. Never met him before.

Mr. MORRIS. Who recommended him to you?

Mr. TYTELL. Nobody did. I just walked into the church and services were going on and there was beautiful singing and so I listened to the singing for about an hour.

And I felt that this was excellent singing but I was there for a purpose.

So, I asked the sexton, the fellow selling candles if anybody spoke English, and he walked up to the altar and he stopped the entire service and of course I asked what time I could come back without disturbing the service.

And I came back and asked if he would act as the interpreter, and he was on vacation, 3 weeks, at that time and I asked, "Would you like to work with me?"

And he said "I would" and I checked into him, and I have it, and it tells about him, how many children he had, how long he had been working, it is all in there.

Mr. MORRIS. Now, Mr. Tytell, did you go further in connection with your undertaking in Germany?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Where else did you go? Did you check any municipal records?

Mr. TYTELL. No, I did not. All of the records of deaths are carried right in that church, they have a regular book, a bound book which has an official connotation there. I did not inquire whether there were any other records that I could go to because it specifically said here that Dobroliubov is buried in this cemetery.

So, nobody is buried there unless his name is in the bound book and that name was not in it, no record he was buried there, which I thought was sufficient.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you exhausted all the possibilities. First you spoke to the priest.

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. And second—

Mr. TYTELL. First, the man who was the sexton, alleged sexton according to Levine, but this man had been sexton there before, and I asked the priest and they did not know, and there was no one there buried by that name, and when I asked for a further check then the daughter read all of the names from the book and I had her do this twice. And I went to the cemetery and I had the guide check the names, all of the names, I did not want any slipup.

Mr. MORRIS. But no municipal records?

Mr. TYTELL. No municipal records.

Mr. MORRIS. And you checked the other point, no similar names?

Mr. TYTELL. No similar names, absolutely.

Mr. MORRIS. And what next?

Mr. TYTELL. I went to Hamburg.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened there?

Mr. TYTELL. In Hamburg, I went to interview initially the man—the biggest publisher of literature in the field I am interested in, pertaining to office equipment and I went there and engaged a young man from the University of Hamburg—

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. TYTELL. The name was Jurgen Grassel and with Grassel as a guide, we polled the university and asked for students who were competent in English and in German and this man was in the law school there and he had also been in England, and I was sent to this big company, where I was introduced and I employed him and he went with me to the Slavonic section, and I went through all of that and not only that but other factories where they made type, but this specific thing—I went to the University of Hamburg, the Slavonic section, and the upshot was that they told me there that if I wanted real documentary proof, to go to Finland because Finland had been a possession of Russia until 1917 and that is where I could really get the material.

So, from there, after I went to Paris, where I made arrangements to visit certain labs, I went to Finland.

Mr. MORRIS. Did you have a visa to go to Finland?

Mr. TYTELL. No; I did not. I didn't know I would need any visa.

Mr. MORRIS. Well, did you run into any difficulty on that account?

Mr. TYTELL. No.

Mr. MORRIS. You just went in there?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, this is very funny. When I got there they said, "Have you got a visa?" Well, I said that they were expecting me at the university, and the next day, when I got to the university they said, "We have been expecting you." So I had no difficulty.

Mr. MORRIS. What happened in Finland?

Mr. TYTELL. At the university, I spoke to the director's assistant there, and they gave me a girl.

Mr. MORRIS. What was her name?

Mr. TYDELL. Maria Wydnas.

Mr. MORRIS. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. What was the general nature of those documents?

Mr. TYTELL. The affidavits I brought back from Finland, I have microfilms, they are from the same office of the MVD Ministry of Internal Affairs, signed by Yeregin, the man supposed to have signed the questioned document and, actually, there was no resemblance in that signature and the signature on the questioned document. That shows, definitely, it is a phony document, from the point of signature. From the point of typing—I will show you copies of the signature.

Mr. MORRIS. Did anyone make any prearrangements for you as you did this?

Mr. TYTELL. No; I did it all while I was there.

Mr. MORRIS. You were at the university, and they made the arrangement, and they gave you all the material?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right; anybody can go there. This is open material there.

Mr. MORRIS. You have an affidavit on that?

Mr. TYTELL. I have one from Maria Wydnas; I have an affidavit.

Mr. MORRIS. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. TYTELL. The typewriter I finally found at Frankfurt-am-Main, made at the Kleyer-Adler Works.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you learn that?

Mr. TYTELL. Burghhagen had established that.

Mr. MORRIS. Had established what?

Mr. TYTELL. Established that Russian type had been manufactured in America, had been manufactured by Rosmeyer & Biak, by Gooske, and by Adler. And I had checked Rosmeyer, and I had been there, but I had not been in Adler. And I was sure that nobody in America made that type, and so this left Adler, so, when I got there, I spent the whole morning going through—

Mr. MORRIS. In other words, you were now trying to ascertain scientifically this machine made by Adler?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, if it was not made by Adler, then somebody would have had to have made it by hand.

Mr. MORRIS. And did you find it?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes. It was manufactured in 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. How did you learn that?

Mr. TYTELL. From the people at the plant. I told them what I was interested in, and they were very helpful and went through all of the old machines, and the plant superintendent—

Mr. MORRIS. What was his name?

Mr. TYTELL. I don't know his name.

Mr. MORRIS. And you don't have any affidavits from him?

Mr. TYTELL. No, but I took a sample off the machine.

Mr. MORRIS. And you do not have a certification from him it was made by Adler in 1912?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I ran into a problem there. All of their records had been destroyed. The plant had been completely destroyed during the war, so that was the problem, and it was a matter of getting enough people who had been there at the factory, and there were a half a dozen people, and it was discussed, and the conclusion was, more or less, made unanimously that they did not make a Russian typewriter until 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. But there is nothing scientific?

Mr. TYTELL. No; nothing that you could get, because all the records were destroyed.

Mr. MORRIS. And you got this from the superintendent?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right—

Mr. MORRIS. But you don't know his name?

Mr. TYTELL. Well, I was introduced to the fellow.

Mr. MORRIS. Maybe, if you check your records, you could tell us that.

Mr. TYTELL. No; I did not make any notation, other than taking a sample off the typewriter.

Mr. MORRIS. Would you recognize the name if you saw it?

Mr. TYTELL. No; I don't think so.

Mr. MORRIS. It is your testimony you did speak with him?

Mr. TYTELL. Oh, yes, and, if this committee wants to go to this plant and ask the superintendent, you can ask him if he took a typewriter off the showcase, that he never did before—

Mr. MORRIS. Well, the important thing is to try—it is a point of fact to prove it was made in 1912.

Mr. TYTELL. There is nothing definite that I could prove that with; it is strictly this man's opinion and others there, there are no factory records, the records had been destroyed. But Mr. Levine did find out, somewhere, that they did make Russian machines in 1909—let us assume Mr. Levine is right and that they did in 1909; still this document could not have been typed in 1913, unless somebody had put a motor under the machine and struck the keys constantly 24 hours a day to wear the type down to this point where it looks like this [indicating], and I know about that; I have had numerous tests that I have made and I could prove that this machine had been made and was used many years.

Mr. MORRIS. And you make the flat statement it was made in 1912?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes. I flatly state they did not make any Russian machine until 1912, based upon what they told me, but, assuming I am wrong and Mr. Levine is right—

Mr. MORRIS. The only thing is, you made a statement that it was definitely established that Adler's factory first made a Russian typewriter in 1912. Now, you are a man of science—

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. MORRIS. Yes, and when you say something is definitely established, I wonder what documentation you have.

Mr. TYTELL. My documentation is interviewing people that had been there a long time and who agreed it was made in 1912 and, in the absence of any record, I have to believe them and I see no reason not; I see no reason why they would tell me any other date when they did not make it—I mean, this is not materially important to my presentation, now—

Mr. MORRIS. What else did you do at Frankfurt?

Mr. TYTELL. I also wanted to check whether or not an Adler typewriter had ever been used at that time at St. Petersburg.

Sir, we inquired at the church, the Russian church in Hamburg with my guide, and they told us that—about some high dignitaries that were at the old-folks' home at Varel, and that is near Bremerhaven; I got up at 6 o'clock in the morning and I got there and interviewed 2 people. One had been a district attorney and the other had been a clerk, and I have the dates that they were; it is in my article on page 10.

I spoke with Colonel Feodor Yurieff, who worked as Government prosecutor from 1904 to 1917. This man was 3 months away from becoming general, and life had passed him by; they had the revolution 3 months too soon. And Stepan Rusanow; he worked from 1908 to 1918 as typist in various St. Petersburg offices.

And they said they had never seen an Adler and I have got affidavits and the colonel's wife, incidentally, gave me this to show what a fine person her husband was (exhibiting).

When I got back to New York I gave all this material to Mr. Levine except one affidavit, I didn't give this affidavit but all of this other stuff.

Mr. MORRIS. And that was the end of the trip?

Mr. TYTELL. And then I gave the talk.

Mr. SCOTT. Could I ask, I don't know whether I understood your question as to when the machine was built, as to whether or not there was scientific proof that it was not built before 1912, but did I understand you to say that Mr. Tytell had stated that it was—that he had definitely established it?

Mr. MORRIS. I was reading an excerpt from his speech, if I read it correctly—off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. You have no interest in the rehabilitation of Marshal Stalin?

Mr. TYTELL. No.

Mr. MORRIS. I think that is all.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. LANE. I would like the record to show that the paper which has been produced as the New York University tape of Mr. Tytell's talk states:

All the records of the company had been destroyed during the war but from conferences there with the old men who had been with the company for some many years it was definitely established that the Adler Co. first made a Russian typewriter in 1912.

Mr. MORRIS. Anything else, Mr. Lane, that you think should be mentioned before the record is closed?

In the event that we may want to pursue the inquiry in any way, may we have a meeting by my phoning either Mr. Scott or Mr. Lane?

Mr. TYTELL. You mean at my office?

Mr. MORRIS. Well, I don't know—

Mr. TYTELL. Because that is where I have got all of the information you want.

Mr. LANE. Well, if you want any other formal conferences, they can be arranged by telephone.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. MORRIS. That is all, thank you.

(Thereupon, at 4 p. m. the hearing was adjourned.)



SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, JUNE 27, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
Washington, D. C.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 11:30 a. m., in room 404, Senate Office Building, Senator John Marshall Butler presiding.
Also present: William A. Rusher, associate counsel, and Benjamin Mandel, research director.

TESTIMONY OF MARTIN KENNETH TYTELL, ACCOMPANIED BY BYRON N. SCOTT

Senator BUTLER. Will you please raise your right hand. Do you solemnly promise and declare in the presence of the Almighty God that the evidence that you will give to the Internal Security Subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mr. TYTELL. I do.

Senator BUTLER. The witness is sworn, the counsel may proceed.

Mr. RUSHER. This is a regular open hearing of the subcommittee held at the request of this witness, Mr. Tytell, who appeared some time ago in executive session and, as I understand it, wishes to reaffirm in public session the truth of the answers he gave in the executive session, subject to various corrections as to detail and various additions. So I will ask you, Mr. Tytell—

Mr. SCOTT. May I interrupt just a moment to make a statement that I think may clarify the record—just that Mr. Tytell did appear under subpoena in executive session, did give his testimony and later wrote a letter to the committee in which he stated that he thought that perhaps, although he was not sure, one answer that he had given to a question was not as responsive as perhaps the questioner had had in mind when he answered the question at the conclusion of that hearing. Request was made that the testimony given at that executive session be published or made public. It is my understanding that in response to that request, Mr. Tytell was invited to come today to make that testimony public. There was a question in Mr. Tytell's mind then as to whether he wanted to insist on the right to make his testimony public, and in conversation with Judge Morris—was it Judge Morris or Mr. Rusher?—Judge Morris, it was stated that the invitation was a direction to come and that there would not be an adjournment of the hearing.

Mr. RUSHER. I beg your pardon. I think you're referring to a phone conversation I had with Mr. Tytell. It was I and not Mr. Morris.

Senator BUTLER. Are the facts that are stated otherwise correct?

Mr. RUSHER. Yes; I understand they are.

Mr. Tytell, you have read this morning the testimony you gave before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on February 8, 1957?

Mr. TYTELL. I have.

Mr. RUSHER. Do I understand that this letter of which I now show you a photostat, dated March 26, 1957, addressed by you to Robert Morris, makes certain addenda and corrections to your testimony?

Mr. TYTELL. It doesn't make any corrections; I believe it is just addenda. I stand by everything I said previously.

Mr. RUSHER. Is the testimony contained in this transcript of February 8—are the answers that you gave true?

Mr. TYTELL. The answers are true. There are many typographical errors and errors of verbiage, but on the whole this can stand as is to save time.

Senator BUTLER. Now, I don't understand what you mean when you say there is verbiage. What do you mean by that?

Mr. TYTELL. Specific examples would be "we called the University of Hamburg;" the hearing would say "we polled the University of Hamburg." Errors of that type which are not important.

Mr. RUSHER. As to matter of substance, Mr. Tytell, you say that these answers as stated are true. Is that correct?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. RUSHER. And you stand by them?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes.

Mr. RUSHER. Now, Senator, may we introduce into the record at this point a letter which I described a moment ago?

Senator BUTLER. Without objection it will be so ordered.

Mr. RUSHER. That is Mr. Tyteli's letter dated March 26, 1957.

MARTIN K. TYTELL,
EXAMINER OF DISPUTED DOCUMENTS,
New York, N. Y., March 26, 1957.

ROBERT MORRIS, Esq.,
Counsel, Special Subcommittee on Internal Security,
Senate Committee on the Judiciary,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JUDGE MORRIS: Mr. Byron Scott, who as my attorney last week examined the stenographic transcript of my testimony at the hearing on February 8, tells me that the transcript contains the following exchange:

Q. Now, what you were doing, what you are now describing, was a task that you were undertaking in an amateur way, or as a business venture?

* * * * *

A. As a professional challenge.

Q. A professional challenge; you were not working for anyone?

A. Oh, no; as a professional challenge and also material to be used for lectures * * *.

What I was describing was, of course, my investigation of the claims made by Mr. Isaac Don Levine, in his Life article and his book, as to the authenticity of the so-called "Yeremin Letter" dealing with Stalin's prerevolutionary activities.

I stand by everything I said in my testimony, but after reconsidering the exact form of the quoted questions I think now that to make my answer complete I should have added one further fact.

As I recall it, I explained in my testimony how inquiries from my students first aroused my curiosity as to the "Yeremin Letter", and led me to investigate the soundness of Mr. Levine's "proofs" of its genuineness. I began my investigation, as I said, strictly as a professional challenge, and I was at no time working for anyone.

However, I should perhaps have added that not long after I began my investigation it occurred to me that the attorneys for Alger Hiss (for whom I had done some work in connection with his motion for a new trial) might perhaps be interested in the genuineness or spuriousness of a typewritten document sponsored by Mr. Isaac Don Levine. Accordingly, I visited Mr. Chester T. Lane, Mr. Hiss's attorney, and explained to him my suspicions as to the document. He said that he would be very much interested if my investigation should tend to show that the forgery, if it was one, had been done by use of a fabricated typewriter, of the kind he thought had been used to forge the documents in the Hiss case. I said I thought that was a real possibility, and asked if he would be willing to compensate me for my time and expenses to the extent that I concentrated my investigation on this angle. He said he would be glad to do so.

In fact I concluded definitely, well before my trip to Europe, that although the "Yeremin Letter" was almost undoubtedly a forgery there was no reason to believe that it was done by means of a fabricated machine. I so reported to Mr. Lane, and as agreed he paid me for my time and expenses involved in establishing that fact. From that point on I was completely on my own, and neither Mr. Lane nor anyone else paid me anything whatsoever in connection with my further investigation or my trip to Europe.

There is one other minor correction which ought to be made in the transcript. Mr. Ben Mandel, you will recall, produced a document which he identified as a transcript of a tape recording of my speech. Mr. Lane asked Mr. Mandel—off the record, I think—whether this was the WNYC tape, and Mr. Mandel said it was. Then Mr. Lane read a small portion of the document into the record, prefacing his reading by describing the document as "the paper which has been produced as the NYC tape of Mr. Tytell's talk." Presumably your reporter was not familiar with the name of New York's municipal station WNYC, and so transcribed his notes as NYU, or New York University, which is the way the reference appears in the record.

In fact, I have discovered on investigation that there was no tape recording taken by New York University, and that although one was taken by WNYC it was erased within a few minutes, and no transcript of it was ever made. I have this directly from the technician who made the recording and who informed me that it was erased because my movements around the platform made it impossible to secure a satisfactory recording. I have also discovered that Mr. Mandel's source was a police lieutenant who attended my lecture and took a recording for use in a training course he was giving. It would seem desirable that the record be corrected to show the actual source of Mr. Mandel's document. Also, in view of the difficulty experienced by the WNYC operator, it would seem very doubtful whether the transcript the committee has is accurate, and if the committee is going to rely on it, fairness to me requires that I be given a copy, so that I can check it.

I think also that in fairness to me the entire record of the hearing ought to be made public. Before I was called to testify I was harassed by repeated questions and insinuations put to my professional associates by Mr. Levine and by your committee's Mr. Frank. These, as they were repeated to me, were obviously designed to cast doubt on my professional qualifications and my motives in exposing the "Yeremin Letter" as a forgery. Such tactics could only have had the aim of injuring me professionally, and my only real answer to them is to meet them with my sworn testimony before your committee. The committee's rules permit publication of testimony taken at an executive hearing if a majority of the committee approves, and if a witness himself asks that this be done, and no question of national security is involved, common decency requires that his request be honored.

Very truly yours,

MARTIN K. TYTELL.

P. S.—There is an additional correction I would like to make as to the date when I incorporated my typewriter business. The correct date is July 1938.

MR. RUSHER. Now, Mr. Tytell, I would like to ask you just a few questions about the matters in this letter. You state in the letter that before going to Europe you visited Mr. Chester Lane—L-a-n-e—who is the attorney for Alger Hiss, and that you told him certain suspicions you had concerning a typewritten document sponsored by Mr. Isaac Don Levine.

And your letter goes on to say that Mr. Lane was very much interested and that he agreed to compensate you for your time and expenses to the extent that you concentrated your investigation on that subject.

Why was he interested in establishing the spuriousness of this document?

MR. TYTELL. Mr. Lane was interested only in one fact. Now, that is an investigation that might show that a forgery had been done by the use of a fabricated typewriter. That is the only interest of Mr. Lane.

MR. RUSHER. In short, he wanted to establish that forgery by typewriter was a practical possibility?

MR. TYTELL. I didn't say that. Mr. Lane was interested, and is still interested, in any case involving a fabricated typewriter—a type which is used for the purpose of committing forgery by typewriter.

MR. RUSHER. Now you say that he paid you for your time and expenses. Will you tell the committee how much he paid you?

MR. TYTELL. One thousand dollars.

Senator BUTLER. Including expenses?

MR. TYTELL. That included everything—my expenses, my time, and my travel.

Senator BUTLER. You were not then really compensated, because your fare would be more than that.

MR. TYTELL. This is just one phase covering an investigation about the use of a typewriter for the creation of forgery. It had nothing to do with my investigation in Europe, or any other part of the investigation which I did on my own.

MR. RUSHER. Isn't it a fact, though, Mr. Tytell, that in Europe you also actively concerned yourself with establishing a typewriter forgery?

MR. TYTELL. My trip to Europe had nothing to do with Mr. Lane and did not involve any more interest in what Mr. Lane had employed me for. I gave my report to Mr. Lane in the phase that he was interested in long before I left for Europe.

Senator BUTLER. I don't think, Mr. Tytell, you have answered the question you were asked.

MR. RUSHER. I will restate the question. Isn't it a fact that while in Europe you actively investigated a case involving possible typewriter forgery?

MR. TYTELL. It is definitely not a fact.

MR. RUSHER. You didn't inquire about the first date on which a particular typewriter manufacturer made a specific kind of typewriter?

MR. TYTELL. We are speaking about a fabricated typewriter. Mr. Lane's interest is purely in that of a fabricated typewriter. Anything away from fabricated typewriter is of no interest to Mr. Lane.

MR. RUSHER. Will you tell us then—

MR. SCOTT. May I insert a remark?

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. RUSHER. Will you tell us, then, briefly, what the investigation was, for which Mr. Lane did retain you, or pay your expenses?

Mr. TYTELL. It was obvious to me that the statement in Life magazine that the questioned typewriter and the typewriter used to produce the standard were not the same make and model, that the representation as given by Life was false. It was also obvious to me that the expert whom Mr. Isaac Don Levine had consulted, and according to the statement of Life and of Isaac Don Levine, that the expert had said that the two typewriters were the same make and model was also false. To the extent that I could, on my own, without giving it full time, I checked my files thoroughly. I also checked with the Remington Rand office in New York City, and the more I checked the more convinced I was that there was something very wrong with the picture as presented in Life, and that there was good possibility that somebody had created a typewriter to type the Yerebin document.

At one point in my research I explained how I felt to Mr. Lane, and Mr. Lane said that he would be interested to have me go further and to investigate and to show that a fabricated typewriter had been used to prepare the Yerebin document. Mr. Lane believe that a fabricated typewriter was used to prepare the Baltimore documents in the Hiss case, and that is why he was interested.

When I reported back to Mr. Lane that a fabricated typewriter was not used, he paid me. I would not take the research for Mr. Lane on any contingency. My answer whether it was or was not a fabricated machine had nothing to do with my fee.

Mr. RUSHER. And, also, as I understand it, you are distinguishing whether it was a fabricated machine from the question of the authenticity of the document. Is that correct?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. RUSHER. In other words, while you remained unconvinced of the authenticity of the document, you became convinced it had not been written on the fabricated machine?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. RUSHER. And Mr. Lane's payments to you were only for investigations conducted in this country?

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. RUSHER. You mentioned Elmira, N. Y.

Mr. TYTELL. That is right.

Mr. RUSHER. Now, what happened at Elmira?

Mr. TYTELL. In Elmira, Mr. Earl Palmered, a man who has been with Remington Rand for 50 years, approximately—for a good number of years he was a final aliner; a final aliner is one who does the final inspection operation of the type on a typewriter; he takes off the final sheet which is filed to show the actual typing impressions of the machine. Today Mr. Palmered is in an executive capacity on final inspections.

Mr. Palmered, as a hobby, or because of his deep interest in special foreign-language types, took me to his home where he has a collection of various oriental and Cyrillic typewriter keyboards, off actual typewriters which he alined, going back for about half a century. He and I went over in great detail every Russian specimen he had, to see if any of them compared in class characteristics with that of the Yerebin document.

At Elmira, I also went over all the type specimens that they had in their printed catalogs, going as far back as their records were kept.

Some of the people who worked with me in Elmira on this problem were Mr. Redmond, Mr. Bruce Raye, Mr. John Strong, Mr. Floyd Adams, chief type designer. By the end of the day in Elmira, the people who worked with me, and I, were of the opinion that the Yere-min document was definitely not typed on a Remington typewriter or on any machine having Remington type soldered on to it.

MR. RUSHER. Mr. Tytell, have you ever received any fee from Mr. Lane other than the one already described?

MR. TYTELL. Yes; I received a fee for the work I did for Mr. Lane in connection with the Alger Hiss appeal for a new trial on newly discovered evidence.

MR. RUSHER. Was that before or after the particular retainer you have described heretofore?

MR. TYTELL. That was about 1951.

MR. RUSHER. In other words, earlier?

MR. TYTELL. Yes; about 6 years ago.

MR. RUSHER. Are those the only two fees he has paid you?

MR. TYTELL. Yes.

MR. RUSHER. Are those the only two jobs you have done for him, independently of whether you received a fee?

MR. TYTELL. Let me put it this way. I have called Mr. Lane to ask him questions regarding some lectures I have given at Brooklyn College, New York Institute—

MR. RUSHER. Beyond such phone calls and the two investigations you have described, have you done any other work for him, whether paid for or not?

MR. TYTELL. Not that I can think of.

MR. RUSHER. Could you say, definitely, "No"?

MR. TYTELL. We are covering a period of 1951-57. I may have had conversations with him. There is nothing major that would involve a fee. I may have—

MR. RUSHER. Do I understand that, aside from occasional phone conversations or short conferences at your request, there has been no other major undertaking for Mr. Lane?

MR. TYTELL. That is correct.

MR. RUSHER. And only those two fees?

MR. TYTELL. That is correct.

MR. RUSHER. Just so we can have a terminal date, can you tell us when your last report was given to Mr. Lane?

MR. TYTELL. I cannot give you an exact date. I will say it was around the last week in June or the first week in July of 1956.

MR. RUSHER. Was your report to Mr. Lane in writing?

MR. TYTELL. No; it was an oral report, but I did give him several little diagrams, such as we used in my speech, to illustrate my conclusion, and I did show him photographs of material I have here, which you may be interested in seeing, and I will be glad to show you.

MR. RUSHER. You did not put in writing the conclusion, however, for which he had paid the thousand dollars?

MR. TYTELL. My reports to him were very informal. They were merely vague statements as to what I was doing, the techniques I was using to make a determination.

Mr. RUSHER. And it is your statement that none of the costs of your trip to Europe were paid by Mr. Lane, nor was he concerned in any investigations you conducted there. Is that correct?

Mr. TYTELL. Yes; that is correct. Naturally, I did telephone Mr. Lane when I came back from Europe, and told him of my findings, and also went up to see him and showed him my speech I was going to deliver before the American Association for the Advancement of Science. But this was definitely in the nature of a social meeting, rather than one of a professional nature where I would be retained for this part of the investigation. I want to make that very clear.

Mr. RUSHER. I have no further questions.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. SCOTT. Objection is entered now to the designated scope of investigation to which the question of Mr. Tytell has contributed. That is, it is his feeling that he is not being investigated as a possible espionage agent; that he is called upon by the committee to give information that may be of value to it in its investigative work, but not of him as a possible espionage agent. Mr. Tytell stands ready to assist the committee at any time with its work, but does not want his testimony published under the general designation of "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States."

Mr. RUSHER. I can only say this: There is no allegation here, and never has been, that Mr. Tytell is an espionage agent. The title for the series of hearings is a standard one, from which I think no such unwarranted inference should be drawn.

Senator BUTLER. The subcommittee will stand in recess until call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, the subcommittee hearing adjourned at 12:20 p. m.)

SCOPE OF SOVIET ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1957

UNITED STATES SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL
SECURITY LAWS, OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,
New York, N. Y.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 12:20 p. m., in room 36, United States Courthouse, Foley Square, New York City, Senator Olin D. Johnston (South Carolina) presiding.

Also present: Robert Morris, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; Roy Garcia and Nelson Frank, consultants.

Mr. MORRIS. This is the Reverend Michael Korchak-Sivitsky.

Senator JOHNSTON. Will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the evidence you give in this case will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KORCHAK-SIVITSKY (through interpreter). Yes.

Senator JOHNSTON (to the interpreter). Do you swear that you will interpret to the best of your knowledge what is conveyed to you, and convey it to us?

Miss GINSBURG. Yes; I will.

Mr. MORRIS. Senator, this testimony this morning is being taken subsequent to the testimony taken of Mr. Martin K. Tytell who has already testified before the subcommittee.

Late in 1956 there appeared in the American press various announcements to the effect that John Santo, a former member of the Communist Party, U. S. A., who had been voluntarily deported to Soviet Hungary, had left that country, that he was in Vienna, and was willing to testify before a congressional committee regarding his defection from communism.

Moved by an interest in this case, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee asked Mr. Benjamin Mandel, its research director, to interview Mr. Santo in Vienna early in January 1957, with a view to possibly securing Mr. Santo as a witness.

In the meantime certain articles had appeared in the (Communist) Daily Worker, specifically on December 31, 1956; January 6, 1957; January 13, 1957; and January 20, 1957, which articles dealt with the alleged revelations of Martin K. Tytell whom this publication referred to as a scientist with a lifelong passion for questionable documents; as a lecturer on police science at Brooklyn College and New York University; and as a document expert who had been used previously in the case of Alger Hiss to establish forgery by typewriter.

Mr. Tytell addressed the American Association for the Advancement of Science on December 29, 1956, and his remarks were reprinted in the Worker of January 13, 1957, pages 3 and 14. The effect of the articles was to defend Premier Stalin.

Concerned about the possibility that Communists might be embarking on a campaign to rehabilitate Marshal Stalin, the subcommittee decided to learn what Mr. Tytell was doing. It, therefore, asked Mr. Mandel to look into certain phases of Mr. Tytell's investigation while in Europe on the Santo matter.

Senator, we have here the previous testimony, and we would like to take now the testimony of Mr. Benjamin Mandel.

Mr. Mandel, I wonder if you would stand to be sworn?

Senator JOHNSON. Do you swear the evidence you give to this committee to be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MANDEL. I do.

Mr. MORRIS. In connection with your testimony, Mr. Mandel, you have 26 exhibits, do you not?

TESTIMONY OF BENJAMIN MANDEL

Mr. MANDEL. I do. Before submitting my testimony, let me insert into the record certain data necessary for an understanding of the exhibits which I propose to present.

The Worker of January 13, 1957, pages 3 and 14, printed a report titled:

"Exposing a Documentary Hoax" * * * delivered by a distinguished scientist, Martin K. Tytell, December 29, 1956, before one of the seminars of the American Academy of Social Science, on Science Versus Crime. * * * Mr. Tytell is a lecturer at several universities on criminology and is recognized as an expert on questioned documents.

The correct title of the organization before which this report was given was American Association for the Advancement of Science, which met at the Hotel Statler in New York City. The meeting was cosponsored by the Society for the Advancement of Criminology. Mr. Tytell's report dealt with an article in Life magazine dated April 23, 1956, by Isaac Don Levine, called Stalin's Great Secret, which included A Document on Stalin as Czarist Spy. The article was later expanded into a book.

In this report reprinted in the Worker of January 13, 1957, Mr. Tytell is quoted as follows:

My investigation led me abroad to Germany in July of this year. In Frankfurt I found that the questioned document was in fact written on an Adler—a

machine manufactured in Germany. The Adler factory was demolished by bombing and, therefore, a determination of the date of the machine used for the questioned document was impossible.

However, company employees who had been manufacturing typewriters for many years, stated that Russian type which produced the questioned document was first manufactured in the year 1912.

According to Mr. Tytell, the book mentioned a certain "Dobroliubov, who had been an officer of the Okhrana, or czarist secret police" who had died and been buried in the cemetery of a Russian chapel in Wiesbaden, Germany.

Mr. Tytell's report stated:

The next day I left Berlin for Wiesbaden, taking Fromke with me to act as interpreter.

Mr. Tytell explained that Igor Fromke was a ministrant at the Greek Orthodox Church on Nachodstrasse in Charlottenburg, Berlin.

Speaking of his trip to the chapel, Mr. Tytell declared:

I spoke to the local priest * * *. This priest too knew nothing of Dobroliubov and had never heard the name in his tenure at the church dating back to 1908 * * *.

I went through the adjoining cemetery; there was no tombstone for Dobroliubov. There was no record in the church registry of deaths, going back to 1945, of a burial of such an individual or anyone bearing a name similar to Dobroliubov.

I arrived in Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, on January 15, 1957, and remained there until January 16, 1957. During this time I visited the Russian Church, also called the Greek Chapel, located at 99 Kappellenstrasse, Wiesbaden, Germany. It is also known as the Russian Orthodox Church of Wiesbaden. I interviewed Archpriest Pavel Adamantov, the head of this church, and his daughter, Anastasia Adamantov, who speaks English fluently. Her father understands a little English but speaks only Russian.

I left for Vienna to interview Mr. John Santo and remained there from January 16 to January 21 when I returned to Frankfurt-am-Main, remaining until January 25, 1957.

Between January 21 and 25 I visited the Russian Orthodox Church again.

I asked Archpriest Adamantov, through his daughter Anastasia, about the grave of Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky, also known as Dobroskok and Dobroliubov and the visit of Martin K. Tytell to the church on this matter. Permit me at this point to place in the record as exhibit 1, a photograph taken at my direction, of the Russian Orthodox Church.

(The photograph was marked "Exhibit No. 492" and is reproduced below:)



Russian Greek Orthodox Church at 99 Kappellenstrasse, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 2 is a booklet I obtained at the church containing additional photographs and entitled "The Russian Church on the Neroberg in Wiesbaden, usually called the Greek Chapel."

(The cover of the pamphlet referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 492-A" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 492-A

**THE
RUSSIAN CHURCH**

on the Neroberg in Wiesbaden

usually called

THE GREEK CHAPEL

Eigenverlag des Kirchenvorstandes

Reproduction of the cover of a 26-page descriptive pamphlet entitled "The Russian Church on the Neroberg in Wiesbaden, usually called the Greek Chapel."

Mr. MANDEL. As exhibit 3, I present a certified abstract in the Russian language, from the Russian Orthodox Church register dated February 1 (old calendar) and February 14 (new calendar), 1947, showing the death of Col. Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky, aged 65, and ask that a certified translation be made by the Library of Congress and placed in the record.

(The abstract referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 493," and is reproduced below, followed by an English translation:)

EXHIBIT No. 493

Православная
Русская церковь

въ с. ВИСБАДЕНЬ Германия.

Wiesbaden, ~~Kapellenstr. 99~~

Kapellenstr. 99

ВЫШИСЬ ИЗЪ МЕТРИЧЕСКОЙ КНИГИ,

ЧАСТЬ ТРЕТИЯ

О УМЕРШИХЪ

за 1947 года.

выдаваемая приютомъ города Висбадена православной русской церкви

во имя Св. Праведницы Елизаветы.

Abstract from church record recording death of Dobrovolsky

[Translation]

Russian Orthodox Church at Wiesbaden (Germany)
Kapellenstr. 99.
Wiesbaden

EXCERPT FROM THE BOOK OF VITAL STATISTICS

Part 3

PERTAINING TO THE DEATH

FOR THE YEAR 1947

Issued by the Russian Orthodox Church of the Blessed Saint Elizabeth at Wiesbaden.

Item No. : Male 2.

Month and date of death : February 1/14.

Month and date of burial : February 9/22.

Occupation, name, father's name and family name of deceased : Colonel of the Russian Army in retirement, Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky.

Age of the deceased : 65.

Cause of death : Apoplexy.

Confession and the last rites : Performed by the pastor, Michael Korchak-Sivitskii.

Вопросы из журналов книг, часть

Журнал № 7

<p>№ 1</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>
<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>	<p>1941</p>

Полковник артиллерии
сержант в артиллерии
Молодой артиллерии
сержант в артиллерии

отбыл службу
исполнение

Полковник артиллерии
сержант в артиллерии
Молодой артиллерии
сержант в артиллерии



В ПОСЛЕДНИЙ РАЗ...

Исполнительный директор

Who conducted the burial services and where buried: Very Rev. Pavel Adamantov, assisted by the deacon, Vassili Chekmarev, and sacristan, Iakov Kashchenko; buried at the Russian Orthodox cemetery at Wiesbaden.

No. 5/1957.

[SEAL (of Russian Orthodox Church at Wiesbaden)].

In virtue thereof we sign below and affix the seal of the church.

WIESBADEN, *January 21, 1957.*

Pastor of the church: Archpriest PAVEL ADAMANTOV,
Sacristan IAKOV KASHCHENKO.

(Translated by George Starosolsky, Translator, Library of Congress, September 27, 1957.)

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 4 is a photograph which shows Archpriest Pavel Adamantov signing the above document with his daughter Anastasia at the upper right. Exhibit 5 is a photograph showing the archpriest sealing the above document.

(The above described photographs were marked "Exhibit 494 and 494A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 494



Photograph of Archpriest Pavel Adamantov signing death certificate referred to above. Photo was taken in his home. Woman on extreme right is his daughter.

EXHIBIT No. 494-A



Archpriest Adamantov affixes his seal to the Dobrovolsky death certificate.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 6 is a photograph of the cemetery of the Russian Orthodox Church showing Archpriest Pavel Adamantov and others.

(The photograph was marked "Exhibit No. 495" and is reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 495



Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 7 is a photograph of a wooden cross headstone in this cemetery with the inscription in Russian with the name Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky, 5.1.1882, 14.2.1947 which was explained to me as the birth and death date of the deceased.

(The photograph described above was marked "Exhibit No. 496" and is reproduced below, followed by a translation of the marker:)

EXHIBIT No. 496



Wooden cross marking Dobrovolsky grave.

[Translation, inscription on wooden cross headstone]

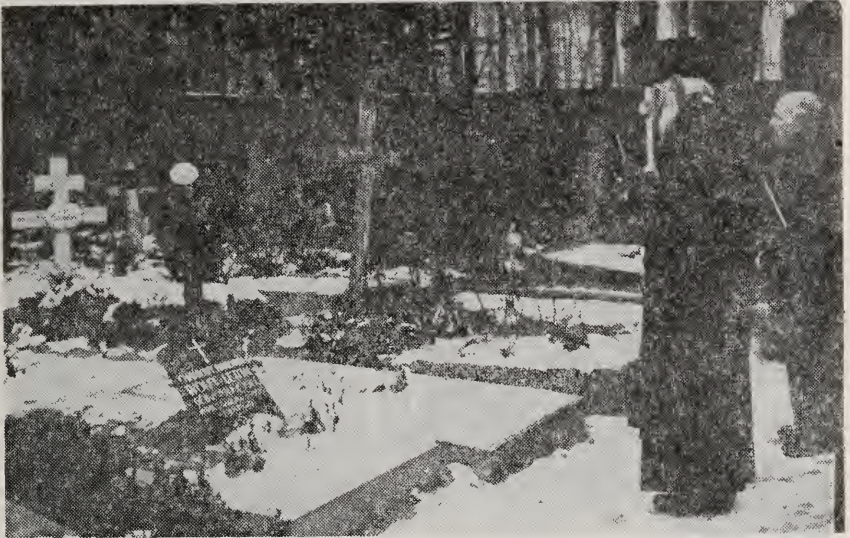
Colonel Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky
January 5, 1882—February 14, 1947

(Translated by George Starosolsky, translator, Library of Congress, September 27, 1957.)

MR. MANDEL. Exhibit 8 is a photograph of Archpriest Pavel Adamantov with his assistant, Iakov Kaschenko in the Russian Orthodox Church cemetery near the wooden cross headstone of Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky.

(The photograph described above was marked "Exhibit No. 496-A" and is reproduced below :)

EXHIBIT No. 496-A



Archpriest Adamantov and an assistant standing before the grave of Dobrovolsky (marked by dark wood cross). Grave is in second tier of the cemetery.

MR. MANDEL. Exhibit 9 is another photograph of Archpriest Pavel Adamantov at the grave of Ivan Vassilievich Dobrovolsky.

(The photograph was marked "Exhibit No. 496-B" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 496-B



MR. MANDEL. Exhibit 10 is a photostat copy of a handwritten inscription signed by Martin K. Tytell with his visiting card in the book "The World's Greatest Spy Stories" by Kurt Singer, given to Archpriest Pavel Adamantov on July 17, 1956, and in turn given to me when I visited the archpriest. The book contains, on pages 91 to 108, a reprint of the article The \$7,500 Typewriter I Built for Alger Hiss by Martin Tytell for True magazine, for August 1952.

(The photostat of the note, and the publishers' "blurb" on the dust-cover of the volume was marked "Exhibit No. 497" and is reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 497

THE WORLD'S
GREATEST SPY STORIES

Edited by

KURT SINGER

In his latest book, Dr. Singer, one of the world's foremost authorities on spies and espionage, has gathered a remarkable collection of true spy stories, with the emphasis on the modern and up-to-date.

These he has neatly balanced with some of the finest spy fiction of recent years, including pieces by Joseph Conrad, Somerset Maugham, Edgar Wallace, Pearl Buck and Eric Ambler.

Treason has been the author's business for more than twenty years. He was "wanted" for "high treason," himself by both Nazis and Communists; he has seen revolutions, betrayal, perfidy and deception; and he has always fought back for the forces of democracy.

This book should have a worthy place beside his earlier works on a subject which seems to have an eternal fascination for most people.

12s 6d net

W. H. ALLEN

July 17, 1956

To Father Administrator
in his charming biography
discusses
with high regard
an appealing day
met for
M. Mandel

MARTIN K. TYTELL
EXAMINER OF DISPARSED DOCUMENTS,
EXHIBIT COURT TESTIMONY

DECEMBER 3, 1956

125 FULTON STREET
NEW YORK CITY

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 11 is a photostatic copy of this article as it appeared in True magazine for August 1952.

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 498" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 498

[From True magazine, August 1952]

THE \$7,500 TYPEWRITER I BUILT FOR ALGER HISS

(As far as typewriter-expert Tytell knew, a job like the one Alger Hiss lawyers wanted had never been done before. This is how he did it)

By Martin Tytell As Told to Harry Kursh

It began for me in the latter part of March 1950, less than 2 months after Alger Hiss, convicted of perjury, had implied that he was the victim of a "forgery by typewriter." I was sitting at my desk behind a jungle of papers and typewriter parts when a tall, lean young man of about 28 came in. He carried a bulging briefcase by its handle and, standing over my desk, peered intently at me from behind thick horn-rimmed glasses.

He identified himself as a member of the Hiss defense staff and seemed to have trouble expressing what was on his mind. He stammered for a few moments. "I once read something about you," he said.

Then he came right to the point. "Do you believe typewriters can be duplicated?" he asked.

"I don't see why not," I replied.

He sat down on a stool near my desk. "Do you think you can duplicate a typewriter?" His eyes had an anxious look.

"I've never given it any real thought. What have you in mind?"

He sat straight up. Then, looking squarely at me, he said, "Alger Hiss's attorney, Chester T. Lane, would like to engage you to assist in proving that two typewriters can be made to type so much alike that it would be confusing for experts to distinguish between documents typed on either of them."

"Hiss had two jury trials," I said. "And he was convicted. How many trials do you want? It would be a waste of time even to try."

He thanked me for my opinion and left, but only to return the following day. "I know how you feel about the case," he said, "but we're not asking you to be pro- or anti-Hiss. Would you be willing to take the job on as an experiment?"

Actually, my first reaction was that I didn't want to have anything to do with the controversial Hiss case. I thought I'd discourage him. I told him I could not guarantee success, since I had never attempted such a job.

"Whatever results I come up with," I added, "will become public information. I don't withhold any of my knowledge from document experts. If I should fail, it would undoubtedly hurt your case."

"It probably would," he said, "but we want an intensive scientific study. We're willing to take a chance on the results, if you're willing, of course, to take a chance on your reputation."

I thought it was shrewd of him to put it that way. Then I said emphatically, "But if I do succeed, it will upset the entire theory of identifying typewritten documents. It might even set criminals free. It might cast doubt on every conviction ever obtained based on typewritten evidence. Don't you know the experts have never even considered the possibility that typewriters can be forged?"

His answer was simple. "That's quite true. The ends of justice, however, are served only when all known factors concerning evidence have been exposed and properly considered under law."

Finally I agreed to take the assignment on the condition that I do it only in my spare time, in my own way, without control or dictation from any members of the Hiss defense staff, and purely as a scientific experiment. He agreed to this and said Chester Lane would draw up the agreement.

Newspaper columnists around the country have been attempting to explain how I did the job, some reporting my fee as high as \$30,000. As to how I did the job, not one guessed correctly. As to how much I got for the job, I can lay that erroneous report to rest right now.

On April 17, 1950, Chester Lane came to my office with a written agreement, which stated I was to receive \$2,500 in advance to conduct the experiment and that upon the completion of my work I was to receive another \$5,000. That's what I got. However, the agreement further stated: "It is understood that you will work solely from [typewritten] samples without access to or inspection of the machine on which the samples are typed."

Actually, it was the Hiss defense staff that had found Woodstock No. 230,099 even though more than two dozen FBI men had turned Washington, D. C., inside out to find it. Edward McLean, one of Hiss's attorneys, in April 1949, traced it to a man named Ira Lockey, a trucker who said he had gotten it from a family named Marlow in exchange for a house-moving job. I knew this; and my original impression was that I would simply make castings of the machine's individual type faces, insert them in a similar Woodstock model and adjust the entire machine to reproduce the original. The realization that I would have to work without the actual machine before me stunned me. I was to work only with the specimens of typing from the so-called Hiss Woodstock. But that made the challenge all the greater, and I decided to go ahead.

Like millions of Americans I had followed accounts of the Alger Hiss trials, but throughout both of them (the first trial ended in a hung jury) I was also busy with my chores running the Tytell Typewriter Co. at my two-story Fulton Street shop in lower Manhattan. It's a quarter-million dollar business I've built up from scratch over the past 15 years—buying, renting, repairing and selling typewriters. I am 39 years old, but I've been handling typewriters more than half my lifetime. As a result I have been able to acquire certain skills that have given me an international reputation, mainly because I can convert, within 24 hours, any standard American typewriter to type in practically any language you can name. When I was a GI in the last war, the OSS had me "discharged" from the Army for 3 months so that I could fulfill a top-secret typewriter project. I am consulted regularly by criminologists.

It was typewriter evidence that formed the core of the case against Alger Hiss. He was convicted officially on two counts of perjury committed before an espionage-hunting Federal grand jury in December 1948. But even a school kid knew that behind it all lay ex-Communist Whittaker Chambers' spectacular charges that Hiss had been passing him confidential State Department data up until the time Chambers deserted the Communist Party in April 1938. The Government charged that 42 out of 43 such documents produced by Chambers had been written on the same typewriter as a number of notes and letters admittedly typed in the Hiss home during the same period.

Through more than 8,000 pages and 2,300,000 words of trial testimony, Woodstock typewriter model No. 230,099, built around August 1929, sat on the courtroom table in New York's Foley Square. It was conceded at the time of the trial to have belonged to the Hisses. Government prosecutor Thomas F. Murphy used the typewriter to bring his case against Hiss to a flashing climax. Pointing dramatically to the machine he told the jury that if ever there was a charge against Hiss, that typewriter was "the immutable witness forever against" him. In fact, Hiss himself practically labeled the typewriter the same way.

When the lean and youthful-looking ex-State Department official stood sober-faced before Federal Judge Henry W. Goodard on January 25, 1950, he was granted permission to make a statement before sentencing.

In a packed courtroom the reporters could be seen leaning forward intently, pencils poised, for what was expected to be a dramatic declaration of innocence—or a confession! But Hiss declared simply:

"I am confident that in the future all the facts will be brought out to show how Whittaker Chambers was able to commit forgery by typewriter. Thank you, sir."

What did Hiss mean? Undoubtedly, he meant that somewhere, somehow, someone got hold of letters that had actually been typed on his Woodstock when he owned it. Then these letters were used to make a machine that would reproduce specimens—or documents—with the same characteristics of typewriter habits, typeface design, deviations, and flaws. The experts must have laughed.

Much of the expert opinion today comes from a handful of professional men known as the American Society of Questioned Document Examiners. Ramos Feehan, FBI expert on questioned documents, fulfilled that role for the government's case against Hiss by comparing the copied State Department documents to letters written by the Hisses on their Woodstock back in 1937.

Using easels, charts, and photographic blowups, Feehan showed the jury how the small *a*, *d*, *e*, *g*, *i*, *l*, *o*, *u*, and the capital *A* in the evidence had all the earmarks of the same type faces found in the Hiss letters. That would be upsetting evidence in any man's court. Feehan's accuracy was not contested by the defense.

Is there a chance that identity between typewriter characteristics could crop up accidentally in two different machines? Possibly. But such a coincidence is remote, to say the least. This was effectively demonstrated by a Cornell University mathematics professor, Virgil Snyder, in a 1911 New York Supreme Court case, the *People v. Risley*.

Risley had been accused of fraudulently altering an affidavit by typewriter. During the course of the trial, Professor Snyder testified that the chances of only six type characters appearing accidentally with identical design and deviations in the same six type characters of another machine would have to be expressed as somewhere between one in 3 trillion to 4 trillion—a virtually impossible accident. FBI expert Feehan was content to point out *ten* such similarities in the Hiss trial!

Oddly enough, the Risley trial is the only known case in which a conviction was obtained because it was shown that Risley had actually attempted to alter type faces on one machine to duplicate another. The attempt was made by a typewriter mechanic in a second-hand typewriter shop but was crude and readily discovered. The mechanic later testified, though, that he had been suspicious of Risley's intentions and had not made as many alterations as he should have. I was setting out to make the duplication as complete and accurate as I could.

Unusual jobs aren't anything new to me—though this one promised to be in a class by itself. My customers include professionals ranging from designers and architects to druggists, chemists, engineers, astronomers, and a newspaper columnist who writes on bridge. I design and build keyboards for them in the special symbols of their respective fields. For musicians I have made keyboards with musical notes. For a well-known mystery writer I once designed a keyboard with a variety of crosses and bones, and an astronomer once left my office with a typewriter containing a fantastic array of space symbols, such as ringed planets, comets and stars. A few years ago, I had a man ask me to build him a typewriter with question marks—nothing but question marks. On top of that, he wanted each symbol to fall at a certain level above or below the line. It was probably the weirdest request I've ever received. I completed the job according to his specifications, but I never did learn what it was all about.

Perhaps one of my most interesting jobs found me a Pfc. in the Army. I got into the Army in January 1943. A few months later I was discharged, but not for good. It seems that the U. S. Government had seized a contraband shipment of 100 Siamese typewriters leaving for ports unknown. Nobody knew what to do with such a strange catch. They were placed under the custody of the National City Bank in New York. It was at a time when we ourselves were experiencing a serious war-bred shortage of typewriters.

Few knew at the time that one of the most urgent needs for typewriters with foreign-language keyboards was with OSS forces planted in different countries. Someone suggested that the Siamese typewriters be converted for this use. But there was trouble in finding a man for the job. And, with the materials shortage, there was trouble in finding the appropriate foreign type and symbols. I already had many of these in my shop. I stock more than 2 million type faces, mostly foreign-language and technical.

Fortunately, I had once done some unique foreign-language work for a National City Bank branch manager. When he heard about the need for converting the typewriters, he passed my name along, together with the suggestion that I could convert them for use on several languages at a time.

One day in August 1943, while I was assigned as a typewriter repairman at Fort Jay in New York, a confidential order came through from the War Production Board in the form of a directive. It asked my command to release me for a top-secret job. No one at Fort Jay knew what it was all about; neither did I. When I was confronted with the problem, I told top Army brass in Washington that I could make each of the typewriters work for many languages. I was told to use my own shop, which was being run by my wife largely for typewriter rentals—still a good part of my business today—because they did not want word of the project to leak out. The typewriters had to be flown overseas, then dropped by parachute to dozens of OSS underground headquarters.

In order to keep the project under a tight lid, I was actually discharged from the Army on August 25, 1943, and given a Certificate of Service to certify that I had "served in the active Army" in order to keep my draft board from getting too inquisitive and to keep the cops from picking me up. Once in mufti, I returned to my shop and sealed off an entire section of one workroom. I did every-

thing possible to keep my work secret. But I had to make up some strange stories for a lot of curious neighbors who, until they read this, never could figure out why I had been released from the Army after only a few months of service. I have always been on the tall, round and broad-shouldered side, so to them I was the healthiest 4-F ever seen under a shock of light brown hair.

Within three months, I had completed my assignment. The Siamese keyboard had forty-six type bars. Hence, I was able to do more with them than I had done with any other machine. I was able to arrange a keyboard that could be used for seventeen languages in all, including French, Spanish, Czech, Hungarian, Turkish, Danish and German. I never did learn just where they were dropped.

When I was "re-enlisted," I was returned to Fort Jay. There I was placed in charge of typewriter repair and given similar responsibility over 14,000 machines in the New York area—with a crew of more than a dozen technicians and still a Pfc. Later, I was made a staff sergeant in time to be discharged as such on November 26, 1945.

Unquestionably, though, I still consider work on tracing questioned documents my most exciting and challenging assignments. But for excitement and challenge, I'd never had anything to compare with the job I was starting out to do on the Hiss case. This promised to be the biggest one yet.

To get started, I asked Lane's secretary to get specimens for me from Woodstock No. 230,099. I asked her for single-spaced pages of typing with whole lines of capital A's, then whole lines of small a's and to continue like that until she had covered every symbol on the machine. Then I asked her to do the same thing over, except to place capital N's and H's next to each letter, like NaNaNa, HaHa-Ha. The N's and H's act as guides against which other letters can be properly aligned. The reason is simple.

Most typewriters carry pica or elite type. Any ten symbols on a pica machine, including space between letters, fill a horizontal inch. Six vertical lines of type also cover an inch. On an elite machine the only difference is that it takes twelve symbols to fill a horizontal inch. The Hiss Woodstock is a pica machine. Each of its letters, therefore, fills an imaginary rectangle of one-tenth of an inch horizontally and one-sixth of an inch vertically. Any divergence from this alinement is consequently one of the means by which experts trace typewritten documents. The letters N and H are neat guides against which a mechanic can work to make one specimen of typewriting match another in perfect alignment.

After I got the specimens I had asked for, I went to my own morgue of beat-up typewriters, which I have collected over the years as a source of parts, and I selected a Woodstock model No. 231,195. It undoubtedly was built in the same year as No. 230,099, if not during the same month. I compared specimens from both under a magnifying glass and a binocular comparison microscope. When I first looked at these side by side, I noticed that my specimens had far fewer inconsistencies than those taken from the Hiss machine. The latter appeared alien to Woodstock. In fact, this led me to remark facetiously to a member of Lane's staff that I was making a forgery of a forgery.

In making a forgery, however, you have to be concerned with more than differences in type-face defects and design. To prevent detection by the experts, you have to create the same regular or irregular alignment pattern that may show up in specimens of the machine you are forging. You'd also have to get the same regularity of shading. For instance, since it's almost impossible to get each type face to print uniformly by striking dead center, as it should, magnification by experts will show up a regular pattern of certain letters darker or lighter on one side.

My major task was to get all the typeface defects and characteristics of the Hiss machine engraved into other Woodstock type faces. Since forgery was never my line, I decided to enlist the services of a topnotch hand engraver. Every expert engraver I visited in New York refused the job when I told him it was in connection with an assignment from the Hiss legal defense. I was finally able to locate a retired engraver in a small New Jersey town. Interested by the experimental nature of the job, he consented to take on the assignment. I brought an old Woodstock with me and taught him how to remove type.

I gave him some photographic blowups of typing from the Hiss machine and asked him, as a test, to duplicate any two type faces in the blowups. A few days later I returned to pick up what he had done. He said it was a slow, tedious job, but not difficult. That evening I examined the results of his work under the microscope. His success was amazing. I knew from then on all that had to be done was for me to give him enough type on which he could copy the exact characteristics of the Hiss machine type faces. I would then solder the forged type

faces onto my Woodstock type bars—the slender metal fingers which fly up to strike the paper. This would be followed by the mechanical adjustments.

Meanwhile, I knew that the end results of my work would have to be scrutinized by an outstanding document examiner. His job would be to examine any specimens against the Hiss specimens and, with his fresh and expert eyes, detect flaws that might escape me. I also wanted other opinions about the possibility of accomplishing what I had set out to do. All document examiners I had visited refused a professional assignment to assist me. Instead, they berated me.

Once I went to see Albert D. Osborn, a heavy-set balding man of about 50, whose father, the late Albert S. Osborn, is considered the founder of scientific questioned-document examination. He greeted me cordially but formally in his Woolworth Building office. He told me that he had heard some disquieting news—that I was doing “something illegal.” That surprised me. But I was really shocked when he added that it would get me into a lot of trouble.

It seems that word had got around. Like others I had visited, he declined to take on the assignment, on the ground that success in my task would not serve the ends of justice. It was my old argument thrown right back at me.

“If anything,” I told him, “I am undertaking a purely scientific experiment. Any knowledge we can gain from it would help, not hinder, justice. If there is something we don’t know about questioned typewritten documents, now is as good a time as any to find out.”

When I left his office, I was considerably upset. Here was the man who had testified in the famous trial of Bruno Hauptmann, later executed for kidnaping and murdering the Lindbergh baby. Here was the man who first introduced ultraviolet light to document examination. Was I really doing something wrong, and in the end, perhaps, making a fool of myself?

I went to my bookshelf that night and pulled out *Questioned Document Problems* by Albert S. Osborn, which I consider the most authoritative book in its field. I had read it many times before. I was up all night reading it again. This time I was struck by this statement toward the end of the book: “The scientific spirit seeks the truth at all hazards and gradually unlocks the great secrets and brings about the desirable reforms.” (My italics.) It was enough to convince me that if anyone’s conception of the scientific attitude was wrong it was not mine.

It was then, too, I decided that I would not submit my typewriter unless it came out as nearly perfect as possible, not in just matching the ten letters FBI expert Feehan had chosen to use as comparisons in his testimony at the Hiss trial, but perfect in every conceivable variation of all eighty-four type faces. It was this decision that led me on a hunt for type that was to take me as far as Detroit and Chicago.

I was not content to find type of the same design. I wanted type which had practically no wear, so that I could get every single defect of the Hiss machine’s type faces engraved onto the type faces of my forgery.

After taking my own Woodstock morgue apart, I went to a former Woodstock company branch office in New York. With a magnifying glass I checked every type face they had in stock. It took several days. I bought more than 500 type faces and took them home, soldered them onto type bars, put them in my machine and struck off specimens. Over a period of about two weeks, during which I compared each of my specimens against the standards, I finally selected a handful for my New Jersey engraver to work on. It was during the month of June and he was busy doing work all day on wedding gifts. At night he worked for me.

Several weeks later, I got a call from New Jersey, a call that was to set all my plans back more than a year. My engraver had come down with tuberculosis and had to enter a sanatorium. I went back to pick up all my type and tools and began looking for a new engraver. After weeks of futile searching, I was given the name of a first-rate engraver not far from my own office.

First I wanted to see if he would do the job if it were for something entirely different. So I took along some samples of Hindi type and told him these had to be adjusted, otherwise in a Hindi typewriter they would have different meanings. He said he could do it easily and asked me to come back with the rest of my samples. But when I returned, of course, I had only Woodstock type with me. Then I told him it was in connection with my Hiss-case assignment. He blew up in my face.

"If you lay in a gutter with lice, you get lousy," he exploded. "I don't want any trouble. Take your damned type and get the hell out of here." I argued, but it only made him more violent.

I told my wife, Pearl, about this experience. Tears came to her eyes. She pleaded with me to drop the assignment. "We have two children," she sobbed. "We took years to build up our business, now we're begging for trouble." Her voice rose to a pitch near hysteria.

"We're doing nothing wrong," I found myself shouting back.

"No," she cried, "but why should we be pioneers? We're bucking public opinion. Everyone you've seen is against you. They predict trouble. They threaten trouble. Don't you realize it might ruin us?"

After I had pacified her, I reasoned. I told her that yielding to fear was a poor excuse for canceling a business obligation. This was as much part of my business as renting a machine. I said, "I'd rather a thousand times that my children be proud of parents who refused to be beaten to their knees than of parents who ran a successful business.

"Besides," I added firmly, "we may lose a few narrow-minded customers but as long as we do honest work we'll gain others. We're doing nothing criminal. Nobody can put us out of business."

We argued for weeks. Finally, she agreed to my views and I told her that I would do the engraving myself, though I knew my own engraving skill was such that I would probably drag the assignment out for more than a year. I knew, too, that I would probably ruin ten pieces of type for every one I would succeed in engraving properly.

This began a mad merry-go-round hunt for old Woodstocks from which I could remove more type. My wife got on the telephone and called just about every typewriter dealer in New York. I examined thousands of Woodstocks with serial numbers close to 230,099 and took home whatever pieces of type I felt were good enough to work on.

Essentially, the engraving process called for the use of three tools: diamond-tipped chisels for cutting into the hard steel type faces, a triangular India stone for rubbing down chisel marks, and a superfine dental buffing tool to finish surfaces.

From nearly 2,000 pieces of type I had collected, I succeeded in sorting out and duplicating twenty-five to match the Hiss specimens. I would need seventeen more. Another intensive search around New York failed to yield the kind of type I wanted.

Meanwhile, I used what I had already completed and ran off a few specimens. Together with a member of the Hiss defense staff, I went to Chicago and Detroit to continue the hunt. These were major business areas close to Woodstock, Illinois, the town from which the company originally got its name. It was recently bought out by the R. C. Allen Company.

At the same time, I decided to submit my forged specimens to a document expert in Chicago. Choosing a name at random from the classified telephone directory, I went to the office of D. W. Schwartz at 10 South La Salle Street. I gave him my specimens and the Hiss machine specimens. He examined them all.

"Could you tell me how many machines were involved in typing these?" I asked.

"All came from one machine," was his answer.

I was elated. Little more than half my goal was accomplished and already I was able to stump an expert. The Chicago and Detroit hunt yielded another ten type faces into which I was able to engrave successfully all the necessary characteristics of the Hiss specimens. But I was still short seven.

On a hunch, I made a return trip to the Brownsville Typewriter Company in Brooklyn. It was like falling into an abandoned mine of Woodstocks. They often buy old typewriters from junk peddlers, and they had taken in a bunch of old Woodstocks since my last visit. I rented all the old Woodstocks I wanted from them on the condition that any type I removed I would replace with another. This maneuver got me enough type to finish the job.

From that point on I had to work on mechanical adjustments almost exclusively. After all the letters were aligned, I had to adjust the typewriter so that the spacing between lines was exactly like the Hiss machine to within a thousandth of an inch. Most people know that the typewriter spacing handle, attached to the carriage and to a ratchet at the end of the roller, can be set on most typewriters for single, double or triple spacing. The hard-rubber roller itself, however, plays an important although microscopic part in spacing. The manner in which it is ground and the hardness of the rubber used will make fractional

differences between lines, which experts can detect through magnification, although to the naked eye six lines of typing on any typewriter will still apparently cover one vertical inch. On an old machine, as the rubber wears down, variations of the spaces between lines become more apparent. Experts can detect and measure these variations by placing a special transparent ruler over specimens of typing.

I went to the Ames Supply Company in New York, a firm known to the trade for its specialization in recovering old rollers through grinding. I had them grind about thirty different rollers for me—with deviations from the standard thickness ranging from a thousandth to one two-thousandths of an inch and in five different rubber densities. I put these in my machine and on each copied a page of typescript from the Hiss machine. None was good enough. I went back to Ames and borrowed a tool called the Ames Densimeter, which was designed originally by that company to eliminate human error in gauging roller densities. Only about twelve of these delicate instruments are in existence. It looks like a small watch with a sweep second hand and a needlelike plunger sticking out from its rim. The plunger is inserted into the rubber and the hand moves around. Where it stops you get a density reading. From the rollers I had, I chose two which were closest in matching spacing on the Hiss specimens. I got a density reading on each roller. Between these I struck an average and got the company to grind just such a roller for me.

It worked perfectly. But another major defect had to be copied from the Hiss specimens. This was a tendency of the Hiss machine to "creep," that is, to crowd letters toward the right-hand edge of the paper. This I knew was caused by a defect in the Hiss machine escapement. There's no one part in a typewriter by that name. It's a combination of parts in the back of and under the machine which control the typewriter's spacing from one letter to the next. Through trial and error I made enough escapement adjustment to match perfectly the same creep in the Hiss specimens.

By this time I had achieved what I felt was a successful forgery. But I was too close to the machine. My eyes had become stale. Emotionally, I had come to regard it almost as if it were a third child in my family. Every time I moved it, I was fearful of dropping it.

Once more we made the rounds for the assistance of another expert. One, J. H. Haring, in New York, who had been consulted in the case by the defense lawyers before the first Hiss trial, was willing to discuss the possibility of further employment in the case. But he finally decided to refuse to work with us, on the ground that if he were to take part in our experiment he would be helping to make a machine to deceive his brother experts, and he thought that would be unethical.

As the search for an expert continued, though sporadically, it was decided that I ought to remove my forged typewriter to a safe place. On December 28, 1950, after strapping a .38-caliber revolver around my waist, I left my office with a friend in a new Cadillac sedan. I was not being theatrical. During the time I had been working on the machine many strange things had been taking place.

Once, in early June, a girl from Lane's office met me in the street in front of my shop. She was returning some samples of specimens I had taken off the forgery job. I put the samples in my outer coat pocket, went upstairs and, as was my custom, hung the coat in a small outer room at the head of the stairway leading to my shop. The stairs go straight up two flights from the street. A few minutes after I sat down at my desk, I heard footsteps running up. This happens all day long, and I looked for a customer to walk in. But no one came in, and I heard footsteps running down very fast. I walked out to look around. I looked in the outer room. My coat was gone.

A number of suspicious incidents around my home cropped up. A telephone repairman got by the maid to take care of some complaints—but I had never made any complaints. A mysterious inquisitor tried dating my neighbor's maid after asking her if she could tell him all she knew about the Tytells and their habits.

I finally reported everything to the police. They suggested that these were the techniques of clever burglars. After that I hid the machine I was working on and scattered several other similar machines around the house in an effort to confuse any attempt at stealing my "third child."

After I deposited the machine in a Marine Midland Bank vault, I went back to my office and Lane gave me a check for \$5,000. I signed a note giving him complete title to the machine. I agreed, however, to continue any work found necessary by any document expert willing to check me on what I had done.

A New England colleague finally put Lane in touch with Elizabeth McCarthy, of Boston. A tall, dynamic woman in her forties, with the vigor and charm of an Ethel Barrymore, Miss McCarthy is probably the only woman questioned-document expert in this country. She is used regularly by the Massachusetts State Police and the Boston police. For sixteen years, despite her own standing as a lawyer, she has done little more than work on thousands of questioned documents, and has been giving expert testimony in courts around the nation at least twice a week. She has been responsible for the discovery of direct clues in some of the nation's most spectacular document mysteries, and she has testified in many criminal cases.

She agreed readily to taking an assignment on the case. But there were many long delays, one for a period of six months, before Miss McCarthy, a busy woman herself, and I settled down to a close examination of all the typewritten specimens in my home. When we had decided that there were still some minor flaws in my work, I decided to reengrave new type faces. This called for a new hunt for Woodstock type. It was late in 1951. After weeks of meticulous searching, I came across a small Woodstock branch store in a dingy section of Newark, New Jersey.

I made arrangements for a special appointment with the store manager on a Saturday morning and drove out there with my wife early in January 1952. I explained to the manager what I was after, but told him nothing about its connection with the Hiss case. He led me to the basement through a trapdoor a little to the right of the store's center. From under an old wooden table in a neatly kept room, he hauled out a battered wooden crate used for packing typewriters for export. There were about 1,200 type bars in the box. They were kept in sets. I chose four sets and went over to a workbench light to examine them closely, though without benefit of a magnifying glass. He looked at me suspiciously. I also examined several old Woodstock machines. On several I found just what I was looking for. I arranged to rent the machines overnight.

"I might remove some of the type bars," I said. "But I'll replace any I do take."

"That's all right," he said.

Then, just as I began gathering the machines upstairs to load in my Plymouth suburban, he leaned casually against one wall and said haltingly, "Say, Tytell, do you know who you remind me of?"

My wife answered, "No, tell me."

"You remind me of the FBI," he said. I ignored that, but he continued talking to my wife. He put his hand to his head.

"Now, what was that case they were working on?" He paused, then blurted, "Oh, I remember. The Alger Hiss case. When we had our office down on Halsey Street a couple of FBI men came into the office and they went through everything. Right in that office they found what they were looking for."

I pursued the subject no further. All I wanted was some type. And I had my type.

On the afternoon of January 24, 1952, I dictated my affidavit to Lane's secretary, attesting to the fact that the machine in Lane's possession was fabricated by me.

During my last weekend working with Miss McCarthy, however, we had a final set of specimens made. These were made under a variety of conditions on the forged typewriter and on the Hiss machine. In sum, it was a formula designed to put document experts to the supreme scientific test. This formula is now a sealed code in a bank vault. It reveals just which specimens were typed on the forged machine, how they were typed, and under what conditions.

An example, perhaps, of how I think the experts will be stunned can be seen in a letter Mr. Lane received only a few days before I filed my affidavit. Dated January 14, 1952, it came from Donald Doud, a prominent Detroit questioned-document examiner.

"To subscribe to the theory that typewriter 230,099 was a manufactured machine," he wrote, "one would have to assume that some individual had specimens of letters written on the machine that Alger Hiss used, and possessed the ability, knowledge, and skill to discover all the type-face defects apparent in these documents and then in some manner proceed to have these defects incorporated in typewriter 230,099. To me this is an almost impossible task. I don't think the expert in Boston (Miss McCarthy) could do it, nor could anyone else. * * *"

Oddly enough, he had outlined generally just the way such a forgery would have to be done; he doubted only that it could be done. Of course, I never saw Woodstock No. 230,099, but my Woodstock is No. 231,195. If any expert thinks

he can tell the difference between typing from my forgery and typing from 230,099, his conclusions will be judged impartially—by the sealed code.

One expert has already tried. She is Mrs. Evelyn S. Ehrlich, who for more than ten years was employed by Harvard University's Fogg Museum of Art to detect deceptive print and typography. She was asked to apply her unique skills in comparing the Hiss-Tytell specimens. But she was told definitely that two machines were involved. Using a microscope with a magnification of thirty, more than six times the magnification I had used, she declared in a sworn statement that "an amazingly faithful reproduction of the so-called Hiss machine had been fabricated in almost every respect."

"Except for subtle details," she continued, "I found that microscopic variations on one machine had been duplicated on the other so faithfully that I might not have believed it possible if I had not been informed that two machines were involved."

So far as I know, this story reveals for the first time how forgery by typewriter can be committed. The experts may now come down on my neck, saying that I have disclosed secrets which might encourage others to commit typewriter forgery and get away with it. I have searched my conscience long and hard, but I cannot agree with them. It would be the same as if someone were to say that newspapers should not print the details of crimes because it only gives criminals and potential criminals encouragement. So long as there are good detectives, criminals can be outwitted. As far as I am concerned, I stand solidly with Miss McCarthy when, in her affidavit, she said that the "profession of document examiners, as well as the public at large, were entitled to learn whether any such experiment could be successfully conducted, since, if it could, general knowledge of the fact would be essential as a means of preventing numbers of forgeries which might otherwise be successfully carried out."

After I had filed my affidavit, my telephone did not stop ringing for days. Practically every news agency, radio and television correspondent wanted a statement from me. Some made fancy offers to demonstrate my work on television. All had many, many questions. At the request of Chester T. Lane, however, lest I disclose the details of my work in such a way that might antagonize the courts, I refused to answer any questions.

Some of the typical questions appeared in a feature article by Bert Andrews, prize-winning veteran Washington correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune. In a lengthy article on the typewriter last January 27, he asked:

"How long has work on the typewriter gone on? Since the time of [Hiss's] sentencing? Or even before that?"

"How was the 'manufacturing' done?"

"How much did it cost?"

"And why—that is, from personal sympathy for Mr. Hiss, or from scientific interest to see whether it could be done?"

The facts, he said, were important to any student of the Hiss case. The next week he followed up with another article, saying he had done some research, and attempted to describe how I might have done the job.

I think this story gives all the answers.

MARTIN K. TYTELL.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 12 is a photostat of the death certificate of Col. Janis Dobrovolski, dated February 15, 1957, which I secured from the city hall in Wiesbaden, Germany. On this certificate is the name of the witness Alma Alla Hoppe. The document is in German and should be translated by a translator from the Library of Congress.

(The photostat was marked "Exhibit No. 499" and is reproduced below, followed by an English translation.)

EXHIBIT No. 499

Nr. 430

Wiesbaden, den 15. Februar 1947

Der Oberarzt ausser Dienst Janis Dobrowolski -
k i s ,

wohnhaft Wiesbaden, Hindenburgallee 34

ist am 14. Februar 1947 um 18 Uhr 15 Minuten

in Wiesbaden, in seiner Wohnung verstorben.

Der Verstorbene war geboren am 5. Januar 1882

in Kasanern/Russland

(Standesamt Nr.)

Vater: Wasili Dobrowolski,

Mutter: Soja Dobrowolski, geborene
unbekannt- beide zuletzt in Sankow.

Der Verstorbene war mit-.....-bekannt Ritter von Tatjana
Dobrowolski, geborenen Karakwoli.

Eingetragen auf mündliche -.....- Aussage der Zahnärztin
Alma-Alla Hoppe, Wiesbaden, Hindenburgallee 34.

Die Angehende ist durch Personalausweis anerkannt
und erklärte, bei diesem Sterbefalle zugegen gewesen
zu sein.

Vorgelesen, genehmigt und unterschrieben

Alma-Alla Hoppe

Der Standesbeamte

zu Wiesbaden

[Signature]

Es wird bestätigt, daß umstehender Bildabzug mit dem Geburts- Sterbe- Hauptregister des Standesamts zu Wiesbaden gleichlautend ist.

Wiesbaden, den 24. Jan. 1957

Der Standesbeamte

In Vertretung:



[Handwritten signature]

Geburts-
Kontroll-Nr.

[Handwritten numbers: 12995]

[Translation]

No. 430.

WIESBADEN, February 15, 1947.

Retired Colonel Janis Dobrowolskis (this may be Latvian or Lithuanian spelling of the name).

Residing at Hindenburgallee 34, Wiesbaden, died in his apartment at Wiesbaden on February 14, 1947, 6: 15 p. m.

The deceased was born on January 5, 1882, at Kemmern, Russia.

Father: Wasili Dobrowolskis.

Mother: Soja Dobrowolskis; maiden name not known, both lately in Kharkov.

The deceased was widower of Tatjana Dobrowolskis, maiden name, Karakwell. Recorded on the basis of an oral report of the dentist (Miss) Alma-Alla Hoppe, Hindenburgallee 34, Wiesbaden.

The reporting person was identified by her personal identification card and declared that she was present at the time of the death.

Read, approved, and signed.

ALMA-ALLA HOPPE.

Official of the Bureau of Vital Statistics.

(Signature illegible.)

(Translated by George Starosolsky, translator, Library of Congress, September 27, 1957.)

(On the back of the photostat is the certification, in German, that the statements on the face are a true copy of the death record appearing in the master file of the register of the bureau of vital statistics at Wiesbaden. It is dated January 24, 1957, and bears a notation: Fee 1; Serial No. 12995. The signature of the person acting for the registrar is illegible.)

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 13 is a photostat of a letter in Russian signed by Archpriest P. Adamantov, dated July 17, 1956, with the English

[Translation]

ORIGINAL UNCUT DRAFT OF AFFIDAVIT SIGNED BY ARCHPRIEST P. ADAMANTOV

Wiesbaden, 17-VII-1956. I, the signer of this, am on duty at the Russian Orthodox Church in Wiesbaden since September 1906, till today, except the time of the First World War (1914-1919). With me there was not at our church on any kind of a job any person with the name Dobrolinubov. Similarly on our Russian cemetery there is no grave with the same name.

(But there is one grave, in which there is buried the Colonel of the Russian service in reserve, Ivan Vasilievich *Dobrovolsky*, 65 years old. (1/14. February, 1947). *Dobrovolsky* took up residence in Wiesbaden where after the 2nd War he temporarily carried out the duties of a church sexton in our church.)

I do not remember anything about my encounter with Mr. Levine.

ARCHPRIEST P. ADAMANTOV.

The middle paragraph is in parentheses in the Russian original, and is crossed out with a diagonal line through 7 lines in Russian.

MR. MANDEL. Exhibit 14 is a letter in English signed by Anastasia Adamantov dated February 19, 1957, from Wiesbaden addressed to me, explaining the circumstances surrounding the excision of the aforementioned paragraph.

(The letter was marked "Exhibit No. 501" and is reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 501

Wiesbaden, 19. Februar 1957

Dear Mr. Mandel:

Thank you very much for your 2 letters duly received on Feb. 12th and Feb 14th.

As to the question in your first letter: My father himself crossed out the lines in question, as they are not contained in the document which he handed out to Mr. Tytell. Mr. Tytell wished to know whether there was a grave of a Mr. Dobro-lubov on our cemetery. My father told him that there was not. Mr. Tytell then asked my father to give him this statement in writing, which my father did. It then occurred to my father that Mr. Tytell might have made a mistake about the name and might be looking for a Mr. Dobrowolsky (both names beginning with Dobro). He mentioned something to that effect in the 7 lines in question. Mr. Fromke, however, said that he did not think it worth mentioning, as after all, Dobrowolsky and Dobro-lubov were 2 entirely different names. Thus my father crossed out these lines and ^{they} are also not contained in the paper.

handed over to Mr. Tytell:

Altho Mr. Franke, we certainly did not know him prior to his coming to see us with Mr Tytell on July 17th 56. I remember him telling me that he met Mr. Tytell in Berlin, where he, Mr. Franke was living and, as far as I remember, working in an office. He also told us that he served as a mass servant. I took him to be about 35-40 years of age, and I remembered the idea crossing my mind that he looked a little shifty. That is really all I am able to say about Mr. Franke.

I hope this bit of news will be of use to you in this interesting case and I thank you very much in advance for troubling about the books for my father.

If there is anything else I can do for you, please let me know.

With kind regards from my father and myself

Yours sincerely,

at Washington & Belin Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 15 is a quotation from the book, *Three Who Made a Revolution*, by Bertram D. Wolfe, appearing on pages 301 and 302, as follows: "There was the inevitable police agent among them, one Dobroskok, nicknamed 'Gold-spectacled Nikolai.'"

Exhibit 16 is a letter addressed to Benjamin Mandel from Dr. Alla Alma Hoppe, of 115 West End Drive, Syracuse, N. Y., dated April 9, 1957, giving certain biographical information regarding Ivan Wasiljewitsch Dobrowolski.

(The letter referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 502" and is reproduced below :)

EXHIBIT No. 502

APRIL 9, 1957.

MR. BENJAMIN MANDELL,
Research Director,

*Internal Security Subcommittee,
United States Senate.*

DEAR SIR: I first knew Ivan Wasiljewitsch Dobrowolski as a florist in Riga, Latvia, in 1930. I heard from various sources that he had been a gendarme in Russia before World War I. This information came to my attention through newspapers and other persons in Riga.

I knew Ivan Wasiljewitsch Dobrowolski until 1946 in Berlin and Wiesbaden, Germany, as a florist. He died in Wiesbaden in 1947.

I never knew Ivan Wasiljewitsch Dobrowolski by any other name. However, in the early 30's in Riga, I do remember a newspaper article that referred to him as "Dobriskok of the Golden Glasses."

At no other time did I ever know him by any other name or hear him referred to by any other name.

ALLA ALMA HOPPE
(Dr. Alla Alma Hoppe),
115 West End Drive, Syracuse, N. Y.

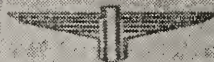
Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 17 is a reference from the book by Leon Trotsky entitled "My Life," which on page 171 refers to Dobroskok as follows:

It [the Menshevik group] was betrayed by one of its active members, Dobroskok, known as "Nikolay of the gold spectacles," who turned out to be a professional agent-provocateur.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 18 is a letter dated January 16, 1957, addressed to Benjamin Mandel and delivered to me personally in the office of Adlerwerke in Frankfurt am Main, Germany, signed by Hans Abend, manager of the export division, Adlerwerke, 17 Kleyer Strasse, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, and notarized by Thomas A. Kelly and witnessed by John K. Munson, relative to the manufacture of Adler typewriters.

(The above letter was marked "Exhibit No. 503" and is reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 503

ADLERWERKE

VORM. HEINRICH KLEYER - AKTIENGESELLSCHAFT

ADLERWERKE @ FRANKFURT AM MAIN 4 - POSTKORBSTRASSE 1000

Auf. Genehm. Nr. 31021 (Anzahlstr. 5001)
Ordnung: ADLERWERKE Frankfurt
Postfach Nr. 643 1207

Sr.

Benjamin Mandel
c/o (Official) Reception Bureau
16-Farben-HochhausFrankfurt-Main

Ihre Zeichen

Ihre Nachricht vom

Unsere Nachricht vom

Unsere Zeichen

Haupt Nr.

Frankfurt am Main
Klayenstr. 17

KFSX 158117

16th January 1957

GERMANY
LEFT BY FRANKFURT AM MAIN 4
COMM. INT. TELEGR. OFFICE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Dear Mr. Mandel,

In reply to your inquiry the following is stated:

ADLERWERKE vorm. HEINRICH KLEYER AG., our company, have been manufacturers of typewriters since 1898. The first machine with Russian-Cyrillic type, the Model 8, was built in 1905. The first machine combining Russian-Cyrillic and Latin type to one keyboard, the Model 11, was built in 1909.

Sincerely yours,

WITNESS:

ADLERWERKE vorm. HEINRICH KLEYER
Aktiengesellschaft

John R. Minson
John R. Minson

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 16th day of January 1957.

Thomas A. Kelly
THOMAS A. KELLY

Vice Consul of the United States of America
duly commissioned and qualified.

Service No. *661*
Tariff Item No. *11*
Fee Paid U.S. \$ *1.00*
Local Cf. equiv.

VERSTAND, BEI BUROK A. REISCHER, VORSENER - DR. ERH. FISS, STEUERRECHNER, DR. BRUNO O. FRUNDECK - WILH. LUCKER - VORSENER DR. AUFICHTERBATES, CARL BORTZ
LAWFIRMA-UND-BANK-UNTERFIRMEN-UND-FIRMEN, FRIEDRICHSHAGEN 2-3, 1000 17 FRANKFURT AM MAIN - FRANKFURTER BANK 24 FRANKFURT AM MAIN
KLEIN & CO. G.L.B.N. 1000 FRANKFURT AM MAIN - POSTKORBSTRASSE 1000 440 FRANKFURT AM MAIN

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 19 is a letter dated February 7, 1957, from Harold A. Voorhis, vice president and secretary of New York University, relative to the service of Martin K. and Pearl Tytell with the university.

(The letter referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 504" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 504

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY,
New York, N. Y., February 7, 1957.

Mr. BEN MANDEL,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: My associate, Vice President Howley, has relayed to me your inquiry concerning Mr. Martin K. Tytell. His name does not appear in any of our records covering the whole range of regularly appointed officers of instruction. Such records, however, do not cover the names of occasional guest speakers. We do find from our payroll accounts that such a guest speaker, in the person of one Pearl Tytell, made a few appearances last year before groups in our graduate school of public administration and social service. Moreover, I learn from the latter source that tentative arrangements have been made for Martin K. Tytell and Pearl Tytell to render similar services in the same school at New York University in the term beginning next September. I understand that Pearl Tytell's specialty is graphology and that of her husband (if this the relationship) is documentation, and that their projected lectures will have to do with the general subject of problems and techniques in documents examination.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) HAROLD O. VOORHIS,
Vice President and Secretary.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 20 is a letter dated February 6, 1957, to Benjamin Mandel from Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, relative to the service of Martin K. Tytell with the college. Attached to this letter is a photostat of Mr. Tytell's application for employment, dated May 8, 1956, and a photostat of Mr. Tytell's signed statement that—

I am not now a member of the Communist Party and that if I have ever been a member of the Communist Party I have communicated that fact to the president of the college.

This statement is dated May 8, 1956.

(The above letter and statement were marked "Exhibit No. 505" and read as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 505

BROOKLYN COLLEGE,
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 6, 1957.

Mr. BEN MANDEL,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: In accordance with our telephone conversation on Wednesday, February 6, I am sending you the following summary of our conversation.

Mr. Martin K. Tytell is not a member of our staff now, and he was never a member of our regular faculty. He was a part-time teacher in our division of vocational studies during the spring of 1956. He took the place temporarily of a regular teacher who had died, and he served for 28 teaching hours in May and June of 1956. He also served for 4 hours as a substitute teacher during the preceding term. He taught a course called police laboratory, which is concerned with the techniques of document identification, fingerprinting, etc. His name was suggested to us by Dean MacNamara of the New York Institute of Criminology, and the checked references also include the name of Mr. James W. Osterberg of the New York City Police Department. Mr. Tytell signed the required statement with regard to the application of the regents rules under the Feinberg law. I enclose a photostatic copy of the latter, as well as of the relevant pages of Mr. Tytell's application blank at the time of his appointment.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY D. GIDEONSE, *President.*

BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION
 695 Park Avenue
 New York 21, New York

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

C E R T I F I C A T E

Anyone who is a member of the Communist Party or of any organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of New York or any political subdivision thereof cannot be employed by the Municipal Colleges.

Anyone who was previously a member of the Communist Party or of any organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the Government of the United States or of the State of New York or any political subdivision thereof is directed to confer with the President before signing this certificate.

This is to certify that I have read the publication of the University of the State of New York, 1955, entitled Regents Rules on Subversive Activities together with the instructions set forth above and understand that that these rules and regulations as well as the Law cited therein are part of the terms of my employment. I further certify that I am not now a member of the Communist Party and that if I have ever been a member of the Communist Party I have communicated that fact to the President of the College.

Date: May 8, 1956

Myrtle K. Tyler
 Signature

10/13/55

This form is for government use
or printed on recycled paper.

Brooklyn College

Bedford Avenue and Avenue H
Brooklyn 10, N. Y.

APPLICATION FOR APPOINTMENT

Name in Full MARTIN KENNETH TYJELL

Department VOCATIONAL STUDIES

Home Address 3031 Scenic Place, Riverdale 68, New York

Temporary or Summer Address

Place of Birth U S A

Marital Status Married

No. of children 2

(Statement of age, training and experience must be verified by affidavits issued if appointment in Brooklyn College is recommended.)

Telephone No. KI 3 0188

Telephone No. 3 4 2 8 5 5

Citizenship USA

ACADEMIC TRAINING

Include elementary school, colleges, universities, professional schools, institutions of specialized training, etc.

NAME OF SCHOOL	DEGREE OR CERTIFICATE	MAJOR	DATE
Thomas Jefferson High School	Diploma	Commercial	1935
St. John's University, Bklyn., NY	BSE	Economics	1943
NYU Grad. Sch. of Bus. Admin., NY	MSA	Management	1955
Eastman Kodak, Rochester, New York	Certificate	Law Enforcement Photography	1956
NYU Grad Scho. of Public Admin., NY		currently attending	Police Science, since 1956

Title of Master's Thesis Questioned Documents as a Management Problem.

Title of Doctorate Dissertation Identification of a Typewriter by its work... (in preparation)
 Academic and Professional Honors Scholarship, Fellowship, etc. with dates. Won the New York Times Oratorical Contest, on the Constitution of the United States for two successive years while at high school and represented the school in the NYC competition. President of the President's Council, President of the Sportsmanship Brotherhood, Captain of the Debating Team.

TEACHING, PROFESSIONAL OR BUSINESS EXPERIENCE

The candidate is to set forth the name and address of his present employer and his immediate supervisor, as well as the name and address and immediate supervisor of all past employers, listing no more than:

PERIOD OF EMPLOYMENT	NAME AND ADDRESS OF INSTITUTION	DEPARTMENT	RANK	NAME AND TITLE OF IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR
Since 1935	Trifell Typewriter Co., Inc.		President	
Sept-Jan/55	NYU Grad. Sch of Pub. Admin	Correctional Admin.	Lecturer	Donal E. J. MacNamara "
1955-	NY Institute of Criminology	Ques. Documents	Lecturer	"
1955-56	Brooklyn College	Vocational Studies	Guest Lecturer	"
Since 1950	have been engaged in the profession of document examiner, please see last page			

PREVIOUS SERVICE IN THE NEW YORK CITY MUNICIPAL COLLEGES

Include service in all the division, indicating part or fulltime

COLLEGE	DEPARTMENT OR DIVISION	RANK	PART OR FULLTIME	DATES OF SERVICE
Brooklyn College	Vocational Studies	Visiting Lecturer	Part	1955-56
			gave 4 lectures	

Publications: (Indicate publisher, date, page, etc.) "The \$7,500 Typewriter I Built for Alger Hiss" in anthology, "The World's Greatest Spy Stories" edited by Kurt Singer. Published by W. H. Allen in England and Funk in the U. S. 1954. Pages 91-108.

Membership in Learned Societies: (Indicate type of membership, office held, dates, etc. Do not use abbreviations.)

Associate Member, International Association for Identification, since 1950

References: (Indicate people familiar with your professional qualifications—at least three)

Name	Position	Address
John Cornelius Bosted.	Manager and Treasurer, National Association of Manufacturers.	Rockefeller Center, NYC
Donald E. J. MacNamara	Dean, NY Inst. of Criminology,	40 E 40 NYC
James Osterberg,	NYC Police Laboratory,	Poplar Street, Brooklyn, NY
Elizabeth McCarthy,	Handwriting & Document Expert.	40 Court St. Boston 8 Mass.
Maria Roman,	Prof. The New School,	N.Y. C.
Bentley Reak,	Type Designer,	The Varityper Company, Newark, New Jersey
Wayne Boulton,	Product Analyst,	The Royal Typewriter Co. 2 Park Ave. NYC
Le Roy Jones,	Sales Manager,	Woodstock Typewriter Co. Woodstock, Illinois

5/8/56

Date

Martin K. Tytell Signature

NOTE: If additional space is needed to answer any item, please use the use last page.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 21 consists of photostats of the following: Page 162 of the 1943 book of enrolled voters, folio 155/2, showing Martin K. Tytell residing at 455 Sheffield Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., registration No. 74, date of registration, October 2, 1943, number of enrollment blank 196, party of enrolled voter: American Labor Party, also photostat of the 1941 enrolled voters, folio 161/2 showing on page 164: Martin Tytell, 455 Sheffield Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., registration No. 723, date October 2, 1941, number of enrollment blank 609, party of enrolled voter, American Labor Party.

(The photostats were marked "Exhibit No. 506" and placed in the subcommittee files.)

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 22 is a photostatic copy of a letter from Edward Mulliken of the central European bureau of Time-Life, dated February 18, 1957, relative to his visit to Archpriest Adamantov of the Russian Orthodox Church in Wiesbaden.

(The letter was marked "Exhibit No. 507" and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 507

TIME-LIFE OVERSEAS BUREAUS,
CENTRAL EUROPEAN BUREAU,
February 18, 1957.

(Personal and confidential.)

Mr. ROBERT ELSON,
Time Inc., New York.

DEAR BOB: I finally had a chance to get down to Wiesbaden and see Archpriest Adamantov and was able to bring along an interpreter who speaks Russian as well as English and German. The Archpriest, and his English speaking daughter, do live, indeed, in the little cottage adjoining the Greek Orthodox Church overlooking the city of Wiesbaden, and the old man has been there since 1908. They received us cordially. By now they are used to people inquiring after a Dobroliubov.

To cut through all of the windings and backtrackings of who-was-where-when and get to the point of the confusion, I think it is best to begin here. From what I was told by the Archpriest and his daughter, it would seem that Mr. Isaac Don Levine made two mistakes in Wiesbaden which allowed Mr. Martin K. Tytell to attack that section of his story: (1) He got his man's name wrong. It is not Dobroliubov but Dobrovolsky (as your letter of January 18 indicates you already know and the Daily Worker article of January 6 mentions Levine now remembers). (2) He did not make certain that the Archpriest, or his daughter would remember his visit to Wiesbaden, which, after all, was 7 years ago. I realize at the time Levine had no reason to get written proof that he had talked to Adamantov, but today it certainly would help as neither the Archpriest nor his daughter can remember Levine's visit, and, in fact, go as far as to say that as far as they are concerned neither of them has ever seen Levine. I even showed them the picture of Levine which we ran with his April article.

Now to Mr. Tytell's visit to Wiesbaden, and you will see how he twisted Levine mistakes, or omissions, to form the Wiesbaden section of his lecture of December 29, 1956. Tytell came to Wiesbaden, as he said he did, in July 1956. He arrived at about 1:30 in the afternoon with his interpreter, Igor Fromke. It was a busy day at the church, and the Archpriest was engaged, but he managed to give Tytell some time. It was time enough for Tytell and Fromke to learn that there had been no Dobroliubov but also time enough for them to learn that there had been a Dobrovolsky who perfectly fitted the description given for Dobroliubov and who in fact was buried in the nearby cemetery. But Tytell and Fromke were aggressively uninterested in the Dobrovolsky. Fromke said, "No, no the names are completely different." They also had no interest in going to look at the grave.

Fromke and Tytell also learned that the Archpriest could not remember having met Levine. They were onto a good thing and they knew it, but they had to get it in writing from the Archpriest. He, however, was too busy. Fromke and Tytell had to leave the cottage, but they did not leave the church grounds. They

stayed in their car outside from 2 until 6 p. m. At 6 the daughter came down, and Tytell offered to drive her to the station to pick up some people she was meeting. While they were away Fromke got the old man to write out the statement Tytell incorporated in his paper.

The statement is correct (except that the date 1906 should be 1908) but not complete. On the first statement the Archpriest wrote he added an explanatory paragraph in which he brought out the theory that although he knew no Dobroliubov was it not possible that the man everyone wanted was Dobrovolsky. Fromke immediately dismissed this paragraph with a "no, no it can't be," and made the old man write another draft of his statement. Then Fromke and Tytell, who by then had returned from the station, left.

If Tytell had probed the old Archpriest a little further, he probably would have discovered that Dobrovolsky, indeed, had been in Berlin until 1945. Then he had come to Wiesbaden where he served as church warden until 1947 when he died. And possibly Tytell also would have found out that the Archpriest knew that Dobrovolsky had been in the Okhrana and had been called "Golden Glasses." (He still wore gold rimmed glasses when he got to Wiesbaden.) The Archpriest said he had got this information from a pamphlet he had read long ago. I believe that he got it straight from Dobrovolsky, but the source matters little, as the information proves Dobrovolsky was definitely the man for whom Levine was searching and was, indeed, in the cemetery in Wiesbaden. If he had kept on probing Tytell might even have got the photograph I have. It was taken in 1946 and shows the Archpriest holding service in the Wiesbaden church. Beside him is Dobrovolsky, still wearing his "golden glasses." But Tytell and Fromke had every intention of not admitting "wrong name but right man." They had to hang on to their precious six different last letters and got no further. I imagine they had this tactic already in mind before they left Berlin where they must have discovered that there had been no Dobroliubov but there had been a Dobrovolsky.

The Archpriest and his daughter had another caller about a month ago who also was interested in the matter of Dobroliubov and Dobrovolsky. He was Benjamin Mandel, an investigator for the Senate Internal Security Committee. Mandel got the same story I did and took away with him the first draft of the Archpriest's statement which contains the additional paragraph about Dobrovolsky which Fromke had the old man omit from his second draft. Mandel also photographed the name plate on the cross at Dobrovolsky's grave which reads "Colonel Ivan Vasilezich Dobrovolsky, 5/1/1882-14/2/1947." (My interpreter was able to read the cyrillic lettering.) I also photographed this plate.

If you are interested in discovering more about Dobrovolsky, the Archpriest told us he had lived with a Mrs. Hoppe, who knew all about him but who has gone to the United States. The Archpriest does not know where Mrs. Hoppe is now but she is a very good friend of Michail Korchak-Sivitsky (also in the photograph of the Archpriest and Dobrovolsky) who now lives in apartment 63 at 606 West 132d Street, New York 31, N. Y. Telephone WA 6-4647 and who might know Mrs. Hoppe's address.

Thus, aside from this letter, I am packeting to you the photograph of Dobrovolsky, which could you please have copied and returned soonest, and photographs of the name plate over his grave. If you need it, I am certain I can get the Archpriest to give us a signed statement as to what passed between him, Tytell, and Fromke. We did not request it this time as he was getting tired and we were not certain you wanted it.

EDWARD JOHN MULLIKIN.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 23 consists of translations with accompanying photostats of Russian publications giving information about the Russian Church at Nachodstrasse in Berlin.

The material and translations come from the Library of Congress.

(The translations, with an accompanying letter were marked "Exhibit No. 508" and read as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 508

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1957.

Mr. BENJAMIN MANDEL,
Research Director, Internal Security Subcommittee,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MANDEL: In accordance with our recent telephone conversations, we have examined the files of the Russian Journal *Golos pravoslaviia* (The Voice of Orthodoxy), published in Berlin by the German Orthodox Diocese of the Patriarchate of Moscow.

From the journal, it appears that there are three churches in Berlin under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate: (1) The Resurrection Cathedral (British Sector); (2) the St. Vladimir Church at Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Nachodstrasse 10 (British Sector); and (3) the Sts. Constantine and Helen Church (Tegel, French Sector) as well as what appears to be a chapel at the Bishop's residence.

We attach three photostats from the journal in regard to St. Vladimir's Church. They are as follows:

(1) A general description of the church, from issue No. 1 for 1952. This states that the church was under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Boris and gives the priest's name as Sergei Polozhenskii:

(2) A statement, taken from the same issue, showing that Archbishop Boris was under the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate; and

(3) A statement (from issue No. 4/5 for 1953) that Father Polozhenskii received an award directly from the Patriarchate of Moscow.

We trust that this information will be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,

SERGIUS YAKOBSON,
Senior Specialist in Russian Affairs.

Enclosures.

(Translations of the three documents referred to read as follows:)

DOCUMENT No. 1

The Church of St. Vladimir, Prince and Equal of the Apostles (Berlin, Nachodstrasse 10)

In the Church of St. Vladimir, Prince and Equal of the Apostles, church services are performed without interruption, as in the Cathedral. Every day the Divine Liturgy is performed. On Wednesdays every week Acatists are sung, followed by talks by the Pastor to the laity on topics of Orthodox dogma and ritual; and readings are made from the literature of the Church Fathers, the works of Russian saints and teachers of the Church.

The Rector of the Church, Archpriest Sergei Polozhenskii, who has carried on his pastoral work in the St. Vladimir Parish since 1935, carries on his work with the assistance of Archpriest Mikhail Radziuk and Priest Ioann Razumov. From *Golos pravoslaviia*, 1952, No. 1.

DOCUMENT No. 2

On the Appointment of the Very Reverend Boris, Archbishop of Berlin and Germany, as the Acting Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in Western Europe

By a Ukase of the Most Holy Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia and the Sacred Synod, dated October 26, 1951, No. 1329, the Very Reverend Boris, Archbishop of Berlin and Germany, is designated the Acting Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in Western Europe.

By the same Ukase, Fotii (Topiro), Archbishop of Vilno and Lithuania, is relieved of the responsibilities of Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in Western Europe.

From *Golos pravoslaviia*, 1952, No. 1.

DOCUMENT No. 3

Awards to Clergy and Laity of the German Diocese of the Moscow Patriarchate
on the Occasion of Holy Easter, 1953

On the occasion of Holy Easter, 1953, for zealous and beneficial service to the Divine Church, His Holiness, Aleksii, the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, upon the recommendation of the Most Reverend Boris, Archbishop of Berlin and Germany, Acting Exarch of the Moscow Patriarchate in Western Europe, favored with awards the following clergy and laity of the German Diocese of the Moscow Patriarchate: Archpriest Sergei Polozhenskii, Ecclesiastical Superintendent of the Orthodox Parishes of the German Diocese, the blessing of His Holiness Aleksii, the Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, with the presentation of a testimonial letter signed by the Patriarch. * * *

From *Golos pravoslavia*, 1953, No. 4/5.

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 24 consists of translations and photostats from the German publication *Tagesspiegel* relative to the Nachodstrasse church. Translations were made by the Library of Congress.

(Translations of the articles referred to above were marked "Exhibit No. 509" and read as follows:)

EXHIBIT No 509

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C.

[Translation (German)]

[Der Tagesspiegel, February 21, 1951]

NKVD SPY AS A MINISTER

A BISHOP FROM MOSCOW PREACHES IN THE FRENCH SECTOR (OF BERLIN)

At the "Saint Vladimir" Church at Tegel-Borsigwalde, a church which was built by the Tsarist Government for the Russian community at Berlin, a "Father Boris" has been preaching for some time * * * "Father Boris" is not an innocent minister, but a Red Bishop who was brought to Berlin by the Communist rulers of the Kremlin, 10 weeks ago. He is subject to the Soviet Metropolitan at Moscow, while the Russian-Orthodox ministers in the Federal Republic recognize as their head the Metropolitan Anastasiev at Munich, an old immigrant who is a bitter foe of the Soviets. "Father Boris" and his two assistants are, in their exposed positions, under Moscow's control. To the few Russian emigres who have survived the occupation of Berlin by the Red Army, it is no secret that this Bishop and his assistants are men who are spying among the Russian emigres at West Berlin on orders of the NKVD. So far nobody has been arrested in the church, but several Russian emigres who were lured to Soviet Offices under some false pretense did not return to their West Berlin homes. Among them were a remarkable number of Russian men and women whom "Father Boris" and his associates had met. This is the reason why the Russian emigres at Berlin do not attend the "Saint Vladimir" Church any more. The time has arrived for the responsible authorities to deal with this camouflaged Soviet spy net in the French Sector. * * * Some 900 of the about 50,000 former Russian emigres, who managed to live through to our times, live secluded. No one trusts the other; the Soviet arm which could grasp them is too close. The only link which has been holding the emigres together for years, the church, is likely to fall down since "Father Boris" started preaching there for Stalin.

[Der Tagesspiegel, March 11, 1951]

WHEN WILL THE RED BISHOP DISAPPEAR?

Berliners should be interested in the article by Georges Blun in the *Journal de Genève* which presents some characteristic peculiarities of the French Sector of Berlin. The article quotes our report on the Red Bishop of Tegel-Borsigwalde (No. 1657) and subsequently makes the following general remarks:

* * * As far as Father Boris, the Red Bishop, is concerned, one should know that he is not an ordinary innocent minister, but an untrustworthy person whom the Russians launched at Berlin some 10 weeks ago. Father Boris is subject to the Soviet Metropolitan at Moscow, while the orthodox priests in the Federal Republic acknowledge as their head the Metropolitan Anastasiev of Munich, a Russian emigre and a bitter foe of the Soviet. To the few Russian emigres who survived the occupation of Berlin by the Red Army, it is no secret that this Bishop and his assistants are under the NKVD's orders to spy among the emigres who reside in the Western Sectors (of Berlin). * * *

[Security Report, April 6, 1951]

The following information was received from a member of the NTS (Russian Emigre Organization): * * *

In view of the above described situation among the Russian emigres in Western Berlin after 1945 it is understandable that the priests and other members of the Community have behaved very cautiously and repeatedly showed their loyalty to the Soviet regime. * * * The pastor of the Church at Hohenzollerndamm and two ministers from the Nachodstrasse church were taken several times to the NKVD under the pretense of being called to a dying person, where they were apparently reminded again and again that they were dependent on Moscow.

* * * At the end of 1950 Archbishop Sergius, who accepted Russian citizenship, [but who was] probably not "political" enough, was called back to Soviet Russia and supposedly made Archbishop of Kazan. In his place the former Bishop of Chkalov Boris (Family Name probably Wik) was installed. (Personal description of Boris: Between 50 and 55 years old.) Since the prosecution of the Church in the middle of the twenties he has been a monk. In 1944 appointed Bishop. They think that in the many of the places he was active he got into conflict with the Soviet Government, therefore he was transferred so many times. Boris is the same Bishop who was appointed Bishop of Tokyo some 2 years ago but was not given an entry visa by MacArthur. At Potsdam Boris moved into the same villa which was occupied by Sergius before.

Along with Boris the Priest Michael Sernov came from Moscow, who as early as 1945-46 published Soviet-patriotic articles in the paper of the Moscow patriarch and who was known for his flexibility at the Moscow Cathedral.

The priests cannot be suspected of being direct accessories in any kidnaping. But it should be assumed that an organization for drafting Russian emigres for spying services has been built around them. There is no reason to believe that Bishop Boris is a faithful servant of the Soviet Government, but naturally he obeys the state authorities which he cannot avoid doing, and he supports the policy of the Moscow Patriarch, who intends to secure a minimum possibility for development of the church by making concessions to the state.

The reputation of the priest Sernov is less favorable, and it is possible that he receives political orders from the NKVD.

It could be said about the other priests that they seem to have too little political experience and therefore could be easily abused by the Soviets by skillful tricks. Their addresses, as far as is known, are:

Priests Sergius Polosnenski, Trautenau Str. 9 or 10, Berlin-Wilmersdorf.

Priest Michael Radsjuk, and Priest Iwan Rasumow, Helmstetter Str. 16 or 26, Berlin.

The Pastors of the Churches at Hohenzollerndamm and Tegel reside in the premises of the church or at the Alexanderstift. * * *

[Illustrierte Berliner Zeitschrift, No. 17, April 29, 1951]

THE RED BISHOP

The Russian Orthodox Diocese in Berlin consists of the community Tegel-Borsidwalde and the two Wilmersdorf communities of Hohenzollerndamm and Nachod Street. In 1894-95 the real property was purchased from the dean of the former Botschaftskirche (Church of the Annunciation) and the buildings were erected; in 1929 the title of the property was registered in the name of the "Association for the Preservation of the Greek-Orthodox Churches and for

Relief of Needy Russians." In 1946 the title was changed again in the name of the "Russian-Orthodox Church in Germany and Belgium." This territory of the Diocese is extraterritorial and its ruler is "Father Boris."

"Father Boris," Bishop of the Russian-Orthodox Church in Berlin, is subject to the Metropolitan in Moscow, while the believers of his denomination in the Federal Republic recognize as their Head the Metropolitan of Munich, Anastasiev, a foe of Stalinism. Boris, they say, used to oppose Communism in former days and was arrested for this reason. But he must have proved that he changed his mind, because he was made Bishop of Chakalov, and finally took over the post in Berlin which clearly established that he enjoys confidence in the Kremlin. Sergius, his predecessor, was ordered home because of his political passiveness. As a special token of favor Boris received a brand new BMV car and a 12-room apartment at Potsdam.

"Nix verstaht" (incorrect German for "I don't understand") was the answer of the sexton at the Tegel-Borsigwalde Church, given to our reporters who asked about Father Boris. He pretended not to know his pastor at all. But he must be very well aware of the state of fear which rules in the community since Boris took over at the end of 1950.

With sacrificial candles in his hands, "Father Boris" conducts his Mass. The robes confirm the impression that he is a patriarchal, good minister. But Boris has not been installed in this foreign position outside of the "Iron Curtain" for nothing. He is required to prove his abilities by performing spy services for the NKVD. A cemetery and a church are under the Red Bishop's jurisdiction. Many prominent personalities of Tsarist Russia are buried at Tegel, among others, the former Minister of War Sukhomlinov, and the composer Glinka, who died in Berlin in 1857. The community, which has 300 registered members, also owns the neighboring "Emperor-Alexander-Home" (right picture). Formerly it served as a transient asylum for poor Russians, mainly emigrants to America. Today 44 old people live there, among them two aged Tsarist Colonels. Of them, 90 percent are German citizens; nearly all of them receive social benefits out of West Berlin taxpayers' money; they pay their rent in good Westmarks—to Boris.

[Tagesspiegel (Daily Mirror), November 4, 1953]

AN EXILE MINISTER ESCAPES TO KARLHORST—HE TOOK WITH HIM CASH AND FILES—ARE THERE AGENTS IN THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH?

The endeavours of the Russian Emigrants in West Berlin to establish their own Greek Orthodox Church have failed, the Organization of Russians in Exile (NTS) reports. According to NTS' information, Father Volontsevich, the Minister of this Church Community, fled to Karlshorst (in the Russian Sector) on October 1, 1953, taking with him the Community treasury—500 to 600 DM—and the list of the 60 Community members. He surrendered to the Soviet Authorities. Volontsevich was installed 2 years ago by the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile. Before that time he was in Holland, at Lübeck and Hamburg.

* * * When Volontsevich was installed as pastor of the West Berlin Emigree Community, the Exile Russians accepted the fact with reservations, because it was said that he caused scandals when at Lübeck, Hamburg, and in Holland. On September 10th Volontsevich was arrested on orders of the West Berlin District Attorney on charges of an offense under section 175 (Homosexuality), but was set free the next day. Although he was ordered by the District Attorney to leave Berlin at once, he remained here. Twice he received visits of Soviet Russians and kept on his friendly relations with the leader of the Nashod Street Community, Father Poloskenskii, as before his arrest. When they searched for him in the seat of the Exile Community at Kulmbacher Street 6, Wilmersdorf, he hid for some time with the widow and the late pastor of the Tegel Community, Sakidalsky. * * *

[Berliner Zeitung, November 5, 1953]

HEAD OF CHURCH BREAKS WITH U. S. A.—POLITICS—ARCHIMANDRIT MSTITSLAV TURNED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DDR, A BLOW TO THE CHURCH DIVIDERS ESPECIALLY IN WEST BERLIN

BERLIN (own report).—We received a letter from the Archimandrit Mstislav, the former Head of the Orthodox Emigree Church in Germany. Mstislav has turned to the Government of the DDR (German Democratic Republic) with the request for permission to perform his church activities in the DDR.

Following we reproduce his letter with nonessential abbreviations:

"I would like, in the Berliner Zeitung, to publicly express my motives which caused me to break with the New York anti-Church group of immigrants from Russia, the so-called Karlovchan group of the Metropolitan Anastasi and his Foreign Synod.

What is this anti-Church group which calls itself "Russian Orthodox Church Abroad"?

After the defeat of the White Guardists and the foreign interventionists in 1920 some bishops, fanatical partisans of the Tsarism, who did not want to stay with their people, fled to Sremski Karlovici in Serbia. There, acting wilfully, they formed the so-called Highest Church Administration—the Foreign Synod, which received the name Karlovatski, and which started opposing the highest Church Administration in Soviet Russia. In 1921 this Synod turned to the Geneva Conference requesting it not to enter diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. It sent a congratulatory message to Hitler upon his taking power, and it blessed the Fascist arms for the fight against the peoples of the Soviet Union. Shortly after the war it suggested in an Easter Message of the Metropolitan Anastasi, the dropping of atom bombs on the Soviet Union. At present, this Synod, which exists on foreign money, keeps slandering the Russian Orthodox Church, his holiness, the Patriarch Alexei, and the Soviet Union.

In 1944, separated from my home country by the events of war, I was sent to Western Germany by the Fascists and thus, against my will, I found myself among the "Karlovatski" group. After the arrival of the Soviet Liberation Army in Germany, Orthodox Bishops from the Soviet Union started traveling abroad and telling the truth about church life in the Soviet Union. By and by all the falsehoods of the "Karlovatski" group became clear to me. The Soviet Constitution strictly protects freedom of conscience of its citizens. The church is not limited in its church activities. There is freedom of Divine Services, of sermons, of priest seminaries and academies, church congresses to which representatives of other orthodox churches are invited. * * * All this proves that there is a normal church life in the Soviet Union. I learned that the famous "Karlovatski" movement was lacking any religious contents and meaning and was nothing else than a group of ill-minded church schismatics with a clear political object. I felt it especially strongly after I was sent to Berlin by the Munich administration of the "Karlovatski" Synod. I received an order to wage a fight against the Moscow Patriarch. I arrived at the conclusion that my subordination to the "Karlovatski Synod" was contrary to my being an Orthodox priest.

I do not wish to be a slave of [the] American policy, which is directed against my own people. It is contrary to my national and religious conscience. From now on I wish to serve my Church and my native country faithfully.

ARKHIMANDRIT MSTITSLAV.

[Der Tagesspiegel (Daily Mirror), October 31, 1954]

TODAY—YESTERDAY—TOMORROW

Berlin.—Archbishop Boris, the Exarch of the Russian Orthodox Church in Western Europe, with his residence at Karlshorst, has been nominated Exarch for the United States. He will be replaced by Superintendent General Paul Statov who will take over the care of the Russian-Orthodox Communities in Germany. (UP)

[Die Neue Zeitung, December 31, 1952]

ARCHBISHOP SERVIUS DEAD

Berlin (DPA).—On December 18th, the former Russian-Orthodox Archbishop of Berlin, Sergius, died at Kanzan/Soviet Union. In September 1950 he was forced, through intervention of the Soviet Police, to leave his post in Berlin which he entered after the war.

[Die Neue Zeitung, January 7, 1953]

RUSSIAN CHRISTMAS

A few thousand members of the Russian-Orthodox Church in Berlin celebrated Christmas Eve according to the Russian Church Calendar yesterday. It was for the first time that the division of the church into an independent church and one subordinated to the Patriarch of Moscow (which took place last December in Berlin) was apparent at the services. The adherents of the Independent Russian Church celebrated their Christmas Eve in a provisionally arranged room, and the adherents of the Moscow line—in their Cathedral at Hohenzollerndamm at Wilmersdorf. Along with the believers of Berlin civilian members of the Soviet and the Western Occupation Powers took part at the Masses. The Service was celebrated by Archbishop Boris, the Exarch for the Russian-Orthodox Church in Germany, who resides in East Berlin.

[Berliner Woche (Berlin Week), December 13, 1952, p. 3]

EXILE CHURCH IN AN APARTMENT HOUSE

FROM THE UNION-SHAPED CUPOLAS AT THE FEHRBELLINER PLATZ TO A HOUSE ALTAR

The German Bishop of the Russian-Orthodox Emigrants at Munich had promised, several times, that he would send a priest to West Berlin who would assemble in one community, independent from Moscow, all those church members who refuse to acknowledge the Patriarch of Moscow as the Head of their Church. The man who took over this delicate job in Berlin's heated streets is Father Volonsevich. He has rented an apartment at the Kulmbacher Street and there he has set up a chapel. * * *

But at the Church located at the Fehrbelliner Platz, Archbishop Boris, whose residence is in Karlshorst, has been preaching for a few years. His superior is the Metropolitan of Moscow; his Community in Berlin amounts to some 400 members. In his opinion, as well as in the opinion of the Soviets, the new pastor and his independent Community are schismatics and heretics. But it was the Bishop of Karlshorst, whom many exiles call "the Red Bishop with Rasputin's Eyes" who involuntarily contributed to the fact that the new parish, in spite of its short existence, found a relatively great appeal among the Exiles.

"We are afraid of Boris" the members of the independent church say. "Since his arrival things happen in our church which would never have taken place before." For example, the Archbishop's constant companion, deacon Alexander Lechno, often takes pictures of the priest and the churchgoers during services. Naturally, the greatest part of the emigrants do not care that such pictures go to Moscow. "During the revolution we lost many of our relatives and we do not want that these photos are used for possible persecution of those still living. Stalin is anti-Christ. We cannot trust the church which must exist under his regime." These are not the only things which embitter the emigrees. The Orthodox Church Calendar for 1952 published by the Patriarchat of Moscow contains religious holidays, however small and black is their print. But along with them there are, printed in bold red type, all the days which are a sad memory to the emigrees: Lenin's memorial day, Day of the October Revolution, the day of the Soviet Army, Navy, etc. "In addition," the schismatics say, "Boris used to distribute Moscow leaflets in the Cathedral in which, among other things, you could read about 'Facts on the American Germ Warfare in Korea,' a report of the Russian priests on 'the lies of the Katyn Committee.' These leaflets were handed over to the Allied Offices in Berlin. 'We do not want to get infiltrated by Communism; it was for the same reason that we fled Russia.'"

(Translated by George Starosolsky June 24, 1957.)

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 25 is a photograph taken at Wiesbaden, original in possession of Reverend Korchak, showing him, Archpriest Adamantov, Colonel Dobrovolsky, and others.

(The photograph referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 510," and is reproduced below:)

EXHIBIT No. 510



Photograph of Dobrovolsky (extreme right), Archpriest Adamantov (second from right), and others including Mr. Korchak-Sivitsky (at extreme left).

Mr. MANDEL. Exhibit 26 is an abstract from letter received by well-known anti-Communist author, Mikhail Soloviev, now of Washington, from Dr. Grigory Saharuni, from Berlin, about Nachodstrasse church.

(The letter above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 511," and reads as follows:)

EXHIBIT No. 511

BERLIN, February 19, 1957.

DEAR MIKHAIL STEPANOVICH [SOLOVIEV]: The fact of the matter is that the church in Nachodstrasse is in the hands of the "comrades." The "Father" Sergius mentioned in the letter, to whom I would have to turn for information, is a distinct and very shameless agent of the MGB. Since I live here and am active in a manner far from incognito, it is clear that he knows me. Therefore:

(a) It would be very dangerous for me to visit him at home or in the church, risking my head, for in both places he is surrounded by men who carry out the orders of the organs of the MGB for whom I am a most desirable morsel.

(b) He would hardly give me any explanation—not to speak of data—sought by Don Levine, for he would know instantly the purpose for which it is needed.

(Signed) G. S.

Mr. MORRIS. Shall I call you Father Korchak?

TESTIMONY OF REV. MICHAEL KORCHAK-SIVITSKY

(Through Interpreter Mirra Ginsburg)

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Father Korchak, are you the priest who performed the funeral service for the late Colonel Dobrovolsky according to this copy of the Wiesbaden Church Register?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. You did?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Will you identify the photograph and point out in it Archpriest Adamantov?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes. This priest Adamantov.

Mr. MORRIS. That is the second person from the right, the priest with the long vestments. Father Korchak, let me ask you the question this way: Where is Colonel Dobrovolsky in that picture?

Mr. KORCHAK. Here he is.

Mr. MORRIS. He is on the extreme right?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. In other words the person to the left of him as you look at the picture is Archpriest Adamantov?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes, that is so.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you yourself appear in that picture?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes, here.

Mr. MORRIS. You are the person on the extreme left in the picture?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. When was that picture taken?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't remember exactly but he thinks it was in the spring of 1947.

Mr. MORRIS. Was that long before Colonel Dobrovolsky died?

Mr. KORCHAK. This was in the spring; and as I remember, Dobrovolsky died in the late fall.

Mr. MORRIS. The records indicate that the date of burial was February 22, 1947.

The INTERPRETER. You see, he doesn't remember the exact dates. He remembers it was cold. It must have been either early spring or late fall.

Mr. MORRIS. But you are sure of the year 1947?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. How long had you known Dobrovolsky then?

The INTERPRETER. He says the photograph must have been in 1946 because it was some time.

Mr. MORRIS. How long had you known Colonel Dobrovolsky?

Mr. KORCHAK. 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948. From 1945 until his death.

Mr. MORRIS. Were you aware of his former service in the Okhrana, the political secret police.

Mr. KORCHAK. It was widely known.

Mr. MORRIS. Was he known by any other name?

Mr. KORCHAK. No, he was not known under any other name.

Mr. MORRIS. To your knowledge?

Mr. KORCHAK. No.

Mr. MORRIS. Was it a practice of Okhrana officers to use more than one name?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know that.

Mr. MORRIS. I show you a photograph and ask you if you will identify the wooden cross with the inscription in this picture which was taken in the Wiesbaden Cemetery?

The INTERPRETER. He says that while he was in Europe this cross was not there. It was evidently erected after he left.

Mr. MORRIS. When did you leave?

The INTERPRETER. He left in December 1949.

Mr. MORRIS. December 1949?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. What, to the best of your knowledge, is the political reputation of the Nachodstrasse Church in Berlin which is under the Moscow patriarchy?

The INTERPRETER. He knew the church only before the Bolsheviks came, but when they came, the priests who had remained submitted to the Moscow patriarchy and he doesn't know any further about that.

Senator JOHNSTON. When did they come, approximately?

Mr. KORCHAK. At the end of the war when Berlin was taken.

Mr. MORRIS. That was the Reverend Sergei Polozhenskii, the primate in that church?

Mr. KORCHAK. Yes.

Mr. MORRIS. Is his assistant one Igor Fromke?

The INTERPRETER. He doesn't know.

Mr. MORRIS. Do you know whether the Reverend Polozhenskii wrote to Archpriest Adamantov in the Wiesbaden Church to come under the Soviet jurisdiction?

The INTERPRETER. He says yes, he knows about it.

All three of them received similar letters, Dobrovolsky and—

Mr. MORRIS. What did these letters say?

The INTERPRETER. Asking them to submit to the Moscow Church. But they did not answer. He says that, at that time, they did not know where the church authorities were because they were moving from place to place trying to get away from the Bolsheviks and trying to get to where the Americans were. When they received the letter they were pretty much at sea. They did not know where their superiors were and they just let it go. They did not answer.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much. We appreciate very much the trouble you have taken to come down and testify for us.

Senator JOHNSTON. We certainly appreciate it.

Mr. MORRIS. Thank you very much for coming. We are most grateful to you.

(The subcommittee then heard two witnesses on another subject and, at 12:55 p. m. the hearing was adjourned.)

APPENDIX I

(The following documents were submitted by Mr. Tytell during his testimony on February 8, 1957. See p. 4110.)

CERTIFICATE

Mr. Feodor Yurieff, colonel of the Tsar's Russia, has been employed here as warden of the Orthodox Church Peter and Paul at Göttingen. At the same time he holds the direction of the choir of the church. He has executed these employments with great cleverness and he was of great use for us as a composer of sacred music, too. The wife of Colonel Yurieff, Mrs. Xenia Yurieff, is a member of our Church Committee. During the first world war already she has served as a nurse and as an artist she performed the decoration of the churches in the field hospitals. Living in exile Mrs. Yurieff continued her church painting and during this war she painted perfectly, alone, the altar of the Orthodox Church at Göttingen; Mrs. Yurieff was of great use for our church by her employment as storyteller and writer of articles of religious and moral character. This is to certify that the couple Yurieff are diligent and useful people and have the abilities which are needed for these works.

SIGNATURE,

Priest of the Greek Orthodox Church.

(For correct translation : Signature illegible.)

[STAMP]

ÜBERSETZUNGSBÜRO,

Welfare Committee, DP Camp Wentorf.

4173

Висбаден 17. VII. 1956.

Я, нижеподписавшийся, состою на службе
 при Русской Православной Церкви в Висбадене
 с сентября 1908 года до настоящего времени, за исключением
 периода Первой мировой войны (1914-1919). Нет
 ни одного человека по имени Добролюбов, который
 служил бы в это время в Русской Церкви, и не было
 ни одного человека с таким именем в русском
 кладбище в Висбадене. Также нет могилы с
 надписью на русском языке. Также нет
 могилы с надписью на русском языке в русском
 кладбище в Висбадене.

О моей встрече с американским журналистом
 Донованом Левинем в Висбадене
 я не могу ничего сказать.

Наименование Православной Церкви
 в Висбадене
 Подпись: Павел Адамантов.

TRANSLATION OF ADAMANTOV'S STATEMENT

WIESBADEN, July 17, 1956.

I, the undersigned, have been serving with the Russian Orthodox Church at Wiesbaden since September 1908 up to now with the exception of the period of the First World War (1914-1919). No person of the name Dobroliubov served with me in any capacity. Also there is no grave with an inscription bearing this name at our Russian cemetery.

I do not recall my meeting with the American journalist, Mr. Don Levine.

Pastor of the Russian Orthodox Church at Wiesbaden.

(signed) Archpriest PAVEL ADAMANTOV.

(Translated by Dr. George Starosolsky, Translator, Library of Congress, October 4, 1957.)

Ich, unterzeichnete, Stepan Rusanow,
 Wohnhaft im Altersheim Varel, bestätige,
 daß ich, während meiner Dienstzeit in
 Staatsanwaltschaft im Zaristischen Rußland
 von 1908 bis 1918 in der Verwaltung
 des Gerichtes nur Schreibmaschinen
 „amerikanischen“ Herkunft oder Fabrikate
 „Remington“ und „Underwood“ gesehen
 habe. Vom Gebrauch einer deutschen
 Maschine des Fabrikates „Adler“ ist
 mir nicht bekannt.
 Meistens arbeitete ich in verschiedenen
 Dienststellen Peterburger Kreises, wobei
 ich Einblick hatte in die verschiedenen
 Verwaltung der Staatsanwaltschaft.
 Varel, den 20 Juli 1956.
 Stepan Rusanow

TRANSLATION OF RUSANOW'S CERTIFICATE

I, the undersigned, Stepan Rusanow, residing at the Old People's Home at Varel, certify herewith that during my service with the District Attorney's office in Czarist Russia from 1908 to 1918 I saw only American typewriters, Remington and Underwood, used by the Court Administration. I have no knowledge whatsoever about the use of typewriters of the make "Adler."

Mostly I worked in various agencies of the District of Petersburg and I had access to different offices of the District Attorney.

Varel, July 20, 1956.

(Signed) STEPAN RUSANOV.

(Translated by Dr. George Starosolsky, Translator, Library of Congress, October 4, 1957.)

I, Marie Widnäs, who am a Doctor of Philosophy, graduated from The University of Helsinki-Helsingfors (Finland) in 1952, and an elder assistant librarian at the University Library of Helsinki-Helsingfors having been working at the forenamed library since autumn 1927, who live in Helsingfors (Finland) Eriksgatan 1. C. Phone 37430, hereby certify that I have been asked by phone by the University Rector's Secretary on July 25th at 10 o'clock in the morning

to meet Mr. Martin Tytell, Examiner of Disputed Documents, and go to him to the State Archives in Helsinki-Helsingfors in search for documents dated from the time July 1913 and issued by The Russian Ministry of Intern Affairs, Police Department, Special Section (Ministerstvo Vnutrennich dél. Departament Policii. Po osobomu otdélu) to compare them with the document brought to Finland by Mr. Tytell issued by Ministry of Intern Affairs. Head of Department of The Special Section of the Police Department (Ministerstvo Vnutrennich dél. Zavédyvajuščij Osobym Otdéлом Departamenta Policii) on 12th July 1913 No 2898 (12 ijulja 1913 goda No. 2898) and signed by Eremin. We went through about three thousand documents issued by the said police Department, but we did not even find one bearing the name *Director* of Special Section of the Department Police (*Zavédujuščij Osobym Otdéлом Departamenta Policii*). The opinion of the archivists, who have spent their lifetime in filing Russian documents, and especially those of the Governor General's Office's Chancery, which is the only place where documents sent by Russian authorities can be found in Finland is that the document shown by Mr. Tytell must be a photograph of a forgery, because: because accordingly to the document of June 21th 1913, stating that the forenamed Eremin had been appointed on 11th June 1913, to be a head of the gendarmery office in Finland, could not sign any document issued from the Police Department M. of Intern Affairs in Petersburg (Russia), this being the exact statement of an elder archivist Doct. of Phil. Oli Seitkari. We spent the first day of research in this helped by archivist Salmela, M. A. and archivist Valonemi, M. A. who was kind enough to have photostats arranged for us at the firm Herman Lindell Oy-Ab, Helsingfors-Helsinki, Kaisaniemenk. 1 C. Next days. We looked with the help of Archivist Salmela through all documents even of 1914 from the Chancellery of the Governor General of Finland we found some more documents signed by Eremin. The handwriting of all these signatures of Eremin. the first of them dating from 19th July 1956, is different from the signature on the document belonging in photostat to Mr. Tytell, which is the second reason why the archivists, Seitkari, Salmela, Valonemi and also the elder archivist Blomstedt considered that the document brought from America could not be authentic.

On July 27th we went with Mr. Tytell to the Central Police to make sure that there were no Russian documents preserved elsewhere in the archives of Helsinki. We also got through the newspapers of Helsinki from 1913: *Hufvudstadsbladet*, *Finlands Allmänna Tidningar* and *Finland skaja Gazeta* to get information about when Eremin would have arrived to Helsinki-Helsingfors in July or August 1913—the difference of 13 days between Russian old style and Western new style also being taken into consideration. This research is continued. After this we went to the firm Lindell to make sure of photostats and microfilms of all the material we thus had gathered.

That all this happened thus and has been correctly related by me is hereby certified.

Helsinki-Helsingfors (Finland), July 27th, 1956.

I and the staff of 3 archivists spent three full days with Mr. Tytell in research.

Maria Widnäs,
MARIA WIDNÄS,

Dr. Phil, Elder Assistant Librarian.

Address §Helsinki. Erikeg 1 C 17. Phone nr. 37430.

Wiesbaden

July 17th 56.

This is to certify for
Mr. Martin Lusk

that, although I remain here since over 40 years, I do not recollect ever having heard of a Mr. Dobrolowoff and that there has been nobody of that name ever employed at our Russian orthodox church.

According to the registry of burials, there is at no body of the name of Dobrolowoff buried in our Russian orthodox cemetery. My father, a clergyman at this church since upon 40 years, can remember no one of that name and also, although he has an excellent memory,

can not recollect anybody ever having inquired after a person bearing the name Dobrolowoff or asking to be shown the grave in question. My father has also never met Mr. Isaac Levine

Athanasia Polakoff

- 1 -

Washington, July 17th 1956

My name is Igor Frimke, I am 39 years old, married, having 3 children and living together with my mother, mother-in-law and grandmother in Berlin - Charlottenburg 2, Goethestr. 74 (British Sector of Berlin). I'm a Greek-Catholic or Orthodox, belonging to the parish of the Russian Orthodox Church in Berlin - Wilmersdorf, Kuchelstr. 10 and acting there as a mass-servant or ministrant.

On Sunday, July 15th, I was called out of the altar to meet an American who introduced himself as Mr. Martin K. Tytell, Export court testimony and dealer in typewriters from New York, U.S.A. He asked me if I could speak English, what I affirmed, and at what time the church-service would be over. I told him to return by 12:15 hrs., then he could speak to our chief priest. After the last sermon Mr. Tytell again approached me and father Georgius and put the following questions to us:

Could father Georgius remember an American writer Isaac Don Levine coming to Berlin in March 1950 and asking about a sexton who should work at our church for a long period before the last war by the name of Dobrolibov?

Father Georgius said that such a sexton was never at our church and he can't remember Mr. Don Levine. But on the reason that in our church there have always been two priests, we also should contact father

-2-

Michael who is living not too far away. Mr Tytell asked me to help him in solving this problem and act as his German and Russian interpreter. I agreed and so we went at once over to the flat of father Michael.

Our visit there was not successful and we heard only that father Michael is holding services the next morning in the Nischodstrasse church. Therefore we decided to go there on Monday morning before the church service starts.

On July 10th at 0930 a. m. me and Mr Tytell met again at the entrance of the church, went at once inside and saw father Michael preparing for his duty. We asked him the same questions about Dobrolisov and Mr. Levine like father Yorgius on the previous morning. Father Michael denied them even more strictly and assured me that he doesn't know any such a man. Mr. Tytell then asked for a permission to photograph the building and the surroundings of the church, what was granted without any comments. We went then to find a photographer and let him take some pictures from different sides.

After that we visited two German firms in London.
 - Deutscher Verlag and
 - Wilhelm Brunsche & Co. producing parts for type-
 writers and types for different languages. Unfortunately
 all the addresses and old catalogues of Lamsmayer & Redman,

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which Mr. Tyltill was very interested in, were bombed out and burned during the last war, and the firm Dressische only started their production after the war ^{and was} not making types at all. Some archives might be still saved at the "Bundeskriminalamt" in Wiesbaden we were told. After paying an other unsuccessful visit to the Berlin Sub-Department of that German Federal organization, which was closed, Mr. Tyltill decided to fly to Western Germany the next morning in order to go to Wiesbaden. The rest of the evening went on in preparations for our departure.

Early in the morning of July 17th we were attending a plane at Berlin-Tempelhof to Frankfurt a. Main. We were landing according to the time-table at 0900 hrs. Mr. Tyltill rented a car on the airfield and drove himself to the town of Wiesbaden, where we arrived about 11 or 12 o'clock. Our first visit here was the Federal Criminal Office or "Bundeskriminalamt". Mr. Tyltill and I were shown around different police laboratories and a lot of special instruments and apparatus were brought to our attention. But in the matter of a catalogue or archive of Russian type characters they couldn't help because their old documents were all lost in Berlin during the war.

Near to that office on a hill called "Ständing" is erected a beautiful Russian Orthodox church in honor to a dead Grand Duke of Russia and for his repudiation.

- 4 -

We went there next to find out something more about Mr. Tom Levine and the notorious sexton Dobrolubov. We saw the church from outside and inside, but were led to see the old Russian priest in an adjoining small cottage. We found there a still lively and erect patriarch of 84 years who performs his duties in Wiesbaden now for 55 years. This priest whose memory is functioning well in spite of his age, never saw a Mr. Levine at all and in 1950 especially never talked to him about a man Dobrolubov and never showed him ~~the~~ grave of ~~the~~ such a person. The same thing was confirmed by his daughter, who is speaking fluently English. We also checked the books about all the funerals since 1945 up to now and couldn't find any trace of a Dobrolubov; there is also no grave on the Russian cemetery with such a name. This was the end of our investigations.

I for myself can only say that belonging since my early childhood to the church in Berlin Stachdstrasse I don't ^{know} long sexton with such a name. The same applies to my mother who is also an old member in this church. Our long time sexton and church warden (now for 25 years) cannot be that man, because he has quite another name. Living in the Russian occupied zone of Eastern Germany his name cannot be quoted by reasons of his safety. But no other sexton was employed during all that time.

Igor Frimke

PAPER TO BE PRESENTED AT THE NEW YORK MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE, 1956

Subject: Exposing a Documentary Hoax

Author: Martin K. Tytell, M. B. A., Lecturer on Questioned Documents, New York University, N. Y., Institute of Criminology; Lecturer on Police Science, Brooklyn College; Lane Scholar, New York University.

Address: 123 Fulton Street, New York 38, N. Y.

Time: Saturday, December 29, 1956, 2:00 p. m.

Place: Penn-Top Room, Hotel Statler, New York City

Program: Seminar: Science Versus Crime. AAAS Section on Social Sciences (K) Cosponsored by Society for the Advancement of Criminology

On April 23, 1956, Life Magazine, one of the most influential mass-circulation media in the United States, published an article by the prominent journalist, Isaac Don Levine, entitled "Stalin's Great Secret." The substance of the article was that the late dictator of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, had been a Czarist spy in prerevolutionary days, working for the government against his revolutionary comrades. In support of this contention was produced a typewritten document purportedly signed by a Colonel Yeremin in St. Petersburg on July 12, 1913.

To substantiate the authenticity of this document, which identified Stalin as a Czarist spy, another letter, an official communication from the Russian Acting Director of the Department of Police, dated November 5, 1912, was presented as a "standard," in document examiners' parlance. The Life article asserted that the Stalin-Yeremin document and the standard were both typed on the "same model and same make" of typewriter. Mr. Levine cited a noted document examiner, Mr. Albert D. Osborn, in support of this finding. Mr. Levine's article was later expanded into a book published earlier this year by Coward-McCann.

The Life article was of great interest to me, and I read it carefully. Having devoted a lifetime to the study of type and typewriters, and having engaged in document examination for many years, I was especially attracted by the comparison of the Stalin-Yeremin letter and the standard, as presented in photographs accompanying the article. Even working from the photographs reprinted in the magazine, it was obvious to me that these documents were not typed on the same model typewriter, and in that respect at least the Life article was inaccurate.

The next day, I obtained from Life a number of reprints of the article. These reprints were distributed by me to my classes in Police Science at Brooklyn College for examination. The students in my classes easily detected twenty-five differences in type design between the two documents, and none of the students in the group was of the opinion that the Stalin-Yeremin letter and the standard could have been typed on the same model or make of machine.

My interest in the questioned documents led me to request an examination of the originals of both letters. I communicated regarding the Stalin-Yeremin letter with Mr. Levine, the author, and with Leland Stanford University Library concerning the standard. I could obtain the original of neither; the Stalin-Yeremin letter is in a vault of the Tolstoy Foundation, while the Leland Stanford people could not locate the standard. However, I did secure a good photostat copy of the Stalin-Yeremin letter from the Tolstoy Foundation, and a good photostat copy of the standard from Mr. Levine.

But my investigation of the Stalin-Yeremin letter, which eventually involved my traveling through several European countries, interviewing people who might have knowledge of this matter, and examining several thousand documents, has convinced me that the letter is a fraud.

Now, I would like to make clear that my investigation concerns the authenticity of the Stalin-Yeremin letter only as a problem in document examination. I say this because I understand that in some circles the letter has led to political controversy in which I have no interest whatsoever. In addition, my findings are not to be construed as impugning the motives of Life, Mr. Levine, or Mr. Osborn. As a document examiner, however, I am concerned with exposing fraudulent documents, and the Stalin-Yeremin letter is a fraud.

Because it seems the most logical way in which to tell the story, I should like to relate the course of my investigation chronologically from that day when my classes at Brooklyn College and I examined the questioned document and the standard.

The Levine book and article identify the typewriter used to produce the documents as a Russian machine made by Remington and exported to Russia in pre-revolutionary days. An investigation at the Remington Plant in Elmira and at the offices of the company in this city established that the standard was indeed produced by a Remington machine. However, the questioned document, as I shall refer to the Stalin-Yeremin letter, was not written on a Remington at all.

My investigation led me abroad, to Germany, in July of this year. In Frankfurt, I found that the questioned document was in fact written on an Adler—a machine manufactured in Germany. The Adler factory was demolished by bombing, and therefore a determination of the date of the machine used for the questioned document was impossible. However, company employees who had been manufacturing typewriters for many years stated that Russian type which produced the questioned document was first manufactured in the year 1912. But the questioned document could not have been typed in 1912 or even 1913, but much later since the type is worn and battered. The questioned document must have been written many years after the manufacture of the machine used. I have taken samples of type taken from the 1912 Adler, which may be compared with the questioned document in support of my identification.

While in Germany, I retraced some of the steps described by Mr. Levine in his book. On page 107 of the book, Stalin's Great Secret, Mr. Levine tells of his search for a Dobroliubov, who had been an officer of the Okhrana, or Czarist Secret Police. The author related how he visited the Greek Orthodox Church on Nachodstrasse in Charlottenburg, Berlin, where the priest "responded instantly" to the name of Dobroliubov, and he dates this incident some time in March 1950. I visited the same church and spoke to the priest, who had held his office for many years. He knew nothing about Dobroliubov, and he did not recollect meeting any American or anyone else who had mentioned that name. In fact, there was a second priest who assisted at the church, whom I interviewed, who likewise knew nothing about Dobroliubov and did not recollect any inquiry about such person.

Mr. Igor Fromke, a man of thirty-nine who serves as a ministrant or mass servant, who had been a prisoner of war of the Americans and speaks fluent English as well as Russian and German, offered to assist me in my research. In brief summary, let Fromke tell his own part of the story:

"On Sunday, July 15, I was called out of the altar to meet an American who introduced himself as Martin K. Tytell. He asked could I speak English and what time the church service would be over. After the last sermon, Mr. Tytell again approached me and Father Sergius and put the following questions to us: Could Father Sergius remember an American writer, Isaac Don Levine, coming to Berlin in March 1950, asking about a sexton who should work at our church for a long period before the last war by the name of Dobroliubov? Father Sergius said that such a sexton was never at our church and he can't remember Mr. Don Levine. But since our church has always had two priests, he said we also should contact Father Michael. On July 16th at 9:30 A. M., me and Mr. Tytell met again at the entrance to the church, went at once inside and saw Father Michael preparing for his duty. We asked him the same questions. Father Michael denied them even more strictly and assured me that he doesn't know any such man."

In the Levine book, also on page 107, it is stated: "The search for Dobroliubov brought me to Wiesbaden and ended there, in the adjoining cemetery. The good local priest had taken me to his grave. He had recently died, and with him lay buried many secrets of the Okhrana."

The next day I left Berlin for Wiesbaden, taking Fromke with me to act as an interpreter for a visit to the German Crime Laboratory, still in search of clues to the typewritten Stalin-Yeremin letter. A short distance away lay the beautiful chapel referred to by Mr. Levine on page 107, and I spoke to the local priest mentioned there. This priest too knew nothing of Dobroliubov, and had never heard the name in his tenure at the church dating back to 1908, and again let Fromke tell it:

"Near to that office (the crime laboratories) on a hill called Nevoberg is erected a beautiful Russian Orthodox Church in honor to a dead grand duchess of Russia and for her sepulchre. We were led to see the old Russian priest in a adjoining small cottage. This still lively and erect old patriarch of eighty-four years, who performs his duties in Wiesbaden now for fifty-five years, this priest whose memory is functioning well in spite of his age, never saw a Mr. Levine at all, and in 1950 especially, never talked to him about a man named Dobroliubov, and

never showed him the grave of such a person. The same thing was confirmed by his daughter, who is speaking English fluently. We also checked the books about all the funerals since 1945 up to now, and couldn't find any trace of a Dobroliubov. There is also no grave in the Russian cemetery with such a name. I for myself, can only say that, belonging since my early childhood to the church in Berlin Nachodstrasse, I don't know any sexton with such a name. The same applies to my mother who is also an old member of this church. Our longtime sexton and church warden cannot be that man. He has quite another name. Living in the Russian-occupied zone of Eastern Germany, his name cannot be quoted for reasons of safety. But no other sexton was employed during all that time (25 years)."

I went through the adjoining cemetery; there was no tombstone for Dobroliubov. There was no record in the church registry of deaths, going back to 1945, of a burial of such an individual or anyone bearing a name similar to Dobroliubov.

The "lively and erect old patriarch," Levine's "good local priest," who had led him to see Dobroliubov's grave, himself gave me, voluntarily, the following affidavit:

"Wiesbaden, 17-VII-1956. I, the signer of this, am on duty at the Russian Orthodox Church in Wiesbaden since September 1908, till today, except the time of the First World War (1914-1919). With me there was not at our church on no kind of a job any person with the name Dobroliubov. Similarly on our Russian cemetery (sic) is no grave with the same name. About my encounter with an American journalist Mister Don Levine I don't remember anything." Signed: Dean of the Orthodox Russian Church in Wiesbaden, Archpriest Paul Adamantov.

I then went to Hamburg, where I consulted Professors Tange and Johansen, heads of the Slavonic and Finnish departments of the Hamburg University. They examined my copy of the Yeremin-Stalin document and labeled it a fraud. They referred me to the archives in Helsinki, Finland, for documentary proof.

From Hamburg, I made a side tour to Varel, near Bremen, where I was able to interview two men who had worked in government offices in St. Petersburg in Czarist days. Col. Feodor Yurieff of the Russian army worked as a government prosecutor from 1904 to 1917, while Stepan Rusanow worked from 1908 to 1918 as a typist in various offices in St. Petersburg. They had seen many Remington machines in the course of their work, while the Adler was a stranger to them. I have affidavits from both these individuals.

Later in Helsinki, I found that a tremendous quantity of documentary evidence dating back to Czarist days is available. In fact, there is a question as to why Mr. Levine chose an obscure document from Leland Stanford University Library as a standard, when thousands of authentic official communications of Czarist days are available in Finland.

Finland before World War I, was a province of Russia, and the same Yeremin who supposedly signed the questioned document identifying Stalin as a spy, served as chief of the gendarmerie of the province. I examined more than 3,000 documents, including 85 signed by Yeremin. None of the documents was typed on an Adler machine; as for the signatures, the difference is so obvious that no further comment is needed.

I was assisted in my research in the Helsinki archives by a trained librarian. In extract, here is her statement:

"I, Maria Widnas, Ph. D., University of Helsinki-Helsingfors, elder assistant librarian at the University Library, was asked by the University Rector's secretary on July 25 to meet Mr. Martin Tytell, Examiner of Disputed Documents, and go with him to the state Archives in search for documents dated from July 1913 and issued by the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs, Police Department, Special Section, to compare them with the document brought to Finland by Mr. Tytell, issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, head of the Department of the Special Section of the Police Department on 12th July 1913 (Nr. 2898), and signed by Eremin (Yeremin). We went through about three thousand documents issued by the Police Department, but we did not find even one bearing the name Director of Special Section of the Police Department (Zavedujusci j Osobym Otedelom Departamenta Policii). The opinion of the archivists who have spent their lifetime in filing Russian documents, and especially those of the Governor General's Office's Chancellery, which is the only place where documents sent by Russian authorities can be found in Finland, is that the document shown by Mr. Tytell must be a photograph of a forgery.

"We spent the first day of research assisted by archivist Salmelma, M. A., and Archivist Valoniemi, M. A., who was kind enough to have photostats (of genuine Yerebin letters) arranged for us. In the next few days, we looked with the help of Archivist Salmelma through all the documents even of 1914 from the Chancellery of the Governor General of Finland. We found some more documents signed by Erebin. The handwriting of all of these signatures of Erebin, the first of them dated 19th July, 1913, is different from the signature of the document belonging in photostat to Mr. Tytell, which is the second reason why the archivists, Seitkari, Salmela, Valoniemi, and also the elder Archivist Blomstedt, considered that the document brought from America could not be authentic. On July 27th we went with Mr. Tytell to the Central Police to make sure that there were no Russian documents preserved elsewhere in the archives of Helsinki."

Certified and Signed: Maria Widnas, Dr. Phil., Elder Assistant Librarian.

As further corroborative evidence, among the Helsinki documents I found a government order appointing Yerebin to his post in Finland, dated June 21, 1913. A piece of correspondence indicating that Yerebin was in the midst of his business in Helsinki dated July 19, 1913, was also uncovered. Mr. Levine is aware that the questioned document, dated July 12, 1913, from St. Petersburg is inconsistent with the time of his appointment in Helsinki, but has said that it is possible that Yerebin did not report to his new post immediately upon assignment. But the document dated July 19, which indicates that Yerebin was fully in charge of his post in Finland and apparently working there for some time, makes it most unlikely that he could have been in St. Petersburg just a week before.

The Finnish authorities were most cooperative, and I have photostats and microfilm of numerous documents which have been offered to Mr. Levine and Life for their inspection.

All of the circumstances surrounding the Stalin-Yerebin letter, therefore, support the finding that this document is fraudulent.

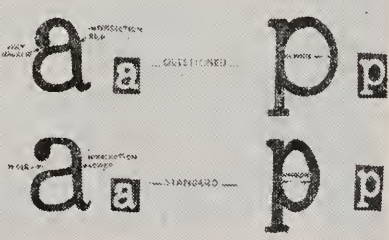
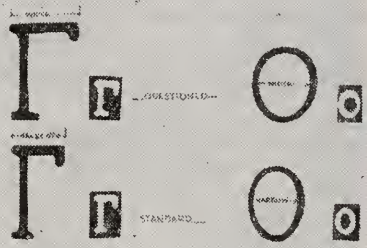
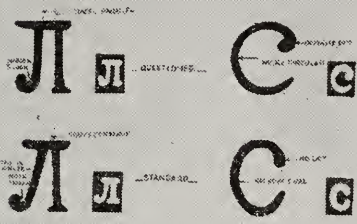
I might add, as a postscript, that I have offered my findings to Life, and to Mr. Levine. But truth usually has a difficult time catching up with falsehood, so that it is unlikely that this bit of research will ever gain the circulation given the fraudulent document.

Life, "Stalin's Great Secret," 4/23/56



A typing expert was convinced that the Stalin letter (1) and a document known to have come from the St. Petersburg Police Department (2) were both written on machines of the same model and make then in use in Russia.

COMPARISON OF TYPE DESIGN CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN THE QUESTIONED AND STANDARD



QUESTIONED DOCUMENT

М И Л О С Т В Ы Й Г У Д А Р Ъ

М и л о с т в ѝ й Г у д а р ѝ

THE ADLER TYPEWRITER

COMPARISON CHART

Questioned Document Signature
With
Known Standard Signatures

QUESTIONED
SIGNATURE
"STALIN - YEREMIN" Document

STANDARD SIGNATURES
of YEREMIN selected at
random from 65 photographed
at the Helsinki, Finland
Government Archive.

Martin K. Tytell, Document Analyst
123 Fulton Street, New York 38, NY.

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