

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATUSOW CASE

HEARING
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
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STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM (The Significance of the Matusow Case)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 20, 1955

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 adjournment, at 2:10 p. m., in room 475 Senate Office Building, Senator John L. McClellan, presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee), and McClellan.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel, Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, professional staff member.

Senator McCLELLAN. The committee will come to order.

Counsel, who is your first witness?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Harvey Matusow, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. Come around, Mr. Matusow.

Mr. Matusow, you have previously testified in the course of this investigation before this committee.

TESTIMONY OF HARVEY MATUSOW

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. You acknowledge you are under the same oath previously administered to you to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you, God?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir, I do.

Senator McCLELLAN. Mr. Counsel, you may proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, may the record show my counsel, Mr. Faulkner has not been able to attend today.

He was involved in a trial proceeding in New York which is still in progress and could not come to Washington and I am prepared to testify without counsel but I would like the record to show that.

Senator McCLELLAN. You announce to the committee that you are willing to proceed with your testimony without the benefit of counsel present?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

If something comes up—I will adhere to the committee orders—some question with which I am not familiar in relation to the law—I can't foresee any—at that time if I might request from the committee postponing that question in order to make a long distance call to New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the record should show I talked to Mr. Matusow over the telephone several nights ago and he said he would not be able to be here today because he had personal business of his own and he wanted to know if the committee would hear him if he came on Tuesday without counsel.

I told him that would be a matter of his choice, I couldn't promise him anything.

I told him if he came the committee would hear him. He wanted to have a stipulation that if he came without counsel, the committee would permit him to telephone counsel when he needed to do so. I told him such a stipulation could not be made because it would put the committee at his mercy. I talked to Mr. Faulkner last night and he knew he was unable to be here.

He was expecting a telephone call from Mr. Matusow. I told him the committee was expecting Mr. Matusow to come today in line with the stipulation Mr. Matusow and counsel had made on Monday and it would be up to Mr. Matusow to decide whether he should enjoin Mr. Faulkner to come with him or get another counsel or come without counsel.

I say this so the record should show clearly that Mr. Matusow is not caught by surprise without counsel but he is here at his own election without counsel.

Senator McCLELLAN. Mr. Matusow, you know that your counsel is not present. Are you willing to proceed without your counsel?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. I would like a clarification. Maybe Mr. Sourwine misunderstood me on the phone call. I said if there were one or maybe two questions that would come up at the end of the hearing or prior to it if there would be a 5-minute recess if I could take the one or two questions and call counsel but not stop after such a question came up.

Senator McCLELLAN. Well, proceed, and when a situation arises that raises an issue, the committee will resolve it at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. With the indulgence of the Chair I would like to ask one preliminary question on this matter. Did you, Mr. Matusow, say anything to me over the telephone about desiring to accumulate your questions and make one telephone call at the end of the session?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is yes. However, I might not have understood it. I might not have put it in those words. I don't know but my recollection is that I did.

You were busy, you had another telephone call.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't want to make an issue of this, but under the circumstances I should tell you there was another person on the line when I talked with you. What is your recollection now?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is that I said to you that I would like to, if there are a number of questions at a recess, accumulate the questions and call counsel.

Mr. SOURWINE. If the committee deems that matter important, we can go into it further.

Senator McCLELLAN. I don't think it is important until we reach some point where it arises and we can try to resolve it at that time. Proceed with the examination.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were asked by the committee to bring a number of papers and documents. Do you have them with you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have the address book—

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which you were asked to bring.

Will you tell us what that is and then send it forward, please.

Mr. MATUSOW. It will take a moment. This is an address book which I kept, which I referred to, I believe, on the first day of my testimony, which I think was the 21st of February, about which I said it contained the name of an individual who was present at the Rochambeau Restaurant in New York, when I had dinner with Elizabeth Bentley on October 3, 1952. This is that address book. The name is found on page—I will put an asterisk next to it and initial it.

Mr. SOURWINE. What page?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will put a paper clip on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Read the name.

Mr. MATUSOW. The name is Bill Henry at 56 West 11th Street, New York City. I don't have the phone number.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you talked with Mr. Henry since you first mentioned his existence as an unnamed person before this committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir. What is the general nature of the entries in this address book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Various and sundry names, some in show business, producers, directors, people here in Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do the persons whose names appear in this book all have any one thing in common?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Aren't they all friends of yours?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not necessarily. I have American Broadcasting Co., of which I want the phone number.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they all addresses of persons or companies which you desire to keep for your own purposes?

Mr. MATUSOW. At one time I did. Whether I do now is another story.

Mr. SOURWINE. Over what period of time did you make the entries in this book?

Mr. MATUSOW. This book—on 1951 through this year.

This book is a composite of a few books. In transit last year a few address books I had got waterlogged. This one did, too. This was a blank. I had transposed other names in here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying now the entries in this book were many of them copied into this book last year?

Mr. MATUSOW. Last year, yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. From previous lists?

Mr. MATUSOW. From another book, as I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. From another book or lists?

Mr. MATUSOW. The waterlog marks show on this book.

Mr. SOURWINE. So the first entries made in this book physically were last year, 1954?

Mr. MATUSOW. The last entries made in this book were in 1955.

Mr. SOURWINE. The first entries made in this book were in 1954.

Mr. MATUSOW. In this specific book; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you send that forward, please?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have with you the recording of the wire tape of a union meeting at the Hotel New Yorker, concerning which you testified?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why didn't you bring that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I said I had been unable to locate it. I have better than 200 hours of blank or previously recorded tape recordings and to play 200 hours of tape to find approximately 3 minutes is a next-to-impossible task. I refreshed my memory and that specific tape recording was made by investigators of this committee, according to the information I received from Don Surine. It is a dubbing from the original wire or tape recording made by investigators of this committee of that meeting.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Surine, as you know, is not an investigator for this committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. As I said, Mr. Surine told me he received it from investigators of this committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are attempting to give second degree hearsay testimony about what is on this particular recording. The committee instructed you to produce the recording and you stated you would do so.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have been unable to do so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it your testimony that you still have this recording in your possession?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will endeavor to locate it but this will take time. As you know I have been in jail for a few days and—

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, the committee could, if it seemed the most expedient thing, ask you to produce all the tape recordings in your possession and the committee could then go through them and find this particular one if it is there.

The committee has preferred to ask you to proceed and produce this particular recording. Will you do so?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will attempt to do so.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you said last time and the committee still does not have the recording.

Mr. MATUSOW. If I find it, the committee will get it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether you have it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will have to play some 200 hours of tape recording to find it. I might be lucky and find it on the first hour.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know for sure you still have it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I presume I have it. I do a lot of tape recording music—I do a lot of other things, I might have erased that recording.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not mark it or otherwise designate it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I had marked it at one time but I have since taken markings off, I reused many tapes and that happened to be one of those tapes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I should like to ask, Mr. Chairman, that Mr. Matusow be instructed to produce this recording if he has it or to state to the committee that he no longer has it.

Mr. MATUSOW. I will play the recordings and attempt to do so.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, do you have the intermittent diary, consisting of loose pages, the first one being January 1, 1948, and

the last April 11, 1952, concerning which there has been testimony here which you were asked to bring before the committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I do not. The diary is still in evidence in Judge Dimock's court.

Mr. SOURWINE. I send you, Mr. Matusow what purports to be a photostatic copy of that diary and ask you whether you can identify it as such?

(Document presented to witness.)

Mr. MATUSOW. Without going over each page, presuming that it is intact, the diary if you would stipulate that this is the complete diary in Judge Dimock's court. Looking at it, it is part of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recognize the first page?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I recognize subsequent pages. I presume it is intact. I will agree to that to save time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, this document was received from the Department of Justice as a result of an official request by the committee and it is stated by the Department to be a photostat of the entire diary as it was placed into the record in Judge Dimock's court. I ask that this document as identified by Mr. Matusow may go into the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 78" and appears below :)

EXHIBIT No. 78

JANUARY 1ST, 1948.

It is now New Years Eve. All over the city and as a mater of fact most of the world is celebrating in one form or another. Some people are at gay parties and some are sitting at home, or a place that they can call home and are celebrating in seilence.

I feel that seilence is the way it should be celebrated these days. Last week it was Christmas, Peace on Earth and Good Will Towards Man. Thats a joke. How many were killed in Palastine and in the rest of the world. Some peace. It makes me laugh.

Today is New Year, every body is saying that we should have a happy and a prosperous New Year. That is also a joke. What is the outlook for this country and for the rest of the world. Higher prices starvation, and a depression plus many other things that do the world no good. People should not be spending money and having such a good time for the rest of the world needs the help that the money spent tonite would bring.

After tonites party I decided to give up the AYD and the rest of the Progressive organizations including the CP which after much looking into I think is a reactionary outfit that is as the House Of Rep. says UNAMERICAN. The people in the CP have one track minds and they are two narrow minded. They are not the type that I feel I should associate with. I belive that this country needs changes but I also belive that The CP would make it worse. These changes can be accomplished by a process of a lot of things, and as I said I will disaffiliate with the Pro. Orgz. that I belong to now. I feel that in this new year I will make a go of the things I am setting out to do. Mom and Pop are at Minnies to a partie. Jules Pheffer in on my S--T list. Elonore- A-s is O--Y. Lost \$3.67 on horse today. Filled out application for state bones for \$250.00-----
Saying for the Day—Harvey you are a person that knows nothing about a lot of things.

NOVEMBER 30, 1950

Left Taos about noon, met Howard S in Santa Fe, he was looking for work at los Aloms as a CIC etc. . . no openings, went to sandia base and got the same story, made application with navel shipyard in San Francisco, but before getting there got temporary job at Window Rock, some sort of public relations work. . . .
If it does not become permant he will move on the Calif. . . .
I spent the nite of Dec 1, 1950 at Hotel El Navajo in Gallup. . . .
Decide to go to New York insted of cost, due to Shermans job at window rock, .

Made res. on El Capatian which left Gallup at 422 AM Dec 2 1950, expect to be in New York on Dec 4 at ' 8 45. . While in Albuquerque on Nov 30 I spoke to Jay Saunders. He was very busy and couldn't see me then, but I must remember to call him on the return to Albuquerque.
Just remembered where I knew Alex & Lee E. e from. . They are the people that Henry B...k. told me to look up when I got to the cost.

Monday Dec 17 51

December 1951.

Went down to the field to see Martha and the Hoppes at Security. Martha is feeling much better now that they got the loan. I had to call Dudley Evans and cancel the Columbus Apointment. At the field the Capt. in charge of Security had me turned over to the Provost Marshall, raised all kinds of hell about my being there. talks of baring me from the field, but I doubt if he will get away with it. Martha took me down to the Meeting and Christmas party of the Miami Valley Association of Industrial Editors, it was at Neils on route 25. I had a chance to speak about the Party to them and was invited back to continue my talk (Martha heard that I went over quite well) McIntre of ARMCO was interested in me as well as, Glee Hancock of Dayton Power and Light, and Ed De Hart Gardner Board and Cartons Middletown Ohio Bob Frame of Standard Register also wants me to contact him . . . All in all it was a very sucessful meeting, I am planning on joining . . .

Tues 18 December 1951

had appointment at the dayton power and light co. main street, dayton ohio with GLEE HANCOCK, who is the editor of FOWARD. She became interested in counterattack when I spole last nite at the meeting of industrial editors. I had a long session with them and they posed the idea of using counterattack on a mass distribution basis. by putting out a monthly supplement at five cents per. something that industry could by for 500 or 600 dollars a year and have at least a thousand a month to distribute to their workers. decided it would be worth while taking the idea to new york. Checked TWA and found they had no flights, went to Penna RR. Took the American to NY. It was 2tw hours lzte getting in. the snow had been preaty bad. I had a coach ticket all the way to Pitts, at which time I bought an upper birth. I must say it wasn't bad, I slept well . . . I had to borrow 15.00 from BILLIE LONG.

Before I left Mrs Jacobs asked me if she could use my room for he son and his family ove the xmas holidays. . I told her yes . . .

* * *

Before leaving Dayton I called Jennings of OSI and informed hime of the security problem of yesterday. . . I also Called Harlen Shaw and told him that I was going to New York. . . .

Wed december 19 1951

Arrived in New York about 7:45. went immideatly to the stand, and found out that the folks were at home. I called and made arrangements to meet them at 1PM..... I then went to counterattack, and while waiting for Ted to arrive I called John Kleinkoff, he told me that the ball was rolling, and would I call him back in about an hour and he would see if anything was up. I did and the result was a meeting with JJ Mc Carthy of the Breau, and four men from the US Att's office. Mc Carthy picked me up and drove me to the lower part of the east river drive wher the others were waiting.... I was introduced as John Alden. They asked me if I had been in the Party, and what the party had on me, and if any what did I ever hear any of the 17 say that was part of the indictment. The meeting lasted from 2:30 until 4PM. at which time Mr Cohn said he was almost sure that they would use me..... At which point mr Mc Carthy drove me back to 23rd street. Kirkpatrick got in about 9:15 and I hit him with the monthly supplement idea. Everybody at Counterattack it hot on the idea but it will take time and money to push it accross..... Got home about 9PM had supper and went to bed I left a copy of my report with Mc Namara, he will send it to me here in Dayton. Counter-attack used my piece on Botkin in their issue last week.(Treas of Wester

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Thure 20 to Saturday 22 December 51.

stayed in the bronx with the folks, made the rounds and saw Ester, Abe, Helen, and Irv and Ida. I was able to get 320.00 from Irv with the promise that I would return it by may.....

Still I haven't received my discharge and final pay..... will call the field when I return and wed....

Made reservations with TWA on flight 371 to dayton...leaving sun 23 dec at 6:30P'--//

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Sunday 23 December 51/

Called Martha and told her to pick me up in dayton.....

Gave the folks 15.00 for christmas..... kissed them goodby and was on my way/.....

I got to La Guardia and found that the plane was late, it would be weeles up at 9PM two and a half hours late..... Had a three dollar dinner on TWA planes(should be late more often)Thats when I'm not in a hurry)

Met a guy named Wayne Clark, say he knows Ed..... Good contact for Columbus.

Member of the Franklin Post AL. Have his number and will call when I get to Columbus.....

Had an interesting time with the stewardess, Name ESTER WILLIAMS... is a twin, and lives in Kansas City, has been on the job 6 months, and needs something different... has a bit on the ball, but it needs development

She is going to call me New Years Eve.....

Got to Dayton about 1PM got into town 1 45AM and there were martha and ed.

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Monday 24 December 51.

Sat up with ed and martha till about 4AM talking about the good possibilities on the new commie hunt..... all very happy about it.....

Got up and went Xmas shopping, martha and me in the green car and ed in the black one..... I had deposited all my giftes there..... they bought me a pair of gloves same as ones that I had in NY..... no difference for two are better they one.....

I picked up the book (Cuba Libre) stopped by the house and received my mail/// one nice letter from Congressman Velde.....

Got home at 6PM ed wasn't there, he finally called at seven and said the lights didn't work..... We went up toen to get him at the Van Cleave he was in the mens roon drunker then I have ever seen him, how does martha take it./ got him on home, and a we bit soberer... at midnight we went to mass at St Mary's Ed was in no condition to go..... I didn't get much of a kick out of it..... home and to bed..... first it was merry xmas....

I got a pair of slippers from ed, and three shirts and two ties.....

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XMAS DAY 25 DEC 1951

Up early and ed was still drunk..... decided not to go to columbus... Martha very disappointed.... Ed in very nasty mood.... something should be done about his drinking..... Got up to martha's mothers.... whole family was there.... presents for all..... Got there at two and left at 4..... Martha took me to town.... Ed didn't want to go... Martha very un happy.....

At mid-Night I went over to Billies and had a quick one. Kay hadn't returned yet MERRY CHRISTMAS.....?????

Wed 26 December 51.

up at SAM called Kate Parrish, she had just gotten back from trip to WV, merry Christmas and all that. Made date to have dinner at the Town Tap at 6PM..... at 8 30 I called Harlan Shaw. He told me that the teletype came in about three hours after I left..... He will call in sometime this week to continue our work on the jenks and milan case.... also will have copy of the inditment for me to read..... went back to bed///.....

got dressed about 1PM and went down town..... Tried to cash a check at Lorraine... they wont cash a personal check.... remind yourself not to go there anymore.... the least you could do would be drink at a bar that would honor your personal check.....

went over to elders and paid my bill, and opened a charge account..... they cashed my check..... then went to the movie saw "When Worlds Collide" a very good

science fiction show.....More people should appreciate the story. At 6 I met Kay, then to her house/// sat around there until 11PM and then home.

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Thursday 27 December 51.

Called Martha Edmiston and made appointment to meet her for lunch, which I did. She had an appointment with Roy Smith of Elders about the job three, won't know until Monday if they are willing to pay the salary or not. Went to the Metropolitan and opened a charge account. Check them on Monday to see if it is approved. If not they are stuck with two suits and a coat which I bought Called Bob Frame and made an appointment with him at Standard Register. Had a long talk with Jordan the personnel man. he is quit interested in counterattack, and in the supplement went to see bill snoots of the IUE again I found interest in Counterattack . . . Bill invited me to the meeting of the Exet board of District 7 IUE on Jan 11 in Cleveland He thinks that counterattack should be in the hands of every local officer, business agent and organizer, s well as the shop stewards Matusow keep your fingers crossed Went up to see Doc Fischer, he was busy, had a beer with chuck Glover, went to the Esquireer bar and home at 10 PM. . . .

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Friday 28 December 51. . .

didn't break house until noon. . Called Andrew Freeman and made a 3 30 appointment with him at the GHR div Malluable Iron. . . Bought a 25 automitac all told cost me almost 40.00 with wht I have in the bank its kind of expensive insurance. Had a long talk with Freeman, will get to see more of him. The communist are very active and strong in his plant, something has to be done about it. . . I am going to work on an article about the NNLC in conjuction with Freeman and hope to use that as the start of putting the skids under it. . . . lets hope it works out He is also taking Counterattack under consideration. . . Back down town, had dinner with Doug Engles, Billie Long, ?????? Kate Parrish and Byron Dempsey. Left there and went home to be. . bed/. . . .

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Saturday 29 December 51. . .

Got up early, took a bath, and got all preatyed up for Pat Heritts wedding sat around the house reading a book on the crime in the USA. They (Crime Inc) are the only non gov't acency in USA who are organized well enough to beat the communist organization. They have the money and the power. I am going to solicit there help. I have yet to work out the full plan, but I will have to offer the, something, I only hope that what they get out of it doesn't hurt the American people more than than Communism will Only God will know. I am sure that I will be doing the right thing. However I believe I will have to wait until my open testimony to get any action on the subject. . Arrived at Pats wedding, saw nobody I knew. . . Martha and Ed weren't there. . . Got a little high had to sleep it off a six o'clock. . . .¹ After the wedding reception, where I hob nobed with all the brass that would have spit on me a few weeks ago, it was very satisfying to look at them at an equal level. Just call me mister thats me.

#####

Met with Harland Shaw and Mellich about the Clint Jenks and Milan Grozer . . . signed up the statements . . . Hope they can use the Grozer thing to get otis out of Jail , well will see soon enough

Sunday 30 December 1951.

Up at 11AM. . . finished reading the book "Costello". up half the nite reading it, and the start of "Men Who Lead Labour". by Minton and Stewart. Went down town and got on the bus to junction 73, got there at 12:30 and called Martha.

¹ Two lines referring to a person in no way connected with the Matusow matter were here deleted.

Martha picked me up at 1:30, went down to Lebenon and got club soda. Stopped by her mothers place gave cecil a pair of boot for christmas. had a beer there with lyle and a fellow named whity, Hartman. Got back to the place, Ed was in good humor, shortly thereafter Parks got there. He had bought himself a British Austin, sold his hot red ford. Things went along fine, guests started to arrive at eight sharp. Billie, Kate Parrish, Kay Parker, Kay Kemper, O'Niel, Schieder, both of them brought girls, Kennie Ruggles and his wife, Doc Fischer, the Moons, I got to feeling real good, and at one point I tried a head stand and it resulted in the spilling a drink belonging to Doc Fischer. It was about that time that as usual I hit the sack, the next thing I knew was Parks waking me and yhe place deserted except for Martha and Ed, Martha was crying, and Ed was his usual Drunkin self, It was the worst that I have ever seen, Parks said some hard things to Ed things that he need for a long time, Both Martha and ed were about to leave. I have never seen Martha cry so much, poor kid, she misses John L who she loves dearly, what could I do. . . Ed blames most of his problems on me, thinking that I am trying to steal Martha from him, why doesn't he realize that his own actions are doing just that. Got home about 3:30 and hit the sack.

#####

Monday 31 December 51

Up at 9 10 phone was ringing but nobody answered it, back to bed, parks called at 1230 and picked me up at 130 went out to his place and chashed a check, then back to town and started the rounds. . Ester Williams did't come in a TWA, false alarm, back to Fairborn, and all the bars, then into skyway, a party across the street from Parks place, some drunk there didn't loke my looks and I left at the stroke of 12 I was sitting in a car and thinking about nothing in general. I left there took the bus to Dayton, and a cab to home. I was wished a happy new year, and my anwser was, Happy New Year, but we need less celebration, and more prayer and understanding. . . .
HAPPY NEW YEAR TO YOU ALL?

Tuesday January 1 1952

HAPPY NEW YEAR.

Martha and Ed have been married eighteen years today. and after talking to her it looks as though it will all turn out okay. I got up at 10ish and did some writing and then some reading. I had breakfast and went to a movie, and saw DOUBLE DININITE WITH G. Marx etc, I then saw a show with G Cooper and the Florida Everglades. . came back to the house and saw the second half of the rose bowl game. Ill. beat Stanford 40 to 7, after trailing in the half 7 to 6. Got up stairs did some reading and had a poor nights sleep. all in all I would say that New Years Eve an Day started with a thud, and the way I have felt in the past few days prove it. I'm just tired, but with a new year starting it will all be alright.

#####

January 2 1952 Wed

up at nine called Martha, downtown at 1130 had lunch at Culps. saw Harry Becker, he has some good ideas, will contack him next wed. and thursday to a Leigon Meeting.

Saw Harry Green will renew contact next week, hope they use counterattack. Must see Father Caugnaunton tommorow, he is finnally sold on counterattack. Back to the unions. Must contact the steel and auto workers here in dayton. five pm and over to the moraine, had a beer woth chuck and doc and home at 7PM.

(at 3 I was up to the Dayton Power and light, Fitz is interested, Del will push it. Must be back there by the 15th or 16th)

#####

Thursday January 3 1952

up at 9 PM called Martha at the field. Got down town at 9 30 and looked at some used cars, I saw pleanty of them, but frankley there isn't a one worth looking at. Got over to the United Steel Workers Union at 401 Kunes Building. Saw Mr. Hardstale their regional director, he told me that they couldn't do anything

here and that it was Cincinnati that had to act. I enquired about the job of editor of the DAYTON CIO NEWS and he told me that it was open. I then went over to see Bill Snoots.

It looks as though I might get the job, bill had to call a meeting of the editorial board, I'm keeping my fingers crossed. . . .

Loyal 801 of the IUE is not included in the paper set up, for it will take too much money to keep them in. I then had lunch with Snoot, and promised to meet him on the 11th at 7:30 AM in order to go to Cleveland.

Went up to Fathers Caugnautons office met him and had a few suggestions about counterattack. . . . He is still as enthused as ever.

Then went up to the FBI and saw Shaw. A copy of the indictment came down and it looks good. I xxx read it over carefully and know that I have the goods on the commies. . . . left shaws and went to the movie, had dinner and came home. . . .

#####

friday 4 january 51

Shaw called and wanted to know if a date had been set for Wash NY inquiry, up at 10 am down to the grind. Stopped in on Raymond Turner at the mecca grill, will see him in about four weeks, he'll buy.

back up town and saw Capt. Sheppard of the dayton police also met Det Sgt Burger of the vice squad. spent about an hour there talking about things in general and the air force and their approach to putting a place off limits etc.

from there to a movie, good show The Racket and Purple Hart Diary, up to the Moriane and the beer started to flow. Jim Harlan, Frank Wagner, Don of the Aet Dept. All went up to the Gibbins Bar, there I met Kurt Loveley who used to work on the News. Now works for CADO at the UB Build.

Will see Kurt Monday for lunch. He might be the guy to stake me for a price. Up to Billies at 1130, Demps Billie and Kate and played bridge until 4:30 AM, Olaf Moon came in sometime during the proceeding but didn't stay long, he had been bowling. Demps and Billie beat the pants off of us. . . . I got sick as a dog on a moon lit night with a split head.

#####

saturday january 5 1952

up at 11 am after an all night session playing bridge. called Cincinnati, and went down to see Dudley Evans at the Broadway Hotel. He is in fine shape, very anxious to get started. is a little dommoniring and if i go with him i will lose my independence. i think if i get a job that is suitable and pays well i will take it and not think in terms of very big money. i can at the present build a big future. . . .

from there i went down to the Cincinnati inquirer. I met Jack Cronin and Joe Green, I told Jack the whole set up and he seems quite interested, I had dinner with him, the whole staff is sad about the sale to the Cincinnati Times Star. . . . from there I went out to Jim Ratliff's place at 4003 Clifton. . . . i spent the night there with Jim and Mary. . . . to bed at one am after reading xxx striplings book on the committee in Washington. . . .

COMMUNIST FRONT MEETS IN DAYTON

the Dayton National Negro Labor Counsel held a meeting of over thirty-five people on the west side on December 9 51.

sunday 6 january 1952.

at 11 am and had breakfast with Jim and Mary. . . . sat down with Jim and went over all the material. . . . he is quite interested. . . . thinks they will be able to use it here in Ohio. suggests that i contact true magazine for the story, i will do that when i get to New York. . . .

also suggested to him that i might seek full time employment at the Ohio committee office, as an invest of research man. he is going to set up the contact with Sidney Isaacs who used to handle the party desk for the FBI, and is now the counsel for the committee. . . . back to Dayton by five pm, had a few 3.2 beers at the Esquires and then to the movie, home and called New York, where everybody is doing alright. . . . i was informed that there was a package for me from the committee in Washington, and i asked them to forward it to me. . . .

Monday January 7 1951/

called martha edmiston at 9 15 am. she said that ed left home with mutual consent. ed is going west. martha claims to still love ed very much, but frankly i think it is due to 18 years, and a bit of pity on him.

she also asked me to speak at the engagement on wed 9 january 51. i went out to the field at 1130 and had lunch with her. she told me the whole story about ed, and that he had been very drunk and acting as usual. she finally flew off, and its about time. first he decided to go to panama, but later decided to go to texas.

he'll be back soon or kill himself, frankly i think he will do the later. i am sorry to see it for i like ed very much, i don't know what the hell is wrong with him.

back to town, and over to the lutherian inner mission league on commercial street. i will speak there on wed under the name of ralph paiege. rev. stonebuner. and spent an hour and a half with him. it should go over very well. back to town and over to dr. silverman he told me that the adl is not interested in counterattack. . . . to bad for they need it.

had a drink with kurt lovely at the gibbons, will call him on wed and have him up to the talk. . . . back home and to sleep.

tuesday January 8 1952.

got up called martha she was at home snow bound . . . i then called state capital and got into touch with isaacs and then went up there.

i caught the 1135 plane and got to columbus . . . spent the afternoon up there, and it looks like i will be employed by them

isaacs will let me know by 10am monday . . . but probably before then. i am anxious to get started on it

back to dayton on the 735pm plane . . . called martha and let her know the news . . . she seemed happy

i have to get someone here into the national negro labour council, and into the party call andy freeman on that as well as joe winkfield . . . give myself two weeks to get it done . . . must keep in mind the boys at po box 666 also jennings after the committee appointment comes in i should see capt sheppard the dayton police should be of help

#####

wed 9 january 1952

up at 10 am and out to the field to pickup marthas car to eat sit for her.

got to see jennings and told him of plan to get info on party in dayton. got my pay record fixed up at the field for tax purposes.

down to waynesville and back to dayton to get dressed for the speech. had dinner with martha (she is very worried about ed) billie and barbara

one beer and some mints and up to the second trinity lutheran church the speech was well received and i got ten bucks for it. made a contact with a negro pastor. TARRANT 2437 Germantown, ME 5263 . .

will contact him on saturday about an informant in the nmlc. home and to bed . . .

turs 10 january 52

up at 10 am. called martha. i was feeling low and lonely. down town and joined the legion (mr. turner.)

did nothing in the afternoon except see "Boots Malone" elmer bernstein did the musci.

to the legion meeting, i think that it can be used to further the fight against communism in relation to me. Commander is Harold Noble I will have an opportunity to speak before them soon . . they have committed themselves to counterattack

friday 11 january 1952.

up at seven am and down town to meet nill snoots at the iue office he wasn't there, and didn't show up until 9 30 am. we decided that i wouldn't go to cleveland. however we did discuss the next meeting and that i would bring it up then. about the paper i will probably have the job in a week or two

bill drove me out to the field at 11 o'clock and i had lunch with martha . . back to town and did nothing, home and slept for a few hours and downtown

at 8 to hear maggie higgins. she was a bit more humble then i had expected
home and to bed at 11pm . . .

#####

saturday 12 january 52

sunday 13 january 52

up and down town by 11am had a talk with eckhardt of the gem city bank
he cashed a check for me....

down to waynesville didn't do to much, martha came home at 5pm, had dinner and
sat and talked and watched television....

ed came back from trip at 10pm, was very drunk and dispondent....went out and
had beer and back to hte house.... i finally heard about the story of the "snaix"
may 17 cincinnati enq 1881...

ed took off, and i chased hi., finally cought him and had a long talk, he promised
to appoligise..... i think everything will be okay....
ed thinks he has tb... hope not....

sunday morning.... up at 10am and up to bellbroke to shop.... back to the house
nothing much doing all day just relaxed... martha took me home at seven pm.....
home and to bed...

letter from the folks was the last straw....

#####

monday 14 january 1951

called martha edmiston, she asked me to pay a bill at the pacific finance for her
and ed which i did.\$20.00.

saw capt. sheppard, he has been transfered to head the dayton plain cloths men.
told him about the committee and he said i would get the full co operation of the
dayton police force.

went up to see jim penkins, when he was with the fbi he handled the yellow
springs beat as well as some of the students etc. after my talk with sid later
this week i will compare notes with jim to get my leads...

went out to the lawyers build to see herb eikenbary, and weird pwrson if ever
three was one. he is on his way to florida and wont be back for months.....

first call today was shaw, we just gabbed about nothing in general... asked him
to get a copy of the circulars on the party leaders... will do..

over to the urban league and met washington, he will take counterattack sometime
next week, and will cooperate withcommittee..... with his help i will fond my
work in the west side a lot easier..... called andrew freeman and made appoint-
ment to see him at 6pm at his home 1312 bancroft....

up town and to the news office. checked the stories on communism in dayton, they
have some good leads..... mar 30 april 12 1950

out to freemans place. quite nice... he is a weight lifter..

checked the many names with him and again he will cooperate, his attitude of
the negro labour council is fear of the trouble it can cause...i don't blame him...
he has copy of "We Charge Genocide" by civil rights congress, \$1.50, the ohio
people who sponsered it are MIKE BABINCHON: WENDELL PHILLIPS DAB-
NEY: ANNA H. MORGAN: ELSIE ZAZRIVY...

Andy suggests that Hayy WISE of the IUE can help a lot, he also is sure that
the man behind the NNLC in dayton is BILL THAMEL head of the local UE.

the vic president of the NNLC here is MC INTOSH who runs the west side dry
cleaning on the north west corner of summit and germantown, mc intosh has
according to freeman been a member of the communist party.. freeman says by his
own admission....

others active in the NNLC are ED BUMPUS, GHR,UE; WILLIE STOREY, ghr
us; CLARENCE PATERSON ghr ue

EDWARD MC KINNEY chief steward of the ghr foundry, has told peopel there that he is a member of the communist party. he was behind the drive to get members of the plant to attend the founding convention of the NNLC in Cincinnati on oct 28th 1951, also the meeting held in Chicago on January 6th 1952 of the nnlc. also active on the dec 9, 1951 meet here in dayton (sam parks came down from Chicago for that meet)

14 January 1952 con't

contacts on party activity in dayton

THOMAS RICHEY 1347 Hachwalt MI 9264 . . will talk about past party activities. worked at frigidaire . . .

ASBURY TURNER 84 Barnet HE 7523 worked at delco should also talk . . .
ROGER DUNHAM RR #1 Clarksville held the parties PO box (Box #582) in 1947. his references were FORREST PAYNE OF ue and HERMAN ENSLEY

JAMES DEVINE IUE 1450 Burnet TAYLOR 9087 will talk if approached . . .

ARNOLD BRAITHWAITE a chemist now residing in new york, very active in the party fronts in dayton about 1946 to 48 . . .

WALTER LOHMAN lives in Yellow Springs, works at Vernay Lab. is very active in the left

DICK KENT was head of the dayton YPA in 1948 . . .

tuesday 22 January 52.

down to the chamber of commerce at 11am saw bob frame, they will give full cooperation to the committee. had lunch with frame and some other people at the chamber. found out that 15 people made up the anticoh upa . . . that is of the present

over to the daily news and the journal herald. following info.

russ richardson sept 19 1948 . .

march 14th 1947 ayd petitions at state house, july 13 1950 stockholm peace appeal.

progressive party in dayton june 20 1948. HM KIRKENDALL, CHARLES FRANCIS, GENE NATZ, RICHARD KENT, all of dayton

YELLOW SPRINGS. JAMES METCALF, DR. OLIVER S. LOUD: ED LAVINS OF PIQUA KENNEDY AND LEM MARKLAND . .

Feb 12 1947 issue of news on UET, and 31 august and 1 september 1948 on the draft . .

another ex party member is robert killeen who worked at frigidaire . .

left there and went over to iue, they have quite a bit of info and will turn it over to the committee

went out to see rev. stoneburner . . am working out a speaking deal with him it should pay at least four hundred a month lets hope so . . .

over the to moraine and home will sleep sound tonight . . .

wed 16 January 1952 . .

up at 10am and down town didn't feel to well, get a crick in my neck. joined the young republicains . . it should do me some good fred van allen of the rep committee suggests that i see jean whitticker of the dayton press, for he is interested in a guy to do the paper some good will call whitticker in the morning . . . nothing else new call whitticker tomorrow and see what's cooking, hope that i hear from sid icassacs

thursday 17 January 1952.

up at 10am and called jean whitticket of the dayton and oakwood press. he has been looking for someone to head his advertising dept. . .

i went out to oakwook (park ave) and had a long talk with him. . . he seemed quite interested. . . we set up a meeting at 7 30PM at his home at the end of grand avenue. his brother and mike were to be there. . .

i went home (2:30PM) and filled out my income tax, down town and had supper with martha and ed and john lindsley, it has been a long time in his coming but he finally arrived.

left there and went to whittickers home. i discussed the possibilities of a negro press in dayton, of a paid circulation, of an increase in advertising, and a community relations program. they were sold. . .

as jean said "if not for your past I would have taken you on this morning." in a way i don't blame him for being reserved about an ex communist, but i also feel that it might be for the best, for the committee up in state i think will offer a better job. . . . i like the press, and the pay \$95. w but it would tie me down a lot, and i don't think i'm ready for it. . . .

i also want to be able to refuse so that he might learn a lesson, when you want someone or something don't beat around the bush but take him on then. . . . i did so want to work on the paper but so waaaaaa. . . . good nite dear fool. . . .

#

friday january 18 1952,

up at 9am called andrew freeman and made a 3:30 appointment. . . then called don appell he said that the hearings were set for 4th of february 1952. . . . i then told sbaw about it, thinking that the att general would try to get them postponed. . . however i don't think he will succeed.

i then called sid isaacs in columbus and told him i would be there at 6pm. . . . he said okay.

contacted martha and ed and had lunch with them at the van cleave (billie long was also there)

after lunch (at which time ed turned over needel nose to me for the use of the committee) we went to see ostelhoff, he had heard about me and was very warm. . . then to see a guy named baldwin. . . he is the insurance agent for the car. . . i owe him 35.00. then left ed and planned to meet him at 3:45 at the parking lot. . . he was not there and i waited until after five. . . still no sign of him. . . . called martha and she said he was to at the news. . . called there and still no answer. . .

had to get to columbus. . . left sorry to have missed ed. . . . got to the state house. . . . they are reading for the open hearings monday and tuesday. . . . a 55 page report has been prepared. . . good work. . i started as of the 14th of january. . . \$300.00 a month plus expenses. . (6½¢ mile) not bad being i can still speak and sell counterattack. . . .

isaacs laid the law down to me and was right. . . don't offend people nor push any weight for the committee doesn't have. . also don't talk to much. . . . your can say that again. **DON'T TALK SO MUCH.**

The coming week i have to prepare an outline of work in dayton in relation to the hearings. . . .

1. get the stuff out of the news, then to IUE and then to dayton police. . . also cover the meeting of the NNLC to be held sunday 27 january. . . .

tired and enough work for one day good night. . . .

saturday 19 january 1952. .

up at 9 am and down to waynesville. . . the top blew off of ed. . . he had accused martha and me of embarrassing him, and treating him like a child. . etc. . . . martha is all broken up about it . . . she is planning on leaving ed for good, and leaving the community etc. . . i have tried to talk to them but it is to no avail.

dear god, why do what you are doing to two such nice people . . . ed and martha don't deserve to be apart for they are too much in love, even after 18 years their love seems to grow . . . I hope and pray.

back to dayton and up to the daily news, saw carl roberts and primed him on the hearings starting in columbus monday the 21st also got him okay to do my research in the news office

saw a picture: "Decision before dawn" a good story on people like me who have a conviction and will do much for it, and how some people (l. e. military ones) can't understand it. . . .

home and checked the peoples song bulletin for ohio reference . . . found 13 of them and one with pictures of the group. . . .

also remembered to check with the ohio un-employment brerau on merlin brown who was last reported in the state.

home and called cuba sheldon we went oft with tish, and diet nelson . . up to a place near springfield got home at 4 am and don't think I would care to do it again

sunday january 20 1952. .

called the folks at 10 am, they sound fine, and will send my discharge. . .

went down town to the journal herald and checked some of there back issue on communism.

called marshall stroud and primed him on the open hearings starting tomorrow. that makes both papers that are ready for it . . also spoke to johusey and asked him to get me a reprint on my picture . . shot the bull with barbara (birdie) butron, and pauline kelly. . .

over to the meeting bahai at the biltmore.

back to the journal then to andy freemans he likes the idea of a negro press in dayton/ . . will call him tomorrow to find out the meeting place of the nule next sunday . . he said i could check with joe Baily at ghr to get some info on ue and the party. . . .

HARRY MC GILL is pres of the National Negro Labour Council in dayton . he workes at frigidaire.

the nule is planning on pickiting rikes and dayton railway co on their employment policy . . they sent a white and negro girl into rikes to get jobs during the christmas rush and the white girl was interviewed but the negro didn't even get an application.

"Peacemakers" against peace time fraft not party members. Dr. Ralph Templi of wilberforce . . ; mrs caroline urie of yellow springs . ; mr. and mrs. richard eastman of selma are left wing but not party.?

James Hack 9 Notre Dame ave, former member of the party and should talk.

william natz 1023 highland rd, ave. was party member but doubtful if he will talk. . .

john romer, yellow springs is now a contractor was party member. .

anthony russell, yellow springs vernay lab. was party member. .

monday 21 january 1952.

up at 9am and down town to the bank, third national is no dice on loan, also checked the pacific finance but there again no, where in the hell can a man go to get a loan when he needs it. people are so mistrusting.

made an appointment for rikes dept store about the pickiting. . . over to Jack Green, he bought on sub to counterattack for father caughtnon. . .

down to see capt. sheppard, lt. marshall, and sgt st pierre. . . the police will co-operate and are doing some work for me. . will stop back there on wed. to pick up the info.

had lunch with harry beeker, he suggested i try dayton buick for a better car. . . did and saw a guy nomed ed stevans. . . can pick up a 48 buick or 50 ford for less then 100 down. not to bad. . . . will call tomorrow and cancel until i get some money. . . no point to go into hock for it. .

over at the dayton daily news and got the ball rolling on the newspaper clippings . . it will coast about 20 bucks for the whole thing. . .

back at rukes at 1230 after spending some time with sherrif ben smith. . . Mr. Daniel Coughnour head of personnel dept of the store.

on thurs january 17 1952 a delegation of four from the dayton negro labour council (national negro labour council) visited the store to protest the non hiring of negro in equal jobs. . they were, harry mc gill pres. mc intosh vp. mrs geneva bumbus (wife of ed bumpus) secy, and a fourth who was the white girl that they almost hired. . .

facts on mrs bumpus. . . 103 Grimes Street Dayton 7; FU 7770 she is 29 yrs old born march 8th 1922, has lived in vest va., new york city, where she worked at grants on 125th street, and lived in phila. . . .

tuesday 22 january 52.

up at 8 30 am had a call from martha, she is okay, i called ted kirpatrick in new york and let him know the news. he will be in washington or make sure to get the story. . . .

down town and tried to get a loan but no use. . . tape recorder should run about 150.00. .

out to the fronteers club, speaker was piss poor. . . on russia but nothing that i didn't know. .

down town and over to rikes. . . the photos were ready. . dan coughnour is okay he okayed my credit acct. for 150.00 and i used it to get clothes. cancelled my order at the metro.

at 6 pm i went to lous dude ranch and the meet of industrial editors. . i believe it will be my last one for a while. . . i wont go unless invited.

i was well received but somthibg missing. . poor lonely kid, betty rowlan of mc calls was there. . . made date with her tonite for tomorrow. . at a funeral home (boyer). . . .

home and to bed. . . .

Wednesday January 23, 1952.

Up at 8 am and over to Davis Typewriter on North main, bought a new typewriter (which this is its first message) I financed it through the Royal People for a balance plus carrying charge of \$66.00

Over to Standard Register and saw Jordan Hill. He gave me the full account of Julia Margart Schell who still lives at the same Dayton address as in 1948. Over to the Household Finance and applied for a loan of \$150.00 I think that this one will go through If it does it will mean that plus the 320.00 to Irv, and the 150 to Rikes (15.00 Monthly) 66.00 to Royal (5.00 monthly) 150.00 (198.00 after interest) 11.80 Monthly) and the new tape recorder I bought at Sears for 161.00 which will run me (14.50) bringing total debts to 895.00 plus 1400.00 to folks (46.80 monthly) Well at least I got my recorder and my cloths plus a new maching for writeing I will need to hit the jackpot in washington in order to pay off the world and get back on my feet. I also have an insurancepolicy on the car to pay off.

then comes the tax and the conversion of gi insurance oh well monry is everything money money, money and again money . . . I'll get it someday, I hope

Over to Dayton Police and spent the day there typeing up reports for them and the committee out of there and over to UIE Jack Carter and Harry Wise will be reluctant to talk but will do so . . . Matt takeit easy with them, get Bill Snoots all way over on your sidefirst

Have to check into Charlie Simms and Charlie Markum who are leading the master electric set up

Went to a1 movie and came home to type up my report whicg inclnd the OWL Club in the 800 block on west 5th street, and the Farm Del Club on Ruth and Midland Get up to the Art Instutite and check on the left wing

goo d nite

24 January 52 Thursday

up at nine am called the field and martha still has a cold . . .

found a note from Capt. Sheppard and called him, he asked me to get down to see him

I first went out to see Andrew Freeman at GHR and met Joe Baily who gave me some Information

Down to Sheppard and he told me of the meeting of the Dayton Women for peace. the Legion had contracted him on it . . . LESTER GRICE MONT. COUNTY ADJ. The Legion has a good in in the party activities

Will have lunch with Grice at the Canton Tommorrow and compare notes . . .

Ont to Master Electric. and got a goo list of suspected comm nists . . .

saw pastor stoneburner, and then down to the meeting of the peace group . . .
ANNE HILL Sect-of UE in GHR local

Friday 25 January 1952.

Didn't get to bed until 430 AM, I sta up mist of the night woth a cop at dayton police hq.

up at 9 am down to the HFC and picked up 150,80, to be paid back in 18 mo. that is about all i need at the present. . . I was able to pay my bills, pick up a new hat and two pair of shoes . . . plus some food that i needed. I went to the movie and saw Bob Hope in "My Favoriate Spy" with Heddy Lamar.
Turned in a report to the Brea and to Dayton Police on the meeting last nite. Called Sid Isaacs and found him to be in Cincinnati due to be in Columbus on Tuesday morning. . . . Will be there and go over my reports.

Had lunch with the Legion Club at the Canton Rest. . . They eat there every Friday at Noon night inquire into it more after my return from Washington. Lester Griceis County Adj . . . works at Dayton Power & Lgt. Stopped by the Republican club and got my ticke to the Mc Kinley Day Dinner at the Biltmore. Asked Gerrie (lives in Billies House) if she would like to go, and she suggested I call her Sunday at TWA. . . .

When I got home last nite I found a letter from home in which a beeting was mentined. . . My father was beaten and robbed on the 23rd street sugway station in ny. . . . i don't think it was a strait robbery but rather a commuunist inspired plot to intimidade me.

I am checking on it through the FBI, Al Feigen and the NY Police. . . hope they got the guys and I hope it turns out to be non party . . . not so much because om me, but fear that the folks might have. . . .
home and went to bed at 11pm good nite. . .

Saturday 26 January 1951

up at 9am and down to rikes, it was raining like hell. . . .
(all told there was 3 and 33pt inches of rain in a 24 hour period . . . the city felt it with basements flooded and many of the creeks over loaded. .)

picked up my clothing at rikes, and over to sears and got a recording machine. . . i plan to use it tomorrow forthe recording of statements. . .

I called James Divine, Asbury Turner and Thomas Richey all of whom agreed to talk tomorrow. . . James Hack didn't agree until he has contactec Shaw of the B. but I should get him Tuesday nite.

Louis Booth of 505 Lexington Avenue is not so willing to talk but I will get around to himma. . . I think he will see the light. . .

Met ed lavins, and went out to the Freeze place . . they were very cordial but they don't think right . . . spent the afternoon and evening there and picked up plenty of information. . . .
home and to bed.

sunday 27 january 52.

up at 10 am down to police station to check addresses. .

out to richey house . . got a good statement from him.

out to divine house same as above

and also with asbury turner

had dinner called booth and will meet hm in the miami at 4pm tommorrow

went to show with lee hahn, saw tight littel island and the lavender hill mob.

home and found a message from ed, they are stuck there and need a car,

down to waynesville. . .

Monday January 28 1952

up at 8 am in waynesville, where I had gone to rescue ed and martha from the flood, and the evils of no car

We had to go to fairborn the back way and log way around I got to dayton at 11 o'clock . . . I had the car, which had gone 5,000 mile without it, greesed and the oil changed, also a tire put on, and the battary rack fixed
down towo lunch, over to the bank, paid a bill for martha at Pacific Fin. saw bob frame, missed harry hall, over to rebublician hq. met howard young, paul paul skenk m. e. . . also herbert walburton head of national young republicians

at 4pm i met louis booth and finally got him to talk. . . . I called shaw and got hell for using his name, which i didn't do people sometimes get the story mixed and they always call that office . . . there is nothing i can do about it except talk less

over to the biltmore . . . for the me kineley day dinneer met jerry hertzog
 chairman of dayton y. r., betty (have date with her for 16february
 dance and party
 met heads of local republician party home at 1am and to bed . .

tuesday Jan 29 1952

up at 11 am and up to columbus
 sid wasn't in until 3 pm, but in the mean time i had a chanceto go over my
 material
 hen he got in he was very pleased with what i had done over the past week . . .
 weplayed the recordings, (the commision bought mefive more rolls of tape . .)
 and went over my report. I had some material that they didn't have there . . .
 left the office at 6pm went out to florences, and then down to the southern hotel
 and a nite of rest

wed 30 january 52.

up at 8, picked up the car, took it over to the packard place for a new fuel
 pump
 over to the committee, spent the morning going over my yellow springs
 report
 got my first check for 90.00 not to bad for one week take home pay
 just about have enough for washington
 back in dayton (will yest in columbus next monday 11 Feb 52) and saw doc
 fischer gave bime the story!
 called up betty billings and took her down to the shack in waynesville where i
 fed the cats
 home and to bed

thurs 31 jan 52

up at nine andregistered to vote . . saw jim jenkins and disussed y. s. signed
 rep nom petitions
 down to waynesville and fired up the stoves
 over to yellow springs and say chief russell bradley and dr adams of the antioch
 fact . . they will help
 called tavanner and found out that the hearings are set for wed
 to the young rep metings and met some people

friday february 1 1952

dow at waynesville at one am and spent the night there . . . up at 6 am and pre-
 pared for the sojourn to washington
 martha is gong to be over sunday
 plane trip (twa 11 45 am to 1 30 PM) was an eventfull
 got to wash and checked in at the congressional room 408
 over to the committee, and met with beal., my test will take two days starting
 wed 6 feb 1952 . . . spoke to daon appel and will seehim at the office on
 monday
 over to see congressman paul schenck., very cordial and will have lunch with him
 on monday
 over to senator John Brikers office . . . we (Ed and I) went over the party very
 thoroughly hinted that the senate committee could use me and the
 senator was interested
 I mentioned that the Ohio Commission was in need of funds and friends, and
 he said that he would do something about it, and lend his support to the making
 the commision permanent
 I told him that I would let him have all material that was pert to his campaign
 coming up
 the bricker deal is onethat both ed and I think will pay off for the betterment
 ofthe fight against communism
 Brikers approach seems to be one of an honest attempt to do something in the
 keeping of the fight alive in ohio
 heis interested in material on the Toledo Blade, and on O, State U.
 the one dissapointment was that they are not going to have any of the party
 member down but we still think that the story will sell.
 back to the hotel and called dick cull, and glen thompson of the inq . . .
 both the news and the enq will have first crack at the story in sunday papers.
 a days work done ed and I are going to get a story outline in order . .

saturday february 2 1952.

at the congressional hotel in washington d. c. with ed edmiston . . .
 up at nine am had breakfast with ed at the hotel . . .
 over to the committee and did some research on the national negro labour
 council
 ed came in about noon and we went down to paul schenck office, . . we invited
 him down to the hotel for dinner, thinking that he was not to busy over the
 weekend, but as the case was he had other commitments . . .
 got a few leads on some party books, and went down town and picked up some
 16.00 worth of party literature
 back to the hotel ed had called some people this morning and had no luck
 (chicago tribune , scrips etc.)
 at the hotel he had called the hearst boys and dave sentner said he was interested,
 he and jack clements of king features came up and i think they are ready to buy
 the story , if they are it will be in the ny journal american first and then the
 feature
 we are hoping that it sells ???????
 if it does we will be in ny monday at 3 pm
 it should at least pay for the washington trip and then some . . .
 if it doesn't sell at least we got a bottle of scotch out of the deal . . . (haige and
 haigi)
 ed is not to inthuseastic about it but i have a little faith in human and especially
 hearst and his babies
 i hope that monday doesn't prove mewrong

wed february 6 1952

n $\frac{1}{2}$ at 6 am and over the questions for the committee.
 hearings started at 10:30 am and went along fine until noon. . . got to the street
 and found out that king george of england dies. . .
 what a hell of a break for the king to die and just on my day of triumph.
 pushed me right off the front page. . .
 oh well I'll have my say in due time. hope it is soon. . . not to satisfied
 with the deal as it has gone was far as ed is concerned. . . he is to dam lazy. . .
 from now on i will have to work it alone. I'll do better that way.
 He tries but his main trouble is that he has to be top dog and have the doe to
 splash, which he doesn't have now and thats to bad.
 afternoon session went along alright. . . ended at 5pm. . . the questions were
 okay and all finished tomorrow we have to questions from the members.
 will have to fill out my vouchers.
 see the Mc Carran boys and find out what they want to do, and then call howard
 rushmore. get the poop and then set up a meeting with the investigator
 for the new yonk schools.
 home and yo bed.

monday 4 february 1952

up at nine and over to the committee., couldn't get ahold of don. . finally did
 at noon and were able to catch a train to new york. . .
 there at 4pm and over to jack clemints office on 57th street. . .
 howard rushmore is going to do the series.
 price is 750.00.
 spen the night with howard getting the story together. . . it turned out quite
 good.
 back to washing on TUESDAY 5 FEBRUARY 1952.
 had lunch with marthe and ed. dan came over to room. . . we finally went
 over the questions.
 had dinner at 6 pm. over to jack vincent's home and to be.

thursday 7 feb 19542

up at nine and over to the committee.
 test started at 1030 and was hot and heavy on the question of passporst. . the
 committee will take action on it.
 over at noon and everybody was happy. . . the papers started to carry it. . .
 daily news called me and was unhappy oger the sale to the journal. . .
 Ed is likely to get the job in washington as an investagator for the house. . .
 met connors at the senate committee and he gaveme a subena for the 13th
 also met wit cevitic and had a beer with him , he wil be in columbus monday
 which means that i don't testife.
 took a 7pm plane out and was back in dayton at 11.

to be and on 8 feb friday 1952 . . up at 8 and called sid isaacs . . the yellow springs story broks and lousedup a good pitch . . .
 hope to get it all straitined out . . .
 howard rushmore called and said that a booking agent wants to get the tour under way hope so . . it fan mean loof . . .
 got a 1948 packard conv at the dayton buick . . . good deal and fine car , , , over to younge rep teen agemeet and home at 11pm . . .

SATURDAY 9 February 1952

up at 8 am and up to columbus . . . i picked up three air forcemen as hitch hikers . . . got to columbus at 10030 am and saw sid and jim . . they were okay on the subject . . . had a long talk it looks as though everythig will be okay . . matt cevitic will be columbs on monday and will take the pressure off of me . . . vince pire is in ohio i have to run andx ident on him ad get a sub served
 back in dayton . . the new packard is running fine will see jim ratliff tomorrow . . .
 the check came . . . needee it . . .
 i paid all the outstand bills
 next bills to be apdi on 15 march . . .
 up to see betty billings and then home to bed . . good nite . .

sunday february 10 1952

up at nine am and down to waynesville to give ed the 225.00 before leqving i called the mother of mildred schell and got her cincinnati address . . 2357 st. james walnut hill babtist church . . .
 got down to cincinnati and had lunch with jim and mary ratliff
 over to see schell she and francis taylor will talk to a very small extent
 will see taylor next saturday at 1 pm in the miami hotel and scheel at her home next sunday at 3 pm
 back to dayton and stoped by the miami valley hosp to see betty billings . . .
 then called james back and he said he wont talk
 also called louis booth but heis out of town
 watched television and went to bed

monday 11 february 1952 . .

up at 8 am and to the dayton buick co . . .
 got the plates for the car anf the water hose fixed . . up to columbus and got there at noon the hearings of matt cevitic were just about to start . . .
 had lunch with jim ratliff and ed edmiston . . . back tothe committee and did some work . . .
 all is forgivin about the antoich deal . . . matsow keep your big mouth shut . .
 in dayton i got a copy of the testimony and the money (52.96) from the senate committee
 made res on two for new york tonight
 packed and was off . .

TUESDAY 12 February 52

left dayton at 1 am on a twa airliner headed for new york . . before leaving i saw howard hensley . . at the biltmore and had a few drinks with him
 i arrived in new york at 4 am and had breakfast called the sepcial service squad in the police dept and got noweare . . .
 down to the tenth squad and inquired about the mugging on the 22nd . . so far no suess
 down to the journal, and found that rushmorehad gipgne to miami on vacation he will be back in a week or so will call him, over to seejack clements . . he was of some help but said goodby and down to washington
 registered in the hotel, and then went to be from where i slept until 6 30 am in the morning

WED 13 February 1952 . .

over to the senate committee and saw don conners . . . the questioning wasbrief and pretained to the DOPWA, IPR, and Peoples Songs etc
 Had lunch with George Lippert of the Y Rep . . and a asst of the Rep Senator from Mo . . . I was able to sell them on the question building the young republican organization

had dinner with jack vincent. saw a fight on TV and went to bed. . . .

THURSDAY 14 Feb 52

Arrived in NY at nine am and over to the office of Clark Getts 430 Pk ave, we arrived at a deal and I signed a contract. . . . Picked up ny daily news of monday where they used mein an editorial. . . over to counterattack and saw ted kirkpatrick and had lunch with him. . . . i left a copy of the testimony with mc namara and he will send it back to meher.
out to see dr. jansen. he is very anxious for me to work on the ny school situation. I will get a leave of absense in march and go to new york for a week. . . . I will work with john dunn, and lou moskoff.
over to the field and home. . .

Saturday 16 February 52

finally got to rest. . . . was sorting things . . . bought a file cabinet and a few letter files. . . .
things are getting so that I will be needing more room. . . .
got a call from harl shaw. . . . they want me in new york. . . . got on a 6 30 plane and landed at la guardia at 9:30. . . .
got a room at the Mc Alpin. went up town and saw the folks. . .
down town at mid nite and to bed. . . .

sunday 17 february 1952

up at eight . . . had a bite to eat and down to foley sq. . I was early.
Roy Cohn and Al Bender came in, I am working with Al Binder . . . all under Miles Lane. . . . Mr. Marx. . . .
boys on the sixth floor. . . John Murphy, John Kleinkoff, Hardy, Clem Turner and chief Frank Carr. . . .
left them at 6pm and went to a movie (Martin & Lewis Salior Beware) back to the hotel and to bed. . . .

Mondy 18 Feb 1952

Down to the Foley Sq Office at 8AM and got to work on books etc. . at noon murphy and I went to the University Pl Book Shop and I found a great deal of my old literature. . . . back to the office after a suceful book hunt . . .
left new york at 630 on the twa flight 371 . . . after meeting with the dep'ts att. TAYLOR. . .

tuesday 19 feb 52

up at 8 and over to the office in columbus
sid was all upset and I feel is unhappy about me . . . but I' can'T help it . . .
when your fighting communism, you have to punch, and somebody is going to get hurt back to dayton
didn't do much but got a days work done.
went out to the field and saw mr. boyce and then down to yellow springs and saw chief bradley then home and to bed . . .

wed 20 february 52

up at 8 Sight am, and home until 2 pm///finally got some rest.
I went down to rikes and saw frances taylor who used to be in the ypa. she will talk and meet at at the police station tomorrow at 5 30 pm . . .
over to police dept and shot the bull for a while
saw parrish . . . she is warming up a bit . . .
had some trouble with dr. adams of yellow springs . . . but all is smoothed out.

21 February 1952 . . .

down to yellow springs and straitened out things with bradley adams etc
spent most of the day there . . at seven pm i went over to see kay parrish

friday 22 february 1952.

up to columbus and got together with sid and the boys at the committee to go over the monday hearings . . . sheehan of the j. d. arrived and we wnet over the staff the outlines arrived anf they are very valuable . . .

 saturday 23 february 52.

same as friday . . . only at night down to waynesville where I paid ed 126.00
 and owehim 176 morefor the car . . .
 stopped by yellow springs had a rip roring time . . .

 sunday 24 feb 52.

more work with sid

monday 25 feb 52. .

on the stand at the house committee and good press coverage . . couldn't
 ask for anything more got the ohio angle into it . . .

tuesday . . .

26 feb 52 ***** francis taylor and mildred schell both hostel persons. being
 coached by the dayton women for peace all the peace group were there
 home to dayton, and ready to shoveoff for nY

February 27 52

got to new york and went to bed and slept for a long time.

february 28 thursday

up atnine and downtown to the school office. . . had a meeting with saul
 moskoff, and they (the ny board of education will use me) over to the journal
 american and saw howard rushmore.

met a man named cook from the c.i.c he inquired about romerstein. . .

had a good session with howard. he got an offer to do a book.

ZI will keep my fingers crossed.

over to the att office. didn't get much done. . . . home a eight
 and to bed. . . .

friday 29 feb 1952

down to the school office, and had a session with saul and john dunn. . . have a
 good working arrangement the boys the e.

over to the u. s. att office. . . . nothing doing. . . . up to see ted kirpatrick. .

they publised my story on the weavers in this weeks issue.

out to teds house and had supper. heis in the running for cingress and
 i hope that he gets it. finished there at 9 pm and home to bed.

I see where I got into the Lattimore hearings.

sat 1 march 1952. . .

down to the att office, but not able to work. back to the bronx and spent
 the evening at home. . . .

sunday 2 march 1952

down to washington. . . had some trouble with the car in relation to the gen-
 erator. got to the hotel (congressional) and took it easy. . .

monday 3 march

the party got a delay in the trial and i am happy about it. . . made my social
 call around the hill (carrington ove at the house committee) paul schenck,
 clarence J. brown, not to much to do in general. . . . in the evening I went
 to the movie (Japan show) with helen Matterson of the house committee.
 home at midnite and to bed. . .

tuesday 4 march. .

spent the day with sheehan of the j.d. and it looks as though they will use me
 at the hearings on monday. . . . at noon i met with don connors of the senefe
 committee. i go on the stand tomorrow. to a movie at nitde and
 then home to bed.

wed 5 march 1952

hearingd on the youth movement before the senate. . . I will be used in the
 Lattimore deal next week. . . I was intro in test today. . . . saw rep fine of
 bx. . . home and to bed after calling ed edmiston and jim ratliff

thursday march 6 1952

up at nine . . . down to the senate office building and saw morris. . . . it looks
 as tho i will be used next thursday in the lattimore case. saw m. c. bill ayers
 and he is hot on my ideas on the y. rep. . . . went over to the rep committee office

in the george washington inn, and saw bob humphries of the public relations staff. he is also hot on the idea of a "YCL" YRL. . . .
down town to see sheehan and got a days work in . . . home at seven and to be. . . .

friday march 7 1952

spent the day with sheehan. . . . had dinner with mary ellen leonard of ayers office. . . . home and to bed at midnite. . . .

saturday 8 march 1952

10 am over to the house armed services committee. . . . con herbert gave the air force hell, and frankly they needed it. . . . the way the service wastes money is just god awful. . . . if private industry had to operate the way the service does we would be under a communist state now. . . . over to sheehans office an 1230 and worked until five. . . . got a hair cut and home to bed for two hours. . . . out to dinner, some television and then a few drinks with rep potter and jackson of the house committee, they are on the way to detroit, where they should have a good show. . . . the party in mich is on the wayne thanks to the house committee.

when the hell is new york going to set one up . . . it sure is needed . . . half of the party members in the us are in nyc. . . . matusow you've got a job on your hands. . . . the only way your going to do it, is by taking the mc earthy approach . . . "keep punching" . . . give im hell. . . . the question of communism in latin americas came up and it is a very good point. . . . if we don't build in the americas we have to lose. . . . its like a man insuring his home . . . that is the front and back . . . forgetting the insides. . . . well truman isn't going to do it . . . guess it has to be taft . . . I hope and pray itis. . . .

sunday 9 march 1952

up at 10 am didn't do much, went over the stuff with sheehan. . . . to bed and awaiting the big day with the commies. . . .

monday 10 march 1952

on the stand at ten am, the party att (marcantonio) thought it would be elizabeth hently, but they were dissappointed. . . .

mr. pasley and sheehan thought i did exceptionally well. . . . monday night i stayed at the hotel and didn't do to much. . . .

tuesday 11 march 52 . . .

marcantioio started his cross examination . . . he didn't get to far. . . . at one point he said, "beside communists are theye any ordinary people" i also got my digs in by telling him that the party did workin his election camp of '48. . . . finished at threepm, and over to the hotel . . . went to a movie saw the african queen . . . and to bed. . . .

wed 12 march 52 . . .

over to the senate build and saw morris, who said that he didn't know when he was going to put me on the atand. . . . then over to the house. and didn't do to much. . . . went out to the pentagon and saw about getting a commision, but the service is still as thick headed as ever. . . . i decided to send in my resignation to the air force, and from now on its no holds barred with the service, they have just got to wake up or well lose to russia. . . . those stupid bastards at the pentagon can't see that people like me are essitional to the whols defense effort . . . well some day . . . i'm not going to loose and sleep over it. . . . out to dinner and do some work and then to bed. . . . had a drink in the bar and met Bill Ayers, Congressman from akron. he wants me to go to colo springs in april to address the Young Republicans state convention. . . . I accepted if he can get it approved will see him tommorow. . . .

Thursday 13 March 1952

10 am and over to the senate and there i testified on the owen lattimore case. . . . when it was over i had according to bob morris been a big help to them. . . .

I was very disappointed in the fact that they didn't use the issue of his son and the world youth festivile. . . . oh well someday they will, and when that day comes they will did up the true story on edison sloane and how the kid fell off of a mountain . . .

I went back to the hotel and packed but couldn't get out for they wouldn't accept a check. . . . had to threaten to sue before they would let me out. . . .

said goodby to Bill ayers and the rest of the washington gang. . . . Mary ellen, Rusty, Carrington etc. . . .

arrived in new york about mid nite on the way up there I picked up a coupl of marines and one air foreman and took them toteh hights.
in bed and sleep

friday 14 march 1952

slept until about noon, then down town and saw ted kirkpatrick... spent some timeover at counterattack and then up to a movie... on the way home I saw Ray Fischer and went down to see top banana with hime.... nothing else for friday just sleep....

Saturday 15 & Sunday 16 march...

nothing but home on saturday and on sunday i went up to youkers to see benj schultz (rabbi) of the jewish league against communism.... had a talk and then home...

on saturday i had dinner with sam levinson and assured him that I was not going to try to hurt him etc we left in the best of ?

Monday 17 march 1952

st pat day... down to the board of education.... started to work today over to see Jack Wren of BBD&O and cleared sam levenson.... down to see howard rushmore and then over to the publishers the pub reminds meof alexander trachtenberg... "Cheap"... doesn't look as though we will sell the book... Whileat Howards I met Alvin Stokes ofthe house committee... Made an appointment with him to see randy wood on wed at noon... over to clark gett's place saw andrews and frank.. then home.....

tuesday 18 march 1952

down to the board of education and then over to see al stokes for lunch (also jack Wren) set up the randy wood deal went out to brooklyn with stokes couldn't find Karen Morley . . . brought stokes over to the board . . . and that was it home early

wed 19 march 1952

down to see daly of the new york times he paid 150.00 for the trip i can be of use to them in there suit filed by city college . . . left him and had an accident with the car . . . (450.00 Damages) the insurance co, was on the ball

met stokes and randy and had lunch . . . Randy isn't telling all that he knows that nite i went down to randy's place and met with Inez and he I also found out that Larry Weinberg of west 100th street had gotten out of the marines and applied for a reserve commission I called weinberg up but could get nothing out of him...

thursday march 20 1952

called up army intell and spoke to a guy named murphay . . . also had lunch with cookie . . . cook appreciates the situation but those stupid brass headed breaura cats will lose the next war if they are allowed to go on the way that they are doing so now . . . ah well it will turn out someday when they decided that ex commies can fight the communists
not much else . . . home and to bed

friday mar 21 52

down to see ted kirkpatrick . . . then called john huber . . . also howard had dinner date with howard and francis R, we went to a tv show where howard debated with corlis lamont . . . from there to the storke (JB ROOM) then to la rues and the el morrace . . . met roy elion leonard (george) lyons, johnnie johnston etc . . . home at six am . . . and slept all day saturday , out sat nite and a few drinks but back home and to bed.

sat and sun mar 22 and 23 1952

home both days and slept and drank . . . nothing else

monday mar 24 . . .

down to t he board and did some work over to seeal blinder and set to work the case in question then homw... still unable to find ben bordofsky . . .

tu3sday 25 march.

same as monday with one exception . . . i got my car out of hock and headed its nose back to dayton left new york at 10 pm . . after missing two appointments that day with al stokes . . . i was there but where was he . . .

Wed 26 march 1952

drove all nite. . . . picked up a hitch hiker who was off his rokkker. . . .
 let him out near cambridge. . . . and on to columbus. . . . I looked like hell
 dirty etc. . . .
 sid had a balling out to give me on the question of stopping a check. . . .
 i explained the situation and all is forgiven. . . . but matusow you have a
 damm big mouth, sometimes its to damm big. . . .
 will do nothing over the weekend. . . .
 got to dayton at 4pm and called a few people. . . . made myself at home and
 to bed . . . good nite. . . .

- - - - -

thursday 27 march 1952

slept like a log last nite about 12 hours sleep. down town and made the rounds.
 paid allthe bills . . . made bank deposit. went to movie and saw greatest
 show on earth then to young republican meeting at green mill kk brown was
 speaker and did a good job on taft. . . . i was appointed head of press committee
 to sell 2,500 subs to rep news.
 had lunch with paul bushnell and talked over leigon buisness. . . .
 home to bed by mid nite.

friday 28 march 1952

spent most of day down at repb hq. getting the press drive set up. had drinks
 and dinner with suzanne black. . . . down to teen age meeting where i spoke.
 . . . home about mid nite. . . .

saturday 29 march 1952

up at 10 am and did some letter writing. . . . down to repb hq and meeting
 with s. black and rose. . . . got a mailing out and then didn't do much. . . .
 had a few drinks and hometo bed.

sunday 30 march 1952

down to waynesville and saw ed and martha. . . . trying ot get ed to go along
 with a radion show and newspaper col. . . . he might go byt is afraid. . . . he
 needs dough now. . . . went to see john matusoff and wife. called betty billings
 and went out for a drive and few drinks. . . . hame and to bed. . . .

monday 31 march 1952

up at 6am and to columbus . . . drove salior to field. . . got to col at 9am
 and got ready for the hearings. . . .

monday march 31 cont.

ed and martha did a good job, but ed was on the stand too long. . next man
 was de long he did a good job in coorabation. went down to chillocothie
 with leo blackburn, he is running for congress, and i hopethat he makes it . . .
 will do a good job. . . . spoke at a veteran rep meeting and they invited me
 back. . . hope to go down and do a job. room at the southern and to
 bed. . . .

tuesday 1 april

had four commies on the stand and none would talk. . . . (oscar smileick, anna
 h. morgan, terrell, and david jackson) all of columbus. . . . after hearings
 i left job at commision. . . had lunch with boots cruthers of the legion news
 . . and he likes the radion and newspaper idea, as far as the legion is affected.
 . . he had some good tips for me. . . . back to dayton and didn't do much
 but sleep. . . . after returning from yellow springs saw brad and red fess. . . .
 looks as though the hearings did a job at the school. the people down there are
 out for my blood and hyde. . . .

wed 2 april 1952

up at 7 and went down to wing and sold them the idea of show. . talked to
 charles - - - - - everything went alright except that ed backed down
 but he might come back to the right way of thinking. had lunch with billie long,
 and then home had to work on the show . . . to bed early
 good nite

thursday april3, 1952

called ed again, but he still doesn't want to do the show. . there is something
 wrong with the guy.
 i now find out that he is the one that quit the radio show, they still want to do it,
 but ed is not to be found. it just comes down to one thing, EDMISTON
 IS JUST A LAZY SON OF A.but i still think he's okay. . . .

over to the station and talked over the show with charles evans. It'll sell ed or not. . . .
had a few drinks and then home to bed. . . .

friday april x4 1952

messed around down town today and didn't do to much in the way of anything . . . went over to the Biltmor at about five. . met bob frame and majorie taylor, had a few drinks and then to show. . . .
at ten o'clock went over to 504 oxford and saw norman nemof had a talk and a few drinks. . . . then home to bed. . .
called the legion hq at indinapolis but unable to reach the propee party. . . .

saturday 5 march 1952

up to indinia and the legion hq. . met with willand of the committee, he likes the show. back at 4pm and took a rest. . . . down town at about eight and over to the red room. . . . johnie ray draws a croud. . . .
met capt. john denny of n.m. had some drink and then went out to the club at th field. . . saw charlie walton and poolha. . . they are simple in many ways. . . . walton is getting out very soon. . . .

sunday 6 march 1952

up at noon and then dow to the art institute to the ohio watercolor show and the concert givin by the ohio university. . . left the show and then drank my way around town. . . stayed sober and got home by ten pm. . . . slept t.

monday 7 april 1952

down to the radio station (wing) saw addie carnes. . . the show is in. sid isaacs dd come late. . . but he did bring the stuff.
had a call from a mr. zimmerman of the dept of justice. . . don't know what he wants but I'll call and see.
lunched with majorie walker of the rep party and etc. . . . at five I had drinks with frame and taylor.
took taylor to dinner and then home. . . She still get looped on two martinies. . . . over to rep hq. at eight and a veteran meet (rep. V. Club) meeting ended at 10 pm . . . I got together with harry binninger and went to his place gave him and his family a pep talk. . . migh pay off or not. . . i only hope that I got time to realize the importance of the newspaper. . . home and to bed. . . .

tuesday april 8 1952

not much except a day at rep. hq. at nite i met harry binegar at a meet, and had a talk with him. . . he and his group need some guidance in the proper thinking. . . the fight against communism is not a fight against negros and jews. . . promised him that i would be at their meeting at the biltmore on thursday night. . . that is after the legion meeting. . . .

wednesday 9 april 1952

busy at party hq with the keiter for sheriff meeting. . . had about 50 people down made a dinner doate with norman and majorie for friday at 8 pm at the tropice. . . .

thursday 10 april. .

did a rador show for wing on the ue. it raised all kind of hell. . . had dinner with harold noble and paul bushnell. . . went to legion meeting and met with them. . . i was main speaker. . that guy turner is cracked. . . i know that he is. . . after th legion over to the biltmore. . . . had a talk with harry. looks like they might be of asome help in the search for a newspaper. . . k. . . .

friday 11 april 1952

over to wing, and boy did the ue raise hell . . . they issued statement calling me a stool pigeon . . . just as the stuff was coming over a statement was issued by the McCarren committee saying that the hearings in cleveland weere sched for 16 and 17 april 1952 . . . on the ue
I saw ad karnes and it looks as though the show is one step closer to being on . . . I wrote three scripts and sent them in to ad . . . while i was at the studio, the ue croud came in and did their recordings, for the time they bought to answer my charges . . . lo and behold the guy who was handeling it was DAVE FISCHER of the HY Times unit NY Newspaper Guild

Saturday 12 April 1952 . . .

up late and down to the station to record the show . . . I left there at four thirty, over to see Mrs Le Furtha of 1227 Grand Avenue . . . left there at 7 went to a movie and spent the rest of the night in the red room . . .

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, do you have your diary of your trip to Puerto Rico in 1949?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, that diary is in Judge Dimock's court. I have not seen or had a copy of that diary since it was given to the FBI in 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you what purports to be a photostatic copy of this diary and ask you if you can recognize that as such.

(Examined by witness.)

Mr. MATUSOW. I am taking time because I have not seen it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, while the witness is examining this diary, there are a few items that should go in the record and might as well go in the record here as any place. I have here an exchange of correspondence between the chairman of this committee and Mr. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General. I will summarize it as a request by the Chairman for information from the Department as to whether they had made any analysis of identifications made by Mr. Matusow to determine the percentage of cases corroborated by other evidence and a reply from Mr. Tompkins in which he states that Matusow appeared as a witness in 4 administrative cases before the Subversive Activities Control Board and in 2 criminal prosecutions. The number of witnesses called by the Government in these cases ranged from 10 to 22.

Of all the persons identified in the Communist Party in these cases by Matusow, 90 percent have been also identified by other sources and concerning the remaining 10 percent, the files of the Department do not reflect information to verify or disprove the identifications.

I ask that this correspondence go into the record at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 79 and 78A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 79

APRIL 6, 1955.

HON. WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS,

Assistant Attorney General,

Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. TOMPKINS: In connection with the subcommittee's hearings on the Matusow matter, I am interested in learning whether the Department of Justice ever checked to see what percentage of the identifications given by Matusow had been confirmed from other sources, and what percentage of such identifications, if any, had been shown by other sources to be inaccurate. If you have any information of this nature, I respectfully request that you make it available to the subcommittee as promptly as possible, so that it may be made a part of our record at our hearings scheduled for April 18.

Thanks for your continued cooperation, and with kindest regards and all best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

EXHIBIT No. 79A

APRIL 19, 1955.

Hon. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

*Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,**Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,**Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR: This is with further reference to your letter of April 6, 1955, in which you requested information as to the percentage of identifications made by Harvey Matusow which have been confirmed by other sources and the percentages of such identifications, if any, which have been shown by other sources to be inaccurate.

As noted in my letter of April 11, 1955, the files of the Department are not maintained in such a manner as would enable me to furnish the statistical information you requested. However, in view of your request, a study was made of the testimony in the six proceedings in which Matusow appeared.

Matusow appeared as a witness in 4 administrative proceedings before the Subversive Activities Control Board and in 2 criminal prosecutions. The number of witnesses called by the Government in these cases ranged from 10 to 22. In each case the defendants or principals identified with the Communist Party by Matusow were also identified by other witnesses or the identifications by Matusow were subject to positive independent corroboration. Of all the persons identified with the Communist Party in these cases by Matusow 90 percent have been also identified by other sources either at trial or through information contained in the files of the Department. Concerning the remaining 10 percent the files of the Department do not reflect information to verify or disprove the identifications. This 10 percent consists of persons not defendants or principals in the proceedings whose names were usually volunteered in connection with collateral matters and often on cross-examination. In no instance was an identification with the Communist Party made by Matusow disproved through another source.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS,
Assistant Attorney General.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you able to identify this diary?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is a log, not a diary of a trip I took to Puerto Rico in 1949; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. As so identified I ask that it go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 80" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 80

Page Number 1 of Loge of Trip

Thursday May 5, 1949

START OF TRIP TO PUERTO RICO:

Ted B. & Harvey M.-----

Got up at 745 AM and went to the Unemployment Office. No success in getting check for next week. Got back home at ten fifteen and took baggage to the terminal and checked for the flight (PAA) Got down to the stand and said goodbys to mother & dad. Went to 12th Street at 12 noon and got all the info that I needed. Saw Ted and made arrangements to see him at the school at 7 P.m.

At two I left twelve street and went over to the school. Left my stuff there and went to the Fifth Ave Bar to see the ball Games) Giants Won 3 to 2 Mi e Hit Homerun in the 10th) (Dogers won by a score of 7 to 5 Robbie Hit Campy drove i Run) Got back to the school and Said Goodby to every body Promised to bring Atr Back anything that I find of Interest. (Also for Ben & Henry) Called and Did not Find Ted at the office was worried for he was supposed to meet me at 7 and was an hour late. He called me and said he would meet me at 42 street. He got there at 830 we finished every thing and got in the

car at 9 pm. Met a charming young lady named Mr. Harris who has been all over (Comes from Hatie) It started to rain and we boarded the plane (DC4 WAA) Started taxiing at 1030 but did not take off until 1050. View of new york at nite from a plane is a sight to see. Looks like London or any Other city after an air raid Truly the city of light. It is now twenty after eleven o'clock will continue writing after the trip has progressed a little further.

Have to write a script for the Film strip that are planned. (El Fangito; Plantations; and Industrial) Fins for the fifth of May-----

2nd Day Of Trip Friday May 6th 1949.

The Rest of the Trip was uneventful, we got off the plane at 6:30 in Puerto Rico, Mrs Ha---- is close to us if not one of us (Small World)

Thought we had an FBI Guy on our tail and am still not sure (My Bag Was Opened in NY) Met Lt Mc Murray still as degenerate as ever.

At ten oclock we contacted Sais Corles who gave us the address of the Party, got there and did not find Ceaser Andreau he was at school. We waited a while and then took a trip to the school. A Very interesting place. Andreau was to speak on China but he was barred from the Campus as we found out later. . . Got back to the Hq and then had lunch in a Restaurant in the Neighborhood. Counter man makes 14 week for 48 hours, but the prices are higher then that in the US, greater exploitation. as I gathered is is the same all over the Nation The counter Man (Boy) had a real class concinues.

Fianlly went back and spoke to to Ceasers Sect. said that he would be back at three, we waited. while waiting we read the Cubanin paper and some current party stuff printed in Spanish. He fianlly arrived and was very glad to see us, we talked a lot of business about the trip. He said that he didn't recieve Georges letter which was sent a week ago??????? (young teen age artist workes in the office)

Juan Santos Chairman of the party arrived, got a very warm welcome. Continued the same discussion. Decided to go to a Hotel for the Night and find a place tomorrow. (for 250 each we got a very nice room at the EUCLIDES in the hart of town Sent Cables form there)

Went out and saw there printing press, very interesting, they dont have a paper, press now turns out a Nationalist paper. Left and had a beer with them all, Consuelo Sias Coralas Ed Director joined us and left with Ceaser, but not before we had started a discussion on CULTURE in PR and its relation to the Wrol in the NY Area.

Also discussed the building of the youth and student movement. Will see ceaser tonite and continue and plan the trip. PR Has a high litersey rate. San Juan Pop 170,000, with sub has 250,000 the Country has pop over 2,000,000 aera 3,400

Page 3

2nd Nite and Third Day of the Trip—

Last nite at 730 we met Andreau nand went to his home to discuss the trip. We met his Wife (Jane Speed) & Her Mother Mrs. Speed. They are old time comrades from Birmingham Ala. they were quite active there. They Ran the Progressive Book shop there and missed all the terror for there family was that of well to do. and historical Background. They have been here for ten yrs. Have two ??? Children.—one adopted They have a crowded but well kept and pleasant home in the sububerbs. We talked about a lot of things mostly about the part in the south. Decided that the trip would be planned tomorrow Sat May 7th at 10AM.. Will probably stay at the Hotel during our stay.

Got up at 845 and washed, went to the airport to change our tickets, but found out that I had to go to the office which is around the corner, Ate Breakfast (Didn't see our Chum) Called Max W. Will see him tomorrow Morning. . . Got back to the city and changed my tickek but could not do it to teds. Will save 1125 on tax so will ted(He Went back with me and traded in at 300) Got to the office with five Coke and the meting was well under way. Hit all the points that ted Talked about (People there. Andreau; Ted; Consula Coralas; Santos; Me and Sias came late; Seed for the trip; ; ; Mon- San Juan with Consula; Tues start trip around the Island with Santos Car for 10 a day will be back thurs nite. Fri will be decided later except fri nite Youth Meeting. . . Sat same as fri. Sun all day confrence. Mon final discussion. Tues Leav at 1030-----

Minuts of meet—

1. Working class & Peasents should Unite ; Popular party 70% Vo

There is little difference between the WC & Peasents here. for there is an interchange : ie Sugar Workers 125,000 of which 9,000 work in the factory

2. They maintain good relation with the Nationalist & Indep Party. The Nationalist are a small but very sect group. Very diff to form a coalition.
3. CP Reorganized in 1946 they are small numbers and very weak
 - a. Lack of cadre.
 - b. Strong group of Nationalists or Indep out of party who consider themselves Marxists but wont Join party for they feel it will jepoderize the National Fight.
3. The socialist party in PR is one of the oldists. It Built the labor movement but today they have no control of it for various reasons. They sold labor out to the American Imperialists and big busniss. The Joined the AFL. Held Polit Power from 1932 to 1940. Now have nothing
5. There is a small proletiat but milliant;; Red baiting is being rebuffed by the people. They have a great admeriation for the Soviet Union. (As is shown by the sale of SRT)
6. Party concentration will be in sugar.; Longshormen; New industrie Needel trade Taft Hartley has only been fought by the UGT (CPU) once rep led it will mean the barrier will be down to the building of a left union of force. Govt says that 65,000 are unemployed. Doesn't count seasonal work. Little money to send delagets. There is no women org. No UInsur only 5 week to suger work 16 week, no work 8 Mo

Page 4

Trip Log Saturday Nite May 7 & Sunday Morning May 8, 1949

At about 500 I sent my first and probably my last mail to the States. I bought a searsucker suit for 10.00 a very good buy. At six we started out to rio peideris to see Judy and her Uncle Bob Manners. It took almost an hour to get out there. We got there and found a little trouble in finding the place. The city is something the equivalent of Westchester in New York. They greeted us very warmly. Judy had a date and left an hour after we gort there. Manners is part of a group of anthropologists making a study of culture etc. down here and has a lot of useful info for us. We stayed there and had a three & a half hour discussion with Manners, Francis Something who is an Economist (Don't know how she stands Max thinks she is S. D. Ted also thinks this.) and Manners wife. She didn't say much, and neither did I.

The party people claim that there is no Negro Question in the nation, but it seems that people such as Manners, and Max differ with this. Ted and I also disagree with the party on this question. So far we have found no Negroes waiting on tables or as counter men in the eating places. This is simaler to Cuba so said Ted. The Negroes are prohibited form the Pools, clubs, etc. very simaler to New York etc. It is true the under the rule of spain the Negro who had been a slave was discriminated against, but it is very true that since american occupation in 1898 the influence of the states has had its effect. A key question is this for a Negro P. R. Unity must be built In New York. (Use of the term Island in reference to PR is bad for it does not give the meaning of a Nation which is being fought fr) Manners also said the the discrimination varies in differesut regions in the country. Southern part where Negro slaves were, Mountain reigon where there were few etc.

Finally got him to agree that that the problem of PR cannot be solved under a Capitalist System. He had to change on the point on overpopulation and finally did admit that ther is no such thing. The capitalist class is always trying to push the Idea of over pop to foster the National Chauvinism. Also got him to agree that a National State of PR is important before the world atains a socialist eco for gains can and must be made all the time. PR does not want a Independence such as the Phillipeans got.

Discussed in some lesser detail the the music and dance of PR. There is very little in the way of national dances that have been unaffected by the American & other Latin American Cultures. There music doesn't have to much of the reflection of the Struggles of the People but there is some and it must be understood in order to understant the struggle of the People and again in order to build PR Negro & White Unity in the States and also in the rest of the world.

Called Max W at 930 and went to visit him at 1010. He is Single and has a very nice apartment averlooking the Harbor. Max works for the Com of Education. He was canned from the University after one year. They don't

like Reds, But they needed him so he is doing some interesting work. Max also feels there is a Negor question and is right. Coalition with Nationalists???????? He is wrong.

Page 5

Morning May 6th Con't)))

He also feels there with the progressives of the Monus Marine camp. for there may be some issues that the party can support. Will have to think and discuss that point a little more. In all Max is a very interesting fellow. Told a little about the student strike. and the Marxist Study group in the University.

A New bill has just been past to give 3/4 million to community educat this can and will be a strong prop means of education the people. hope that some good progressives get into it.

Page 66. Afternoon and evening of Sunday May 8, 1949

Santo & Deusdedit Marrero a social worker and party member in Youth Picked us up at 12 O'clock had a coke downstairs and went to santo's house. It is in the area called Marten Pena on the river. it is very simalar to El Fagento, but not as large. Marrero is of a middle class background and he speaks english fairly well. He told us that the struggle for Unemployment Insurance and Social security has been going on for 13 years, and has yet to succeed.

Those over 65; blind; Children(Needy); Incapacated get 750 monthly. There are 33,000 getting this and there are 44,000 more trying to get on the list. This is in addition to the 5.00 I mentioned yesterda for the sugar workers. This figure is by now incorrect for the number is increasing at a very fast rate.

There are 10,000 Gov't Workers here; there are 200,000 Unemployed or partial unemplyed about 10% of the Population. The Gov't budge is between 23 and 25,000,000 yearly.

The diamond industrie was moved here during the war to flee the Germans in Belg & Holland and at that time the market was good. There were about 1,000 people employed in the industrie, today only 500 are working. This is due to two things in the main. One the recapture of the market by the Monoylies in the European Countries and the other is the drop in the Market due to the coming and already here reseccion.****English has changed some of the language of P R.*****

Was told that the University has some sort ofa quota system. Have to check into this. It is true that there are fewer Negros in proportion to the Negro Population of the Island. Also that there are No Negro Officers in the ROTC?????/ There are No money collectors in the Cafes behind the counters. Saw dole Pinapple in a store window and took picture. They grow enough pinapple here for the Island Needs and yet there is some brought in. There is also another influence of America. The 5 & 10 cent store is here to stay. Went to the Town of Guamabo which is 14 miles from San Juan. On the Road ther e is a Jail which is overcrowded, a cemetary which is overcrowded, and Insane asly etc and a TB Hosp Etc. The Jail is the only one which has no waiting lists.....At Guamabo there is a nerseary home which has a wating list as long as the country Children in area of the Home of EUGENE LANDREAU the Treasure of tee Construction Workers union lives. Children have no shoes and little eklothing. Play ball with a peice of paper. hauses are very bad in condition, most of the area are negros. WHO SAID THEREIS NO NEGRO QUESTION ON THE ISLAND UGT Has the const Workers 17,000 strong 15,000 in the San Juan Area Skilled started at 40 and are up to 80 and fighting for 110 Unskilled started at 15 are now up to 40 they work 44 hrs a week. Small shops where the boss knows and has personal contact with that workers has hindered the organization.

Visited the largest low cost housing devt in the world?/ Houses are poorley built. This is due in part to the speed up which the boss started Working to build a house in 30 Hrs Now i it is 24 Hrs. FHA Housing Inspector has been Bought off ??? Mr. Long who built the houses is imported from the states SC and would not bargin with the head of the union because he is a Negro. Whoes family is one of the most Revolutionary Families here.

Page 7 Evening of Sunday May 8, 1949

It seems that the Landrau's had gotten Kings(SPANISK) land for there services in fighting the Dutch & English Piarest in the 17th Century, They had the land until some American co swinddled them out of it, as was the case with many a revolutionary Negro Family.

We at 7 stopped off txxx in the jeep which the union owns. to get some food, which is to be of a real PR Nature. Then we went back to Rio Peadres where we were to Meet Max At the home of Bob Armstrong who is with the Anthropologists We were to be ther at 5:30 and called to say that we would get there at 7. at 815 we got there after lost on the enapus. We halle d a Publico and he tried to help us. Finally we stopped a Young Fellow on the Road & It turned out that he lived with Armstrong and was one of the People who we were to see. His Name is Sid Mins. The fellow who was supposed to know about all the folk music and dance of the Country. He didn't know too much, except the the Bamba & Pansa are the national dances of PR.Played some Xmas Carrols. . It seems that a PR Folk song where you can make up new verses is used in the Politival Campagins. Met a fellow named Richardson, Don't know how he stands, nor do we know bout Mins and co. Richardson has been here since 1924, but the others are going back in Sept. left there and took the bus and came home. Good Nite.....

Page 8 Monday Morning and afternoon up until 330

We got up at 8:30 and got ready for the days trip. I went to the ticket office to check on the reservation, and found that my hunch was right. We had been booked for monday so I changed it to tuesday. Got to the Hq about 12 minutes late found Andreau and Sanyo with Consula there. Concula was to take us on todays trip. Ted arrived and we started.

We started off the Day in El Fangatio. It is something that foster talked about but you couldn't realize abuit until you got there. There are some 50,000 families in the MUD HOLE. It extends around the city which by the way includes Marten Pena (Beutiful Blue Sky) (Shanghi). The Gov't is trying to tear it down to build a Nay Base. People will not move from there homes that they have lived in for ten or more years. A lot of them are unemployed and can't afford to live elsewhere. They should be primmited to stay, but the govt should fix the place up, and it can be done. They could pay something like 2 dollars a month for so many years. There is the real foundation for a peoples struggle here which will help build the party. They only need leadership for they are already in the struggle against the American Imperialists and there tool like Marios Marine,

I was yelled at for taking pictures for there is a real HATE for Americans from the States. The Fellow said that I should pay him \$5.00 for the picture. Concula saved me etc. . . . The Govt offers payment of \$1.00 for a home that might have cost 5,000,000 and the people don't want to move. If they do they have to pay rents of 8 to 15 a month which the unemployed can't afford. . . A Lot of them make there money from small busnisses at the Hole, but in the new place they can't have these business, for American and PR Bug Business takes over (by the way M. Marine said that PR Can build and Economy in a free market with USA. If The USA Floods the PR Market why can't PR Industry flood the USA.) Took a lot of good pictures of the Mud Hole. When Truman passed he had a car on each side of him so as not to be able to see the El Fangatio. There is a story about hime. When the american girl who was friendly with the people fell in the Mud hole up to her neck, they said why does it have to be my friend, it should happen to TRUMAN*****

One more story. The American came to PR And said all during the first part of him stay that everything in PR was small. From the cows to thr people, well one day he asks to be taken to a farm home to sleep. Being a very reactionary person he was not liked by the people. They did not like his reference to the smallness of everything here. Well the people he was staying with put that nite a Land Crab into his bed. Here in PR The Land Crabs are very big. . . . Well when he got to bed he was bitten something terrible by the Crab. In thr Morning he got up and said that everything in PR is small except the Bed Bugs They are the biggest he had ever seen. Went to the Land Authrothy where the Govf has taken over some land and distributed to the people. They dont own it but they lease it, and it is a very good deal to some of the people. We stayed at the home of a comarade Named JOAQUIN who had a very good acre. He was our guide for the afternoon. . . . (In today paper there was a statement by the Head of the University on the Barring of Andreau from speakin on China last Fri, this is in answer to thr Andreau statment. In the states they don't do this,

Page 9 May 9, 1949 con't

Was out of a private sugar mill where there is sugar that is to be sent to the United States and then sent back to the Island, Why can't they do it all here, Ha Ha. . . .

Very large sugar plantation about three hundred workers . . . in fact Field workers get 2.81 a day and work about 2 days a week, but every six months they get two weeks steady work. Those Mashetties are very sharp. . . Ted went back to the Hq and from there went to El Fangatio with Santo to see about the Meeting . . . will grind out more later. I was to the Govt Picture Dept. I hope to get 38 S by 10 to take home with me. No cost????? Came back to the Hotel and met a socker (Football) team from trinad. They are Mixed which is good. Negros know about Jackie Robinson etc. they get mag such as ebony See them tomorrow

Ted was out to the meeting at El Fangito and it was quite good. there is a real peoples movement in the slum. People don't like the way the Govt is treating them. Will hear more about it later. I went out to see Judy and she had company a few people were going to New York, Nothing happned except that I got a little drunk. Saw Ted and he said that we have to get up at 7 for the trip.

Page 10 May tenth 1949

Santo got there at about 715 with the editor of the paper. We went to get some film and then left the city at about 755. It seems that the orange and Grapefruit industrie was started but the states put them out of busniess. They could have a market for it elsewhere but due to the fact that 98% of trade is with USA it cant be done. Trip is from San Juan to Ponce the 2 city Pop 125,000. . . . we got there at 3.30. Some of the most beutiful scenary in the world. . . It is a very bad road and santo is a goog driver. Saw some comardes along the way and visited Manulies Father. in Coamo. . . along the way it was mostly sugar, a little tabacco and pineapple. . . . Poverty is all over the island.

Met Maguel Bahamonde a Lawer who has been party very very long. He has pictures of Lenin & Stalin all over his OFFICE Walls/ Also met a doctor who is very wealthy and in the party. We need more workers in an area such as this. Have all sorts of industrie.

Sugar Tabacco, Needle etc. Ted and Santo will see them tonite I am going to sleep

Wed May 11, 1949 Page 11.

Got up at 7 o'clock at breakfast and heard an army broadcast. The News is something that is geared to make those who listen to it have a feeling for war, for that is all that they say. Said goodbye to Dr. Lanauze. He is one of the Indep who would be party members if they thought that party could help PR More. Left Ponce proper abd went to the suberbs. There we visited some comardes who live in a housing development. The Husband Has pictures of Marx, Gorkey, Stalin, & Lenin on the wall etc (It is the thing in all party houses here.) but the wife is a cathloc and has a picture of Jesus. It is like this all over Italy etc. Went to a fertilizer factory on the water front. It smells thre. The UGT Has the place under contract. Met the Leader of the Union. Took his picture as I did with all other people that santo introduces us to. I can't hurt there feelings but??. They are planing to move that factory which has been in Ponce for 20 years to another city. But that will close the one in Ponce and throw the people out of work. . The union is trying to get the Co. to move the families of the Workers. They shoulf succede. This was on the waterfront. There was a Texaco Tanker and another frieghter there. Small Port, heaving Imperialist Exploitation. On the way from there we passed a Strike conducted By the UGT. It is against Coca Cola. they want a five cent an hour wage increase and the co only offers them 1 cent. The Rank of the strike are solid. Took pictures of strikers. They employ 36 People All phases of the work are on strike. It is Island wide. 8 People are Employed in the Plant at Corona. Total of 600 Workers are out on hte Island. Pay is 38¢ hour. Ted gave a speech to the Strikeres that lasted about 3 minutes. Expressng solidarity with american workers, and on on a free PR. . They (The Strikers) asks that when we get back to the states we get support for them on these strike. Campaign must be conducted. Union Leader. Enilio Ramos, Federico alcala Buenos Aries, 30, Ponce, PR. Organicer of the UGT. (Union General Workers)

Went to Cabo Rojo on the South West cost. We had Lunch with some comardes there. They have sugar, Salt. In the Salt Mine they used to make 15¢ a day. Now they Make \$20.00 weekly. Our comardes have a stfong hold here.

In 1939 they had a very millatint strike the police took a beating. They used to bring the Watre and still do bring the watre up here from Cabro Rojo (This is out of the town)

*The Town of Cabo Rojo is about 15 Miles North of the Cape of Cabo Rojo. In this region it is very dry and the farmin is very poor. They grow some cotton and As I said before they get the water elsewhere. We visited the house of a family where the man is a comarade. They have six children and all of them work to make the most of there money at making gloves. It is a peice take home type of work. They get \$3.41 for a dozen pair of gloves. It takes one person four days to make a dozen, they can make three pair in a full, and I mean full day. Their names are. Camacho Velez. The other families also work on gloves. they also work there farms, they Have one (CUERDA) This is the area where the strike took place in the 30ties a CUERDA is 43 by 44, this is the result of the victory of the Popular Democratic party. It did not mean much in the economics of the Family but they are brought to believe so It is a shame that the area is so dry for the land is one of the few spots in the Island that ther is flat land

May 11, 1949 Wed Page 12 (Con't)

When we left the Families of hte preceding page we visited a comrade who had taken part in the struggle in hte salt mine in 1938. He has a big family and they were very cordial to us. Two of the boys played popular dance music on guitar, and santo and ted danced. . . . We left there and went to the salt mine, which is not exactly a mine. It is the very southmost and western part of PR. There are locks that let the watre into large tanks. The watre is allowed to drain and th salt remains. . . . this is one of the three places in PR that salt is produced. There is quite a bit of it here. . . . This is one of hte few productees that is turned out on the island that is not sent to the United States for re-shipment to Puerto Rico

We got back to Cabo Rojo at 730 and met a few other comaraxes who we will have a meeting with We will stay here tonite and leave for San Juan in the morning

Starting next year the High schools will starte teaching thear courses in spanish. Up until now they have been teaching all elementary and high school courses in english. In the History courses they teach more American History then Puertican History. They don't give much if any space and study time to the revolutionary struggles of the Puerto Rican peoples. They don't tell much about the straggle to free the Slaves which took place in 1873

Dr. Ramon Betances who is called the Lincoln of PR. He was the leader in the abolition movement. The whole peoples of the Carribien have Paid tribute to him. He is from Cab Rojo and in the plaza there is a statue of him with inscriptions on all four sides. One from Puerto Rico. One from Cuba, and one from the Dominican Republic.

We just met the head of the Party in Mayaguez who is also head of the Needle workers Union in that District (Also PR Beer Center) Mayaguez is the third largest city in PR, it had a population of 90,000. (It also has three Sugar Centrals) All of the costal area is Sugar in Production, and in the center of the Island in the Mountains, it is Tobbacco, and Coffee, also on the cost there is pinapple, again to Dole Here is the largest group of party people I have seen together since I have bben here Here is the place where all the gloves and the Hankerchiefs are brought after the people on the farms finish with them the rate of exploitation is increased tremdol by this. The Needle factories have agents at Cabo Rojo, Sabana Grande, San German, You can go into any of the farms in the area and see the exploited people working on the Needle works

Was just introduced to the Head of the Nationalist Party here he is a youth, and was the first one to be expelled from the University during the Strike Last year during the election campaign

Page 13 ; ; ; ; Wed May 11th Con't

Youth from National Party—Pelegrin Garcia—more on Betances-Nationalist Leader Dr. P. Campos was denied admission to the campus to for a speech. It was on the Status of Puerto Rico to be delievered to the United Nations. This was the second incedent. The first was when he arrived from Prison in the USA to PR they wanted to dedecate the day as a holiday to pay there respects to him, they raised the PR Flag and it was taken down by the University Police—Three students were expelled permanantly for the raising of the Flag . . . & two

for one year, and steps were to be taken against other students. . . . The time that he was denied the right to speak was after an invitation by the student council. . . . After the speech was not heard the students assembled in the theatre and decided to have a one day protest. . . . Chancellor said that his word was law and the students had no right to protest so he called in the Police who arrived with 80. . . . (90% solid) Head of school would not speak to the students, because of the one day protest the school was closed for about two weeks. They announced that the school would be opened and at the same time the police arrested three students, one of whom was in Mexico at the Youth Congress. . . . After the arrests the strike went on for another week still as strong then closed for the second time. One student was arrested 22 times during the strike all this happened when the university was closed, they then opened it and announced the final exams which broke the strike, the strike was suspended for the summer session, in the fall it started again, for about one more week but this time it lost its militancy, fins. . . .

Police broke up a student demonstration in Rio Piedras of two thousand students. Two students were beaten very badly by the Police and some lesser injury. Good old Police Brutality

Page 14 Thurs May 12th.

got up at 7 and ate breakfast. Santo lost his glasses. The bed in Cabo Rojo (Red Cape) was very bad, and the hotel stunk in all respects, but so what, it is working class. We ate breakfast at the home of a friend. Last night they had a meeting here and was quite good, but cry was for money. Went to Myeguez to look for film and didn't find any there. Stopped at the market and Ted got the radion fixed, and bought some sandals, and fruit, boy can he eat I fooled them when they thought I didn't eat anything buy having a green coconut, it is soft and the Milk is very good. Ted Picked up a Mechite as did I. We then went back to Cabo Rojo but on the way we stopped off at a down called Hombrees, where someone once was supposed to have seen some sort of a saint, big deal. Visited some sugar fields went back to Cabo Rojo picked up Eugene who is a youth (He is Delegate to WYF This year) The trip back was a very good one with the exception of the rain. The road was not that of hills, and is was on the coast. I've seen enough sugar for a long long time.

Hit a town on the north coast and had lunch, there were some Sugar central owners there having a wonderful drinking on the sweat of the workers. . . . Hit the military Highway, more yankee Imper passed the Large airbase of USA. One Bad reason for there remaining here. Got to Aracibo and visited with a old time comrade, He has a son in NY who I have to look up. Saw some schools and all the sub were in english. Picked up a kid and he spoke english, but wouldn't for it was a sort of protest, many of this kind of people. . . . Got to Rio Piedras at 8 and saw the Confused manners and ASD Judy or its it ENGB. Went over to Annalivia Coderau house, she is in Marxist group on the campus, and her father is the auditor, with him I spoke of the relative merits of the Plymouth and the Cheverlot, when he left I was hit by the barrage of ENGB talk about the Popular party, boy can they learn a lesson on the National question, this shows where we have been lacking. for a lack of understanding in the negro question has a soon as they came here been transplanted into the PR question and a National Chau Fellow named Charlie Rossiario of of the group. Bob Armstrong came over and we made a hunchen appointment for tomorrow. I must admit that for a few minutes they had been going, and due to that I can see a lot of my own shortcomings, and can better fight off such Ideas. If Ted were Not here?????wha would have happened to x me?????Missed the last bus and had to taxi home. Buy the way sent for \$25 more a peice.

15 Friday May 13th 1949

Sent out cleaning. Check came and it was in the Chase National Bank, good old frank. . . . Ted has written some letters, Horay. . . Must write to George today. . . . Were on way out to Armstrongs and stopped off at P HQ. Caesar said we were to go swimming and meet him at 230. at two thirty we called and were on way out. Jane and Consula were to meet us there (Saez) Had a very interesting time with Bob A. He is the only one of this group that is on the ball. Had some interesting facts, such as even if the USA stays the money will be gone in a few years, for no more vets payments, and a drop in the rum tax. His landlord George who is Prof at school has been here a long time, 24 yrs. but he climbed up on the fence about 13 yrs ago and hasn't come down since. Thinks he is safe up there, poor fool don't know that if he and

the others like him don't come down and do something they wont be worth a plug nickle before to long. He had some cockeyed ideas on the Negro question, such as the progressive role of the USA.

Went swimming and had a wonderful time, sculped a statue on the sand. Caesar tell me that Bob Clai fathee is here and is a hermit somewhere near Cabo Rojo, also that Pete Hawes is the Almanac Pete, and he is married to S. M. Sister Ellen, small world. They are but not to active if at all. Tried to get them and had to see the Schumms who are very nice people, they gave me supper, and he told me about the problem of fixing up El F, from the standpoint of an Engenierr, but he don't have a solution for it, at least he is honest, and he is strait in other ways. Made date with the Hawses for tomorrow. Went the YMCA To see maxes folk dance group. Boy that guy is really something. The first thing is that he is popular, his group is Upper class, (He thinks he is doing something) He at the Wallace convention here voted against Indep, the only USAers who voted ok were the Schumms aging good people, but admittley afraid. But Max what a dissapointment. Some of the Kids can dance, but oh that max.

Page 16, Saturday May 14 1949

Got up at 830 ate breakfest and then went to PHQ, had a scheduled meet, it started at late hour 1115. They were discussing the reports that the CC were to make tommorow at the conference. . . . I spoke to Gene about the WYF and we figuer to cost about 600 or more. They will raise all expenses from here to NY and Back plus passport. Will get all the stuff on Monday. Caser told me about a girl (INDP) who will go and raise her own money. . . . also about a case of a Negro Student who was expelled. He has a scholasship to Prauge but cant leave his wife and two children. . .

Saw the Hawses and she reconized me. He and she disn't have much to say. He gave me an interesting fact about the struggles for freedom, and that the PR were sold out buy some Cuban, and that PR was a tory stronghold, also some books to get, he is not all the way clear but at least he has his feet on the ground. . . .

Got back to the Hotel and did some reading, read about Morris U S Schappes, very interesting. . . . Ted got in and told me to prepare a short talk for tomorrow, I did it in 18 minutes, we will translate into spanish later and I will attempt to read it that way. Got to A. House on time for once. Had a chicken dinner, His baby is very cute. And had an interesting discussion on the Negro question and that on the SD's. . . . also of course ala and remenicenc for the speeds and ted. . . . Other people came and we started a discussion on the Youth Festeval, all set for the Girl will get her name Monday. . . . Negro student is not going as of now. Juan is in PR and will see him tomorrow. . . . Looking forward to it. . . . The A's confirmed all that I thought about Max etc.

Page 17 Sunday May 15 1949

All Day Conference at the PHQ. . . Got up at 7 and was not finished with the translation of my speech. Will get someone to do it at the HQ. . . . Meeting started on time and Ted did Not arrive he was at the Hotel still working on his speech. Saw Juan and all the peopel we saw on the Trips, by the way yesterday I bought the Rulers Of America, and TA Jacksons England Struggles for Freedom.

Ted 's and My speech (Enclosed) were very well received. The party voted formally to send a letter to the National committee telling of the work that helped them that we did (Mostly Ted). One of there people from the west coast, who is in needle was telling some stories one is that the socialdemoc leadership of there union wanted them to take a cut in wages, for if they didn't he sadi that they would move the Factory, we'll said the Communist where would you move it, to China Mabey, I Hope. another is when they call the UGT Communist Lead, at least said some of the workers, the Commu are honest people, and fight for us. A good many trade Union People there. He said how he had to beg the money to come to the meeting for the party was that important to him, and how the head of his Union who didn't have the Clothes for a Sunday in SJ and was very humble, said that he wouldn't make the trip He had a nice job until he started to do Union Work and since that time he has been very hard up, but that shows the realness of the people, by the way we met him there when we were in SJ. The Lineotype machine was gotten through a Cathloc Priest. One Young Comrade just got \$1,250 in back salary, and he let

the party have \$1,000 for the machine for the paper which will come out on June 1, Names Pueblo. . . . His Name German Garcia. . . .

Main points of discussion were Conc in Sugar, the building of the Trade Unions, and very much on the press. Teds Report had a view of the trip, Santo and Caesar discussed the role of the Party in all phases of the work, Causula discussed the Press, Saez the Unions Also the role of exposing the renegades, and they also passed a resu to send greetings to the CC CPUSA in support of the fight of the trial of the 12. . . Tomorrow Juan will give a complete report to us taken from his notes. . . .

Monday May 16th 1949

Foley Square: San Juan

Court House San Juan Puerto Rico

There is a trial in San Juan that is of a smaller charter to that of the one in Foley Square. Here there are and have been many student leaders of the strike that was on last year, on trial. They are on trial for various framed up charges, from Carring the Flag of there country, to so called disterbing the peace. Some of them disterbed it at a meeting where there were between 400 to 500 plice. . . .

I got to the court room at about 2PM, the court house is oppisite the main plaza of the old city of San Juan. The court room was crowded with working class peple and just as the opening of the trial at Foley Square, it was an armed camp of police, (30). The judge (Judge Ramos) did not resemble Medina physically but in his actions he was a twin. Three was no jury. He sat on the bench with three electric fans blowing at him in this hot tropical sun, while the rest of the court sweated. An american flag was behind him, hanging down, with a picture of Roosevelt in the Middle of it. The picture was being blown about by the fans, as if it was trying to leave the court for it could not stand to see a misscarage of justice. There were two hard boiled prosecuters here to oppose the young defendents, they are the Chief Govt Proscuters of Puerto Rico. One is Sr. Aponte and Gil Riveria. . . . Aponte is short and squat and a hard boiled politication in his late forties. He wore a white summer suit that needed cleaning and pressing and His shirt was something that should have gone to the laundry about two days ago.. Reveria is much younger, he is tall and slick looking on of the younger tools of the American Imperialists. . . . All of the defendents were law students before they were expelled from the university for beliving in a free Puerto Rico and that that students of the school should be given a chance to hear all sides of questions, they oppose the baring of political speakers which is now in affect at the University. . . . There Names are Clement Mattei 25 Trials all convictions Negr S. Péna tried twice and the last time which was today he was acquitted. The aquittel was due to the charge that he carried the flag of Puerto Rico which is the national flag, and even the judge who is wall street controled can't convict a person who carries the legal flag of Puerto Rico, But he had been convicted on the other count and Fined \$25.00. . . . Juan Noriega Pres of the Student Council until expelled 10 trials; Oscar Garcia 3 trials; Joe Tejada 15 trials. He lead the defence for the group today, a young negro who knows what affect the American Domination of PR has on the whole people and even more so on the Negro people of Puerto Rico, for those who think there is no negro question on Puerto Rico, they should speak to this young fighter for the working class, and or see the Jim Crow stores here, etc. . . . Orlando Reveron first trial; Harry Garcia the Jackpot with over 28 trials harry is also a Negro. In reading you will notice that the student with 28, 25, and 15 trials are the only Negroes in the group. As the trial proceeded you could see Judge Medina on the Bench in the form of Judge Ramos. as the witness for the Defence was telling of the peaceful march and assemblodge of the students, and how the police were lined all over the street, and it was the police who started the volience, by firing tear gas at them, and how they drew there guns, and hit young students with billie sticks, I saw pictures of the affair and talked to some of the victime who had to go to the Hospital in a critical condition, it seemed to have made the police terror at city college a chess game in compare. . . . well he would look out of the window, and write notes or do something that seemed to distract him from his duty on the bench. . . . But when the Proscutor was talking it was a different scory. The same old story of Overruled to the Defense and Sustained to the Proscution. . . . When Joe Tejada started the summation the judge had to wake up, for this young negro, (who can not finish his studies in the country or in the USA, and who had his GI bill taken away from him, more american oppression of the Negro People) started to speak, for he spoke with all the feeling a human bieng with the knowledge that he will be free. He was dynamic, he spoke with emotion and facts

about the so called freedom that the people are supposed to have under the law. He quoted from the US constitution, and from the constitution that affects the People of Puerto Rico, about the right of free assembly and free speech, and the right of protection from Police Terrorism, but it was to no avail, for the verdict was guilty, all fined \$25.00, which may not seem high to you who read this, but to a young Puerto Rican ex Student who is blacklisted for his political beliefs, with a Wife and two Children it is more than a small fortune, and more important than the money, is that the verdict of guilty means that any human being xxxxx in this country of Puerto Rico can be tried for anything that the Governor, Sell out to Wall Street M/Marine. . . . wants. Any one who differs from him and that takes in a lot of people, and xxx take in a lot more xxxx every day, can be sent to jail, if this is not stopped now the Thousands of UGT progressive union members who do fight for the bettering of the working conditions and living conditions of the People of Puerto Rico and the World, sent to Jail. . . . By now you may want to know a few more details of this strike that was responsible for the trial. . . . Every year on the 28th of Sept the students had celebrated the Revolution of Lares which was a major struggle historically for the freedom of the Slaves of Puerto Rico and the Outright freedom of the Country from Spain. It took place in 1868. . . . Well it was because of the celebration of this day of life for Puerto Rico that the Police in Conjunction with the School and Wall Street arrested and beat over 200 students, all were tried and all the leadet were convicted on at least one count, as well a convictions for a good many of the other strikers. The maximum that one student got was 2 months in Jail. . . . I ask you was this student a Hardened criminal, this young girl who just turned twenty, no of course not, but in the Eyes of American Imperialism she is for she fights for a Free Puerto Rico, and a working class leading the fight. . . .

Correction 1, they did not arrest 200 that day, and did not throw tear gas then. The girl got one month for a framed up charge of gun carrying. The police are still trailing some of the strike leaders so as to try to keep any progressive elements quite, and to try where possible to frame them some more. The students who studied law, and who if they do finish in the states will not be promette to practice here in PR. . . .

Said good buy to Manners. . . . Visited the school where Santo is head of the parent teachers association. What a place. It is 4 yrs old and has no running water, roof leaks when it rains, about 42 to a classroom where there should be 23. . . . They have to study in english. . . . Have song book all in english and about american songs, where is PR culture????? One book on Heroes and Heronians etc deals with those of the USA, one passage goes something like this. Teddy Roosevelt was with rough riders, some were killed in the spanish american war. we got some islands from spain, such as Puerto Rico which now belongs to us. . . . There is a horse stable in the front yard, it is for the racetrack a few blocks away. It draws many a gly and it makes it unhealthy and dangerous for the children to paly. . . .

Just though of an answer to Schumm. Why don't they use the \$5,000,000 being spent on the Hilton hotel which the gov't is paying for and use it for the fanguito. . . . Fly away home in the morning and hope that the suit is back.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have your so-called contemporary diary, or the diary for the months of February 1955?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, I don't. I would like to give the committee a copy of correspondence I have had with my attorney in El Paso trying to locate the diary. When I was remanded to jail in El Paso on the 16th of March, I had not checked out of my hotel room. My attorney did. I had the diary with some other papers in the briefcase at the time. I was transcribing it from handwritten notes for the committee.

Since that day I have not seen it nor the parts transcribed. I have a letter sent to Joseph A. Calamia, my attorney, dated April 12, this year, and a telegram which he sent me telling me he was unable to find the diary at the Hilton Hotel in El Paso, Tex., or in his office.

That is the last I saw of it. I have some notes, not of that period, not in diary form, and this diary is no longer available because I don't have it. I would like to have it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you offering this correspondence for our record?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Admitted.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits Nos. 81 and 81A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 81

HARVEY MARSHALL MATUSOW,
405 BLEEKER STREET,
New York 14, N. Y., April 12, 1955.

Mr. JOSEPH CALAMIA,
405 Caples Building, El Paso, Tex.

DEAR JOE: I talked to Stanley Faulkner yesterday. He said that he was writing you re the appeal, additional fees, etc., so I leave those questions to you and Mr. Faulkner.

Since my return to New York I have been subpoenaed by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and the New York Federal grand jury. Between preparation for the appearances and a 20-day backlog of mail, I haven't had much free time.

In relation to my Senate appearance, I was ordered to produce a diary that I kept during the month of February 1955. If I could locate the diary, I would be only too glad to produce it, but I no longer have it.

The last that I saw of it was in El Paso the day prior to my entering the county jail (March 15, 1955). I had it with me in the room I had at the Hilton Hotel. I recall leaving it, along with some other miscellaneous papers, in my hotel room on the morning that I was sentenced. Would you please check at the Hilton to see if they have the missing papers, or perhaps I might have left it at your office?

I would appreciate your sending me a collect telegram informing me of the result of your inquiry re the diary, papers, etc.

Thanks.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) HARVEY MATUSOW.
Harvey Matusow.

EXHIBIT No. 81-A

[Western Union Telegram]

EL PASO, TEX., April 15, 1955.

HARVEY MARSHALL MATUSOW,
405 Blecker St.:

Unable to find diary in hotel or office.

JOSEPH A. CALAMIA.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you say you don't know what happened to your briefcase?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not say it was a briefcase. I did not have a briefcase. I had the standard legal folders. I had three of them, as I recall. When I got out of jail there were only two left.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you keep them?

Mr. MATUSOW. I had the diary notations in the hotel room in a desk drawer.

Mr. SOURWINE. In a folder in a desk drawer?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; with some other papers.

Mr. SOURWINE. What became of your typewriter?

Mr. MATUSOW. My typewriter, and another folder, was picked up and left in my attorney's office.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went and got it——

Mr. MATUSOW. In fact I took my typewriter and a folder with material dealing with the material at 7 o'clock on the morning of the 16th of March to Judge Thomason's office and I did some work on it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You went and got this February diary from the place where you had put it—

Mr. MATUSOW. Places.

Mr. SOURWINE. Places you had put it, as a result of the committee's instructions to produce it, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And why didn't you then send it to the committee instead of taking it with you to El Paso?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I told the committee, originally it was a diary with many scribbled notes on the back of envelopes, miscellaneous sheets of paper, similar to what I am doing right now, and I doubt if it would do the committee any good.

Frequently I can't read my own handwriting.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was your judgment. But the committee had ordered you to produce that diary.

Mr. MATUSOW. It was not a diary until I completed it. I had not completed transcribing my notes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you think the committee had asked you for a copy of what you had written in that diary.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have a diary when it is typewritten. Before I transcribe the scribbled notes they are just scribbled notes.

I don't consider it a diary. Maybe I have the definition wrong but I still maintain my definition of a diary.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you two items. One is a bound volume containing certain original worksheets that were used in connection with your book, worksheets being in the handwriting of Mr. Albert E. Kahn.

I send you also what purports to be a photostatic copy of these worksheets.

I ask you if you can identify that as being, in fact, a copy of these particular worksheets in the handwriting of Albert E. Kahn?
(Examined by witness.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I may say that the original we are going to have to return to Mr. Faulkner, at his request.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have discussed this with Mr. Faulkner. I will take that back to New York for him.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to get the photostat authenticated.

Mr. MATUSOW. They are typewritten sheets. I can identify the typewriter they were made on as Mr. Kahn's typewriter.

I can identify the handwriting on the top of the worksheets and they are the same worksheets found in the volume you have just described.

That is a volume transcribed of the tape recordings previously mentioned in this hearing.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is correct. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this photostatic copy of the worksheets as identified by Mr. Matusow may go into the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. They are admitted in the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 82" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 82

Work Sheet—12/16/54 (Mat's work in Ohio)

1. Describe relationship to Un-American Activities Commission of State of Ohio:
 - a) nature of Commission—when established, and function, etc.
 - b) how Mat first came in contact with the Commission
 - c) Mat's responsibilities—nature of work—length of his association*
 - e) salary
2. Description of cases on which Mat work:
 - a) investigation of Labor Youth League Negro groups and other groups (peace activities, etc)
 - b) investigation of the UE (mention private investigatory operations, attending mtgs, reporting to Commission, etc.)
3. Tie-ups with business concerns and industries
 - a) connections with "personnel" departments—mgr. at Master Electric and other industrial groups—how material was exchanged between Commission and these groups—communications with Mat, etc.
 - b) extent of labor espionage carried on by Commission and its investigators
 - c) connections between Keep America Free Committee and business groups in anti-union operations
 - e) instance of company urging investigation of group which seeks equal rights in the factories for Negroes
4. Keep America Free Committee story
5. Antioch College story
6. Mat's securing of witnesses for Commission—how he interviewed individuals and interrogated and intimidated them—; how he got information in general and how it was used (see previous section for interviews of prospective witnesses)
7. Mat's other operations in Ohio
 - a) lectures and other public appearances
 - b) articles if any
 - c) press use, etc. of his material
8. Other information of interest (check folders)

Possible documents

- 1) Press clippings
- 2) Letter identifying Mat as Research Assistant of Ohio Commission
- 3) letter putting Mat on Commission payroll
- 4) letter of recommendation following separation from Commission
- 5) Cowder—personnel mgr. of Master Electric Co—letter to Mat
- 6) 1940 HUAC list of CP petition signers in Ohio used as blacklist, etc.
- 7) letter to personnel mgr. of Rike-Kumle Co. from Negro Labor Council turned over to Mat (?)

Work Sheet—12/14-16/54 (Jencks case)

1. Give background to case
 - a) how Mat first met Clint and where—his feelings about Clint and the reports he made on him
 - b) when Mat was first approached regarding indictment of Jencks and what was asked of him
 - c) Mat's appearance before Grand Jury—
2. Describe atmosphere in El Paso at time of trial
 - a) Press treatment of testimony, TV and radio
 - b) attorneys for prosecution and defense
 - c) jury
3. Mat's feelings at the trial
4. Nature of Mat's testimony
 - a) make mention of use of "attack" on father (see previous reference)
 - b) refer to previous testimony before House Un-American Activities Comm where it was stated Mat knew of "no individual who had planned to obstruct war production"
 - c) chief accusations against Clint
 - d) comment re "Communist affair" at which Vincents were made—and how Mat "knew" Vincents were "Communists"

*Suggest compilation of general chronology of work, testimony before committees, testimony at trials, connection with McCarthy, association with Counterattack, service with Ohio Commission, etc.

- e) Discussion with Jencks in which Mat claimed J said "we need more CP members"
- f) "Mexican Communists" met by Jencks and question of "War production"
- g) description of books in library
- 5. When did idea re "holding up war production" first originate?
- 6. What specifically did Mat report re discussions with Jencks at the time of these discussions?
- 7. See page 692 of testimony re price of Hearst article—was avoidance of mention of price received for this article deliberate or accidental?
- 8. Question of frame-up must be bluntly stated in the book—as much so as Mat's reference to nature of frame-up of "sedition" victim in Louisiana
- 9. Question of schooling as witness by Edminston, etc.
- 10. Misc.—matter of turning over names of those recruited to CP

Possible documents

- 1) Subpoena to Grand Jury (?) 2) page or two from Mat's report 3) El Paso clippings about trial 4) clipping mentioning attack on his father

Work Sheet 12/11/54 (*Counter-Attack, etc.*)

- 1. Describe briefly and specifically the nature of the *Counter-Attack* operation
 - a) what are the functions that this publication performs? contrast its alleged functions (see pg. 1 of *Red Channels*) with its actual functions; comment possibly on elaborate description of "red network" in radio and TV (see pg. 4 of *Red Channels*)
 - b) indicate the differences between the newsletter, *Counter-Attack* and the booklet, *Red Channels*, so that this will be clear to reader; also, Am. Business Consultants, Inc.
 - c) describe the offices of *Counter-Attack*
- 2. Describe how C-A came into existence in May 1947 and its various executives (see document A for detailed information to fill in details here)
- 3. Describe how funds are raised to keep C-A functioning
- 4. Does C-A blackmail as well as blacklist? (If personal experiences in this connection, relate below.)
- 5. C-A and R C blacklisted movie actors, radio and TV stars, writers, concert pianists, singers, dancers, at least one strip-teaser, playwrights, radio announcers, etc. etc. Indicate type of "association" which was considered sufficient to warrant inclusion of names among "subversives" (In book, however, suggest avoidance of use of actual names)
- 6. How did Mat happen to go to work of C-A in summer of 1952?
 - a) describe first meeting with principals and any significant details re negotiations
 - b) describe own responsibilities and assignments
- 7. Tell some anecdotes of interest
 - a) re personal work (Sam Levenson story, for instance)
 - b) re deaths of Garfield, Canada Lee, Bromber, Mady Christians
 - c) Mat's "investigatory work with C-A (letter to Meding); visit to ACLU
 - e) details of Little Brown story
 - f) letter to Ed Sullivan
 - g) possible comment re role at Peekskill and subsequent report to D. A., Marbach
 - h) comment on Ward Bond, correspondence with re blacklisting
 - i) Mat's salary at C-A
- 8. Any other general observations

Comments by AK

- 1. Possible mention in footnote, or elsewhere in book, of blacklisting AC and AK
- 2. List FBI agents by name (see C-A brochure); also *quote* JEH prefatory quote to R C
- 3. Mention to Mat need to understand and emphasize what is dramatic in writing—and vivid—as compared with acting

Possible documents

1.) Inter-office C-A memos 2) sample typed list of "subversives" 3) NBC letter of explanation and apology to C-A for articles by NBC stars in Compass 4) *Life* letter rejecting aid from C-A 5) Instructions to visit to ACLU office 6) Letter from Kirkpatrick to Mat 7) Sample report to Counter Attack

Work Sheet—12/13/54 (Subject: Montana, Fall '58, etc.)

1. Describe how Mat happened to go to Montana?
 - a) what arrangements were made with McCarthy?
 - b) who paid the expenses of the trip?
 - c) how was the actual trip planned—that is, the details worked out regarding speaking engagements and other activities on the trip?
 - d) what was the essential purpose of the trip? (indicate relationship to pres. campaign)
 - e) who sponsored Mat's public appearances in Montana?
2. Relate details of trip out (if of interest) and reception in Montana
3. Who were the personalities in Montana who did most to promote Mat's visit while he was there?
 - a) how did they do this?
 - b) what part did V. O. Overcash of the Legion play?
4. Describe typical meeting in Montana and mention other (Great Falls, Cut Bank, Billings)
 - a) indicate content of speeches
 - b) quote typical introduction (see document)
 - c) describe audience reaction
 - d) relate any anecdotes of interest
5. Press reaction, etc.
 - a) Quote from press to indicate what Mat said, and attitude of press
 - b) indicate reaction of Democratic State Chairman Landoe to Mat's trip
 - c) indicate reaction of Farmer's Union—how they challenged Mat to speak at convention—how they went on statewide radio hook-ups to refute his charges
6. Campaign vs. Mike Mansfield
 - a) Use of New Masses reprint of speech, etc.
 - b) general propaganda against Mansfield and use of Red Menace theme
7. Campaign vs. Farmers Union
 - a) whose idea was this campaign? why?
 - b) how was material gathered regarding the Union?
 - c) mention attack on Farmer's Union Book Club
8. Mat's Article in Oct 52 issue of The American Legion—how it happened to appear at this convenient date—whose idea and how projected
9. What was the Appendix XI for which Overcash paid \$140

Possible documents

- 1) Leaflets re Mat's appearance 2) Newspaper articles and headlines 3) Letters and wire from Overcash 4) Letter indicating Overcash's sending of Mat's material on Farmer's union to HCUA
10. What about Mat's *NY Times* story?
11. Mention speeches in Idaho (see newspaper clippings.)

(On the two following pages are reproduced a chart which accompanied the outline.)

nos. 10/11/54
Ally as had
Comm + Russia
58

Friday
22/11/54
Sawley, Kirkham, etc

Burden/58
The Communist, Progress
on (p. 1) 1958
+ interesting news in Ohio
questioning & confirmation
+ evidence re membership. At present in force 1958

John, May/59
+ McCarty/59
+ Press
59

Comm. 1959
+ Communists
+ members of
+ Communist Party
+ Psychology of 1959
+ 1959

Donald, May/58
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958

Union, May/54
+ 1954

National Negro Labor Council/58
New York Times 1958/58

Drum, Bishop/58

Press
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958

1958
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958
+ 1958

1958
+ 1958
+ 1958

E Evolutionary Frontiers
Special affiliate business activities
as witness to income tax
general / 15
at CP trial / 21

X Knudsen, Alvin
Contacts Mar to Aug 1958
backing of Communist / 10

lies, use of / 28, 29
Watts, Foster / 29
Wichman / 27
W. H. Miller / 16, 21, 25
W. C. Case, Sabotage / 22

Revelation of
Former Communists /
57-60
Figuring out the
with P. O. 3
about / 31-32

McCarthy
at Mar / 20
Group ship incident / 17-18
investigation of bonds / 16-17
General / 20
J. Edgar Hoover / 24

Discussions
Investigation of / 17-18
McCarthy / 20

W. H. Miller, Alvin / 21
West, Campaigning in / 22

Sabotage / 22-4
Swain, Tom / 23-24
use of / 24
W. H. Miller / 16, 21, 25
W. C. Case, Sabotage / 22

W. H. Miller / 16, 21, 25
W. C. Case, Sabotage / 22

McCarthy
Investigation of / 17-18
Group ship incident / 17-18
investigation of bonds / 16-17
General / 20
J. Edgar Hoover / 24

Christology / 4
Various articles in various / 3, 4
Report on for - attitude
investigation of - question / 4
investigation of - question / 4
investigation of - question / 4
investigation of - question / 4
investigation of - question / 4

Plotting case / 11

INTRODUCTION

Decision to get book—contracts, ?????, etc. (D of J 48 hrs late)

Manner in which book was written—method of work—Initial reluctance of author to tell whole story—How can reader be sure Mat is now telling truth? Reader must of course decide for self—on basis of content of book and documentation. Own view or checking a fact wherever possible—examination of files and documentation—

Question of character of author—own attitude toward—describe Marcantonio incident, incident re discussion of children (hurting children, etc.)—Slipping (???) bravado, desire for admiration and applause—desire for respect—wanting to be someone (youth)

Possible prefatory note from Bishop Oxnham.

MISC. ADDENDA

(1 Include editorial footnote re Jencks his war record, etc.

PROMOTION

(1) Check all organizations mentioned, like Mine, Mill, U. E., Farmers Union, etc. etc.

(2) All names—Senator Mansfield, etc.

(3) All newspapers that publicized Mat's speeches on his trips.

Mr. SOURWINE. Preliminary to additional questioning of Mr. Matusow I should like to offer for the record at this time a letter addressed to the director of research of this committee by Mr. Sidney Isaacs, special assistant attorney general of the Internal Security Division of the State of Ohio.

The CHAIRMAN. Admitted in the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 83" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 83

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,
STATE OF OHIO,
Columbus 15, February 7, 1955.

Mr. BEN MANDEL,
*Senate Office Building,
Washington 25, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: In response to your telephone call today, let me furnish the following information concerning the employment of Harvey Matusow by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission. Matusow first came to me in the middle of January 1952 and we discussed the possibility of his doing investigative and research work for the commission. From his background and contacts, it appeared that he would be of value to us and we agreed that he would make a preliminary survey of the Communist situation in the Dayton, Ohio, area. Actually he began to work before he was put on the payroll.

At a meeting of the commission on January 22, 1952, I proposed that Matusow be employed as a research assistant. The minutes of that meeting show that he was hired on a month-to-month basis, subject to a review of his appointment at the next meeting of the commission at a salary of \$300 per month plus expenses, with Dayton, Ohio, designated as his headquarters. In all he drew 3 salary checks, 1 for \$106.45 for the period from January 21 to February 1, and 2 subsequent checks of \$150 each for the first and second half of February 1952. During the same period he also drew three expenses checks of \$64.68, \$38.39, and \$122.91. The second check is quite small because during most of that period he was in Washington, D. C., testifying before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives. The last check is somewhat larger because of the fact that he was in Columbus, Ohio, preparing for his own personal testimony before the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission and was residing outside of his headquarters city of Dayton.

Matusow brought to the Ohio commission a quantity of pamphlets and Communist Party study manuals which were of value in furnishing us a background of Communist Party techniques. In reviewing the actual testimony which he

gave before the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission, I find nothing which I believe he would now disavow. He was not active in the Communist Party in the State of Ohio, and as a result did not identify any Ohioans as being Communist Party members. He did discuss Labor Youth League and Young Progressives of America activities but identification of these individuals as members was made for the most part from the literature of the organizations themselves. Much of his testimony concerned practices and techniques of the Communist Party in infiltrating youth organizations and in attempting to recruit youth into the Communist Party. Although this material was interesting, it was certainly not new with Matusow.

At the end of February, he left Ohio to testify at various hearings in Washington and New York, and was temporarily placed on leave of absence. Actually the great amount of publicity which he received made it inadvisable to reinstate him on the payroll and after a discussion with Matusow, he was in fact not reinstated, so that the last date for which he was paid was February 29, 1952. He left on good terms, securing a job with radio station WING of Dayton, and we permitted him to make a tape recording of the Dayton, Ohio, hearing when it was held on April 22, 1952, so that he might use it on his WING program. While I did not hear his program, no one ever indicated to us that it had been slanted in editing.

His greatest fault, if we must now find one, was his youthful enthusiasm which led him to be indiscreet and caused some criticism of his activities. Even at this date, I do not feel that Matusow gave false testimony before the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission and I am at a complete loss to explain his motives in his present situation.

If you desire any additional information, please do not hesitate to call on me. With kindest regards, I am

Yours very truly,

SIDNEY ISAACS,

Special Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were in Ohio, and employed by the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission, did you have occasion to identify any Ohio residents as members of the Communist Party or as former members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have. I don't recall at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, do you recall who it was that put you in touch with the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is that it was Jim Ratliff.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you have testified to the contrary was your former testimony or your present testimony correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is that it was Mr. Ratliff and Mr. and Mrs. Edmiston. But the final contact was made after a discussion with Mr. Ratliff in Cincinnati. I spent the evening in his home, down on the Clifton Street home.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I show you a photostatic copy of a page from the Daily Worker—

Mr. MATUSOW. January 29, 1951.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you recognize it from this distance?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I can. There is a very fuzzy picture of me. It says I was expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to have you look at it and see whether that is your picture and refers to your expulsion from the party.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes. But the name is spelled wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. The name is spelled M-a-t-i-s-o-w?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes. This was the second expulsion notice. The original expulsion notice appeared in the January 19, 1951, issue.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the next thing I was going to ask you. You had testified January 19, formerly, and I wanted to find out whether you maintained that testimony was correct or it was a typographical error.

Mr. MATUSOW. It is correct. There were two expulsion notices.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that the caption under this picture—not the picture—be inserted at this point for the purpose of showing the contemporary statement by the party as to why Mr. Matusow was expelled.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 84" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 84

Harvey Matusow, expelled from the Tompkins Square section, Communist Party. Matusow, according to the New York county committee, was found to have been engaged in irregularities and misrepresentations during a press drive. His main contacts were among youth. He is now operating in New York, since his return from the Southwest. In his mid-20's, he is of medium height, plump, round face, white, black hair, and black eyes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I show you an article in the form of tearsheets from the American Legion magazine and ask you if that is an article which you wrote.

Mr. MATUSOW. October 1952, American Legion magazine—an article by me as told to Howard Rushmore; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in fact participate in the writing of that article?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. And does it correctly state the facts and statements which you told to Mr. Rushmore?

Mr. MATUSOW. I would have to read it and refresh my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were familiar with it at the time; were you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Based on my past experience with Mr. Rushmore and his accuracy in reporting what I told him—I had worked with him before—I would say that most of the stuff that he reported in there was what I told him but there were probably some errors.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not permit it to be published at the time without checking it over?

Mr. MATUSOW. Frankly, I did not care too much about the errors I found.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you saying you did permit it to be published without checking it over?

Mr. MATUSOW. I checked it over.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you find any errors when you checked it over?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is that I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did nothing to correct those errors?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I recall, probably not.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

May this article be inserted in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted in the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 85" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 85

REDS IN KHAKI

There were still Krauts who didn't know the war had ended when we poked our patrol into the forests outside Coblenz, May 7, 1945.

I was with two NCO's in my outfit and from our experiences of the day before we knew the Jerries had some tough pockets of resistance scattered around and we had been told to be careful.

When we stopped for a breather, Joe and Roy started talking about Paris and what they were going to do when they got their pass.

They knew gals there and apparently were familiar with the city. "Like to come along?" Joe asked me casually.

"Sure," I said. "Why not?"

The invitation and my acceptance launched a career that was to take a 20-year-old staff sergeant into the Communist Party, into work for the FBI as an undercover operative, and finally as a witness in court trials and congressional hearings.

And along the line I gained a first-hand knowledge of what the Communist International meant when it proclaimed back in 1920 from Moscow: "It is especially necessary to carry on unlawful work in the Army and Navy. * * *

I didn't know in that Coblenz forest that my two buddies were underground Reds whose main job in the Armed Forces was to recruit kids like myself to Stalin's fifth column.

During the next 6 weeks Joe, Roy, and I were busy on prisoner detail with the Third Infantry Regiment and both of them kept reminding me about the Paris trip.

And they started talking politics. About what a great man Henry Wallace was and what the Red army had done to lick Hitler. I didn't pay much attention but I realized that both men, considerably older than myself, knew a lot more about political science than I had learned in my high school in the Bronx.

We finally got a 3-day pass and headed for Paris. They took me to private parties, introduced me to French gals—who weren't looking for cigarettes and candy bars. I had a working knowledge of the language and it didn't take long for me to put the pieces together. Joe and Roy were Communists and the people they were introducing me to were French comrades.

On the rounds of our 3-day hender I met an American Army officer who boasted that he also was a party member and had met Red army officers who warned him that he must work for the world revolution.

I met other American Communists in uniform when I went to a GI university at Biarritz, France, while waiting for redeployment to the States. American Reds in my outfit were supplied with party funds to purchase small arms and ammunition which they in turn shipped to French and Spanish Communists for use at a future date.

Soon the Reds always had "friends" to guide my political thinking. Apparently I had been tabbed in Paris as a likely recruit and through its espionage chain, the Communist party followed me with smooth-talking GI's and French girl comrades. They didn't overlook a trick.

At any rate, I took a liking to the Communists without knowing anything about Marxism-Leninism. When I got back to the Bronx in August 1946, I had a lively curiosity about communism and went to some meetings of the American Youth for Democracy in my neighborhood.

The AYD had been for 2 years the successor of the Young Communist League and was now presenting the revolution in sugar-coated form. I swallowed the pill and took my first step into communism.

That pattern from the day in Coblenz to the time more than a year later when I became a formal Red was followed by the Communists in our Armed Forces in World War II in the ETO, in the Pacific, CBI and every major base in the States.

Each of the 15,000 members of the Communist Party of the United States who saw service from 1941 to 1946 was a recruiting agent for the fifth column. Their effort to sign up Staff Sergeant Matusow was only one of a thousand examples.

Recruiting was not the only goal. Military espionage for the Soviet Government; morale busting after the war was over; stirring up hatred against officers (even though many party members were officers) and other tactics were used by the comrades in uniform.

All of this had been part of the Moscow formula long before World War II. I have quoted the directive of the 1920 Communist International which was carried out speedily by Communists all over the world, including the United States.

The year I was born (1925) Paul Crouch was court-martialed in Hawaii for illegal work in the Army, including setting up the first Communist Party in the islands. His trial and sentence were used by the world Red propaganda machine. When Crouch was dishonorably discharged and had served his sentence, he was made an honorary colonel in the Red army and taught military tactics in Moscow.

(Crouch later left the Communist Party and has become an expert witness in many trials and congressional hearings, exposing the Soviet fifth column.)

Crouch was only one of many Communists planted in the armed services in the 1920's. Almost every major base had its Red cell and Communist Party members were on the battleships, and in the Air Corps.

American Reds were sent under false names and with counterfeit passports to Moscow, where they learned military tactics drilling with the Red army. Joseph Zack, Manning Johnson, and other former Communists have testified concerning the intensive training they were given in small arms, how to field strip a machine gun, and how to use the art of strangulation by piano wire.

The Young Communist League, using a pretty girl named Marion, set up a secret committee in 1935 to handle correspondence from Reds in the Armed Forces. Mail from servicemen was never sent to national Communist headquarters but to a series of "mail drops" at private addresses.

Marion spent her time picking up this GI mail—which contained confidential data on troop movements, Navy maneuvers, and new types of planes—relaying it to the party's military commission.

In 1936 the Communists sent some of their trained soldiers to Spain and recruited others. The result was the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which fought with the Loyalists during the civil war. Out of that brigade came John Gates, * * * Daily Worker editor * * * who was later convicted of conspiracy to teach the overthrow of the Government.

Steve Nelson, recently convicted in Pittsburgh of sedition, used his Spanish military training as political commissar of the Lincoln Brigade to advantage. During World War II Nelson was chief courier for a Soviet espionage ring which stole atomic and other military secrets.

Meanwhile, the National Guard also was part of the Communist goal of infiltration and propaganda. John Lautner, former chief security officer of the New York State Communist Party, testified a few months ago in New York City that he had been assigned to work with "cells" of Communist Party members in one of the guard's major outfits. Pretty girl comrades also were used by the party as part of the "recruiting program," Lautner said.

Louis Weinstock, indicted last year for subversive conspiracy, was formerly active in National Guard work. So were many other Reds who kept their real identities a secret.

World War II gave the Communists their opportunity. After June 22, 1941, Russia became America's ally and the Communist Party proclaimed its intention of dropping the class-war program to support the war effort to defeat Hitler.

The insincerity of this proclamation was shown in official orders given every party member when he enlisted or was drafted. They were told not to reveal their Communist affiliation, and to lie about it under pressure.

The comrades soon found snug stations in various armed-services publications where they carried out their propaganda work. Barnard Rubin of the Tokyo, Stars and Stripes loudly protested when General MacArthur fired him as a Red, yet Sergeant Rubin, the day after he returned to the States, joined the Daily Worker staff.

In the information and education branch, Simon W. Gerson, Daily Worker city editor indicted last year for subversive conspiracy, was, with many others similarly planted, responsible for the orientation of thousands of servicemen who passed through his east coast base.

From my own experience, I know that three party members in Ohio played a major role in the I & E program. Before Hitler attacked Stalin, they had drawn up a plan to solicit gripe letters from servicemen and then give them wider publicity to destroy morale.

But when the party line changed, all three Reds enlisted. A year after Hitler double-crossed his Soviet ally, one of the party members ended up as a major in G-2, stationed at the largest airbase in the States. The other two also ended up as field grade officers.

While 15,000 party members carried on their various orders from national Red headquarters, civilian comrades did their fifth column work. An organization called Sweethearts of Servicemen formed a letter-writing unit which made hundreds of new contacts and served as an ideal recruiting medium for the party. Entertainers with long front records of Communist-leaning were sent abroad to entertain troops and spread propaganda while offstage.

I remained in the Reserves when World War II ended. After I joined the Red youth movement, I was told to retain my Reserve status, but after I became

fairly prominent in the American Youth for Democracy and the Labor Youth League, I was told to drop out of the Reserve when my time ran out.

John, a former Air Force captain and one of New York City's leading Communists, gave me the orders. "Now that your name has appeared several times in the party press," John told me, "your value as a comrade in the armed services is ended. All of our party members still in uniform must have no public identification as Communists."

John explained it further: "One undercover comrade in the armed services is priceless to our cause. He can cause the loss of hundreds of man-hours in a week's time and can effectively break down the morale of a unit. A smart comrade can cause a lot of AWOL's."

Soon after I joined the Red movement, I was given a study outline prepared by the veterans commission of the Communist Party, headed by Irving Goff. This outline was given to party members who were ordered into "concentration work" among veterans. Certain veterans were assigned to join the Legion, others the VFW, and a great many the American Veterans Committee.

By 1948 both the Legion and the VFW had repelled this invasion and except for isolated incidents had defeated the fifth column. The AVC, to the contrary, was virtually captured in certain areas and the organization was considerably weakened in its fight to rid itself of Red infiltration.

Meanwhile I had been doing a fulltime job as a Communist youth organizer and had moved out of my parents' home. My father, a World War I sergeant, had at first argued against my Communist views and then violently objected to them. He reminded me again and again that my brother Danny, who was shot down in a B-17 over Germany, had died fighting for the things that I was trying to destroy.

But those comrades of Coblenz, Paris, and Biarritz had done their work. I wouldn't admit to commonsense and plunged into the subversive movement with youthful enthusiasm.

As an organizer for the Labor Youth League I helped set up Communist units in high schools and colleges. Our main propaganda attack was against UMT and any form of proper national defense. At Red student meetings I heard party leaders stress that in the event of war with Russia, we were to rise up against our own "imperialist Nation" and help destroy it.

Our comrades also were to obey draft calls. Before final induction, meetings with members of the party's secret military commission were arranged. There the prospective GI received final instructions on his role as a fifth columnist.

This sudden stepping up of the technique of military sabotage and espionage plus the lurking memory of my brother's supreme sacrifice began to fill my mind with certain doubts concerning my own role in the Red movement. I began to question certain edicts and started thinking for myself. This last is always fatal for a party member and leads inevitably to a break with the organization or, if it happens in Russia, to death.

Shortly after my 24th birthday, I decided that I had made a mistake. I had a choice of quietly resigning and forgetting my 3 years as a young Communist leader or fighting the thing I now knew was evil. I decided on the latter course and went to the FBI.

I told them the truth; in that way I hoped to repay the debt I owed my country, my parents, and my brother.

The FBI considered it for several weeks and finally agreed. For more than a year I supplied the FBI with hundreds of names of Communists, both open and underground. I gathered all the literature I could find and carried out any and all assignments that would help the Government's work against the party.

But the Communist Party, skilled in the ways of espionage for 30 years, found me out. I was recalled by the party from New Mexico, where I was supplying the FBI data on Communist activities near Los Alamos, and summoned before the review commission of the party.

A comrade introduced to me as "our security officer and a former policeman" told me I was an "OSS agent" and I was expelled from the party.

"Don't let us catch you around any party meetings or our party people," he told me. "If you do, you'll regret it."

I told the FBI and they thanked me for all my efforts.

About 3 weeks later, I volunteered for and was called back into active duty with the Air Force.

After processing at Brooks AFB, San Antonio, Tex., I was transferred to Wright-Patterson AFB in Dayton, Ohio. I seemed to present a problem to the

Air Force when on the day of my recall I turned in a statement which listed 46 Communist-front groups to which I had belonged.

It shocked several officers from the Pentagon on down, and I was told, "We don't know what to do with you; we can't give you any work of a classified nature, and we can't give you a job which might influence other servicemen."

I had explained carefully what had happened. I had told the Air Force about my break with the Communists and of my cooperation with the FBI. Most of the junior officers agreed with me that an ex-Communist who had demonstrated his sincerity by fighting the Reds had some sort of place in the Air Force educational setup.

But the brass thought otherwise. They were determined to make a paragraph trooper out of me, despite my plea for an opportunity to present the evils of communism to the enlisted men.

I argued with them that I was willing to give the course on anticommunism under the watchful eyes of 10 officers and 20 MP's if necessary. I told them that in World War II Communist Party members had done the same thing with no objections being raised. But here I was, I told them, an ex-Communist and an anti-Communist who had worked more than a year for the FBI, a sort of political leper.

But they didn't trust me.

The first job I received after processing was personnel sergeant-major of air technical intelligence—a job which required a top-sergeant clearance.

This irony was lost on my commanding officer when I pleaded to be relieved of this work and placed in the educational section, where I could expose communism.

"Sergeant," the colonel told me, "the Air Force won't trust you for I and E work, so we're keeping you here."

I fought for a year to get some sort of anti-Communist program with teeth in it for the I and E section. But a staff sergeant doesn't get far with brass that doesn't agree with him.

When I returned to New York City, I found that the Communists were making the most of the Korean war from a propaganda point of view.

One American, Paul F. Schnur, Jr., of San Francisco, had been captured by the Reds and, by no coincidence, the first POW letter to reach the States came from Private Schnur.

The letter denounced the United States and its part in the war and praised the "Chinese volunteers."

I started investigating this peculiar situation. It developed that Schnur's father had been identified as a member of the Communist Party by the California Un-American Activities Committee.

His mother organized a Communist-front "Mothers of POW's" and came to New York City to speak before a Red rally where she read a letter signed by 94 American and British POW's denouncing their own countries for taking part in the defense of South Korea.

She also boasted that she had contacted more than 200 families of prisoners in hope of getting support for the Communist "peace" campaign.

Was Schnur "planted" in the Army and did he go over to the enemy voluntarily as part of the long-range Communist program to disrupt our military forces?

A picture used widely in the Red and left-wing press here showed several prisoners of the Communists reading the west coast edition of the Daily Worker. How they obtained it, no one knows.

Schnur and other Communists are doing their work in those POW camps. If these GI's ever return, 1 out of 5 will be thoroughly indoctrinated with the Red virus of treason and espionage.

But do we have an intelligent counterplan of propaganda? Are our men being adequately equipped to face Communist propaganda and agitation.

I believe the Schnur case shows we are not. And from my experience at Wright-Patterson AFB, I say that we are still lagging behind our enemy in the war of words and ideas.

I was "captured" back in Coblenz, not by a burp-gun in the hands of a Kraut, but by the smooth words of two Reds wearing OD.

I thought they were Americans.

They weren't, but at the age of 20 I didn't know the difference.

It's up to our Armed Forces to teach other kids the difference. And we don't have much time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you photostatic reproductions of serials which appeared in the New York Journal American.

Mr. MATUSOW. Starting on January 5, 1952, which ran for 4 days.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I ask you if those articles were written by you?

Mr. MATUSOW. They were based on some material I gave Mr. Rushmore in writing, all but the first article which I participated in. The rest were written by Mr. Rushmore.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have an opportunity to read those before they were printed?

Mr. MATUSOW. Only the first.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you find any errors in the first one when you read it before it was printed?

Mr. MATUSOW. Errors in relation to what I told Mr. Rushmore?

Mr. SOURWINE. Errors of any nature that you found?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, there are errors.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did find errors?

Mr. MATUSOW. Of course the headline where it says, "3,000 students are Communists," et cetera, this was a figment of imagination.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not read the headline before it was printed, did you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I saw the galleys of the headline before it was printed.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. I sat up all night in the office of the Journal American.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at that time do anything to correct any of the errors you found in that story?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. If I did, I would not have gotten paid for the story.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you stating that you told anyone that there were errors in the story?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you stating that there were errors in your story which were deliberate and intentional and that you were paid to permit them to be there?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am stating that there were errors in the story such as when I say 3,000 high-school students recruited by Communists; that was an error. I did not tell anybody it was an error. The people who bought the story, the Hearst publications, believed I was telling the truth. I presume that is why they bought the story.

Mr. SOURWINE. If that is so, why do you say if you had called attention to the errors you would not have been paid for the story?

Mr. MATUSOW. If I called attention to the errors, there would have been no story. The whole gimmick was the fact that there were students that were Communist. That is why they bought the story. If I called attention to the errors, there would have been no story.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that these articles be inserted in the record at this point, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The articles referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 86" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 86

[New York Journal-American, February 5, 1952]

EX-RED IN FBI REVEALS: 3,000 HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS RECRUITED BY COMMUNISTS

VETERAN TELLS OF PLANNING CITY HALL DEMONSTRATIONS

By Harvey M. Matusow

[Undercover operative for the FBI in many Communist organizations and youth organizer for the Reds in the city's public high schools and colleges. As told to Howard Rushmore.]

It was January 1950.

I dialed RE 2-3500 and an impersonal feminine voice said "FBI."

Those three letters suddenly froze my tongue and the speech I had carefully planned for months was forgotten.

I put the receiver back on the hook as the voice droned on "FBI * * * FBI."

MAKES FINAL DECISION

I sat for 15 minutes looking at the telephone, trying to regain the courage I had been slowly mustering for months.

I called again and this time I said what I had wanted to say a year ago * * * "I'm a Communist * * * my name is Harvey M. Matusow. I want to talk * * *"

I had made the final decision!

It isn't easy when you are 24 and full of busted ideals to turn to the organization hated and feared by your friends and comrades.

But I had to decide that these friends and comrades were traitors. I knew their treason led back to a battlefront in France still smoking from combat where two American noncoms started convincing a 20-year-old staff sergeant that communism was the future.

HELPED PLAN SCHOOL RIOTS

That sergeant was me and this is my story.

I played a part in organizing 3,000 high school students into teen-age cells that are now part of the Communist conspiracy.

I was an official of the Communist Party's Labor Youth League and the Red-controlled Young Progressives of America which now boast 500 students in Brooklyn, City, Hunter and Queens College and Columbia and New York Universities.

I helped plan the high-school riots around city hall April 28, 1950, and dictated some of the Communist slogans the kids shouted as they took over the park in the spring of 1950.

I worked for Communist groups that planned square dances to lure young people into the fifth column and was an employe of Red "schools" that plotted revolution for the bobby-soxers.

TURNED IN WEEKLY REPORTS

From the offices of the Communist Party's student division on the third floor of Red national headquarters, 35 E. 12th st., I helped plan student campaigns against universal military training at Cornell and Syracuse and Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania.

The FBI, by accepting my offer to help fight this growth of communism in the schools, gave me the opportunity to undo some of the damage I had caused.

For a year I posed as a devoted Communist and turned in weekly reports to FBI agents.

These reports contained hundreds of names of students in the city's colleges and high schools.

These reports gave the FBI an up-to-date blueprint of the Communist Party's youth leaders, their descriptions and their addresses.

I also gave the FBI a detailed report on the city hall demonstration and riot in which the Communist Party had a definite role.

As a State educational committee member of the Labor Youth League I had helped prepare the picket signs to be carried by the youthful demonstrators when they invaded City Hall Park in waves of thousands.

This protest grew out of refusal of high school teachers to take part in after-class activities until granted a salary increase.

The great majority of these teachers certainly were not Communists, but the Reds moved in quickly to capitalize on their desire for a higher wage. We sent our teen-age Young Progressives of America to agitate among students. "Get out and demonstrate," was the slogan.

REDS URGED STUDENTS

And Communist teachers were under instruction to hint to students that a march to city hall was the proper thing to do.

Communist students armed themselves with firecrackers to throw under the mounted police.

They did this under Communist Party instructions.

After the riot Communist youth leaders met at student division headquarters and gloated:

"A really fine spontaneous demonstration of working-class youth."

It was scored as a Communist victory and we ordered our teen-agers to launch a big recruiting campaign for the party in the high schools.

LISTS COLLEGE "STRIKERS"

In another FBI report I gave the names of about 50 City College campus Communists who organized the "strike" against the board of higher education in April 1948.

This strike was planned at our student division headquarters in the Communists' national office.

I know because I attended the meetings, helped plan the strategy, and ordered picket signs.

Communist students were brought in from the three other public colleges—Hunter, Queens, and Brooklyn—as well as New York University and Columbia.

Our student commissar—I'll call him Jack although the FBI has his real name—instructed us to "get tough" and close down City College.

There were minor riots. Some students were arrested and the Civil Rights Congress, a Communist front, sent lawyers to defend them.

We decided at the end of the week that again the Communist Party had given the "class struggle" a boost and we recruited a number of students to the Young Progressives.

In a report to the political bureau of the Communist Party, Jack pointed out our success in using CCNY basketball stars as dupes in aiding the strike.

He reported to our LYL meeting that at least one of the stars was a member of the Young Progressives.

There were many other reports to the FBI of past and present activities.

JOINED PEEKSKILL "GOONS"

One dealt with the Peekskill riots in September 1949 when I rode as a Communist strongarm goon in a car loaded with lead pipe, baseball bats, and even a high-powered rifle.

And on another occasion when the party ordered its young husky members to scatter around the Federal building on Foley Square during the trial of the 11 Communist leaders.

It was the day Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, testified for the defense.

I was called out of bed at 2 a. m. and told to be on a corner a block from the courthouse at 10 a. m.

"There may be trouble," Jack said.

STRONGARM SUMMONS

When I got there I saw about 40 of the Communist Party's toughest young fellows scattered at strategic points.

There was no trouble. I was never given an explanation of the strongarm summons.

[The assembly in Albany last night passed and sent to the senate the Duffy bill prohibiting picketing, shouting, or yelling within a radius of 200 feet of a courthouse. Violators would be held in criminal contempt.]

In June 1949 I was told by the party to take part in a so-called rank-and-file picket line around the office of Joseph P. Ryan, president of the AFL Longshoreman's Association.

Ryan, a bitter anti-Communist who is one of the Communist Party's most hated American labor leaders, was the target of verbal abuse by those on the picket line.

A call was sent by the party to all units and sections to support this picket line—which was done.

I later turned in a report of this activity by the Red youth groups to the FBI. There were other reports I had to make at 149 Macombs Road, Bronx.

To my mother and father:

Four years they had watched me grow more deeply involved in a movement they hated and had taught me to despise.

Both of them were born in Russia and they fled the bigotry of the Czars in 1904 to settle in America.

They became typical Americans, proud of their two sons, of their modest home, and particularly of their adopted country.

FATHER A VETERAN

They believed in God and taught us the simple rules of good conduct and consideration for our fellow men.

Dad fought in World War I and both always have been active in Republican politics in the West Bronx where Danny, my brother, and I were born.

In high school my parents warned me that "Stalin is just another Czar," but I wasn't interested in communism. There was the matter of Pearl Harbor.

Danny and I enlisted and joined up on our 18th birthdays, Danny in the Air Corps and I headed for the infantry.

On September 10, 1944, a B-17 on which Danny was radio operator received a direct burst of flak over Germany.

In June 1945, a German prisoner of war led me to his grave.

I went through two campaigns, and war's end found me on the west bank of the Rhine.

I had a long talk with two other noncoms.

For several weeks both had been sounding me out about politics.

"Too bad Wallace couldn't have been Vice President." This was after President Roosevelt's death. "Truman can't follow in his tradition."

This led to other talks. Sometimes in a pup tent, sometimes over a bar.

"The Russians really licked Hitler. The Soviets have something to fight for. I listened, sometimes agreeing. Most of the time I didn't care. I was tired of war and said so.

MEETS REDS IN PARIS

Finally, we got a few days in Paris.

The two noncoms invited me to meet "some friends of theirs."

We made a round of parties held in various union halls and clubrooms. There was plenty of wine and French girls who seemed to be amazingly up to date on politics.

One of these girls one night asked me if I was a member of the Communist Party of the United States.

"Who me?"

"Your friends are. I thought you might be."

I asked my buddies. They looked at one another, shrugged and said:

"Sure, we're Communists. Why not?"

I was a battleworn GI of 20 and not up to wondering why two other soldiers in American uniform were interested in communism and openly espousing it abroad.

They took me to several Communist clubs in Paris, introduced me to the French party leaders.

My two pals also took an interest in supplying me with Communist literature, some of it in English, advocating American soldiers "Get out of Europe." I did.

I was honorably discharged August 3, 1946, and came back to the Bronx.

Restless as were a lot of returning soldiers, I loafed around the Bronx and renewed friendships with boyhood pals.

I told one of them about my experiences with the Communists in France.

"What did you think of them?" he asked casually.

I shook my head.

"I didn't think much about it. They were people."

He questioned me for an hour about the French Reds and then invited me to a party that evening.

"Ever hear of the American Youth for Democracy?"

I hadn't—and didn't know until months later that this was the new name of the Young Communist League.

My friend said he was a member and the party turned out to be a meeting of the Roosevelt Club of the AYD on Tremont Avenue.

LIKED ANTIWAR TALK

Later he took me to another AYD meeting of the Joe Hill Club on Gunhill Road.

There were about 25 young people there, including several school friends. A quota of pretty girls, a lot of singing and some talks about universal military training and why the AYD was against it.

A couple of students got up and said they were circulating petitions against UMT at William Howard Taft High School, my alma mater.

Another from CCNY, where I had gone a year and half before I enlisted, said the college campus "was determined to put down any more militarism."

Fresh from a war, I liked such talk and signed one of the petitions.

Gloria, a petite brunette, then came over with a paper and said I should subscribe to it.

It was the Daily Worker.

I looked it over, decided it was an American edition of the Communist literature I had seen in France and gave her money for a subscription.

Only soft drinks were served at the meetings, but after it was over, the AYD adjourned to an apartment of one of the members where whisky and beer became a part of the menu.

I made the rounds of AYD clubs and one night attended one in downtown City College on 23d Street.

There were about 15 college students in the club and the evening was spent discussing UMT and the housing shortage. I was urged to join the American Veterans' Committee.

LURED INTO PARTY

I joined this organization and signed an AYD card about the same time.

I had taken my first step into the Communist Party, only vaguely aware of it and not caring particularly.

But my parents did.

Danny's death had left mother saddened and my actions since my return hadn't helped matters. Both she and dad found the Daily Worker and other Red literature in my room.

Finally they asked me about it. "Are you a Communist?"

Rubbing shoulders with other young Reds for several months had taught me the standard reply.

LAUGHED AT PARENTS

"What's a Communist?"

"A Communist is a Red Nazi," my mother would tell me. "You know Stalin isn't any better than the Czar!"

I laughed tolerantly with the wisdom of youth and hurried off to the AYD meeting.

We had a new speaker that night—an attractive girl from Local 65 of the Distributive Trades, a union since expelled from the CIO on charges of communism.

She told about their strike at a downtown store and asked our support. She explained that several AYD clubs were sending their members to the store next day and she carefully outlined the plan of action.

About 125 young people, most of them high-school and college students, were on hand promptly at 10 the next morning.

We entered the store in groups through the understanding picket line, descended on various departments where we tried on merchandise, argued with clerks and did an all-day job of completely disrupting the sales personnel.

This was known as keeping "the store's volume down."

The union organizer appeared at our next meeting to thank us. She said the strike had been won through our support.

I went out with her for a drink later and she gave me a real interrogation—a process I was later to find out in the party as "testing a comrade's political development."

TOLD TO GO TO RED SCHOOL

"What did I think about the U. N.? Is Russia a dictatorship? How did I feel about the colonial problem? What did I know about the CIO and AFL?"

My answers apparently didn't satisfy her.

"I think you should go back to school," she said.

"Not me."

She shook her head.

"This is a different school. The Jefferson School for Social Science."

"Never heard of it."

She looked at me and said slowly:

"It's a fine school for people like you. You'll meet your friends there and make a lot of new ones. And you'll like the teachers."

ASKED TO JOIN

"But what do they teach?"

"Marxism," she said.

I grimed. "Now I get it—a Communist school."

She nodded.

"Are you a Communist?"

She nodded again.

"When are you going to join the party?" she asked.

Her bluntness stunned me for a moment and I said quietly:

"I'm not sure. When I am, I'll let you know."

(Tomorrow Matusow goes to the Jefferson School, learns Marxism, and becomes a member of the Communist Party assigned to organizing students into a fifth column.)

[New York Journal-American, February 6, 1952]

FBI UNDERCOVER MAN CITES RED CITY TEACHERS: REVOLT TAUGHT IN PARTY SCHOOLS

By Harvey M. Matusow

I learned about Marxism and the technique of the class struggle at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

And at Camp Unity in Wingdale, N. Y., I discovered materialism as practiced by Communists in search of what they call a good time.

Both experiences will last me a lifetime.

In the fall of 1947, almost a year after I had left the Army in France and returned to a restless civilian life I was an enthusiastic part of the Communist Youth movement.

GIRL LURED HIM TO JOIN

But, under the promptings of an attractive girl labor leader who apparently felt I might develop into a "professional revolutionary" I took the fatal step that commits one to the full impact of the Stalin conspiracy.

I joined the Communist Party.

My friend was pleased at my decision and congratulated me.

We were walking in the park after I had signed my formal declaration of membership with the girl as one of my sponsors.

"You have a feeling of belonging, of being a part of something," she said. "You will never regret it."

But she did.

As my sponsor, she had to face a battery of Communist "security officers" 3 years later when I was discovered to be an FBI counterspy.

But Hazel—her real name and long Communist record with Local 65, Wholesale and Warehouse Workers is in the FBI files—couldn't foresee the future.

All she knew was that she had recruited a promising "working-class leader" and was proud of her political conquest.

Soon after I joined I moved from the home of my parents, 1491 Macombs Road, Bronx.

Mother and Dad had become increasingly critical of my newly found communism and both, as patriotic Americans, fought to save their only surviving son from what they called "the Red Nazis."

My brother Danny had gone down in a B-17 over Germany and my mother grieved at this loss and what she thought was my loss to the Communist enemy.

CONVENIENT TO SCHOOL

I shared an apartment at 24 West 18th Street with Randolph Wood, a member of my Communist Party group.

The location was convenient to the Jefferson School at 575 6th Avenue, where I enrolled for several courses.

This bustling place with classrooms packed with venerable fur workers, bright-eyed high school girls and comrades from every walk of life became almost a second home for me.

I took the beginner's courses in Marxism-Leninism, learning the basic facts of revolution according to the Communist theory.

On the staff were several public school teachers who taught tots their ABC's during the day and drilled their adult "students" at the Jefferson School on the correct method to overthrow the Government of the United States.

Heading the school's staff were Howard Selsam, David Goldway, Benjamin Paskoff, Louis Lerman and other former public college teachers who had been thrown out of their city jobs after being named Communists in a 1941 hearing.

Typical evening classes included such courses as Principles of Marxism II; Seminar in Capital; Trade Union Principles; Marxism and American Labor; Political Economy and Writing Children's Books.

I found it was dull as it sounds and found a lighter form of instruction in "youth" classes given by Lou Diskin, Leon Wofsky, and other leaders of the American Youth for Democracy.

(Matusow a witness before the House Un-American Activities Committee today in Washington said Communist leaders of the Young Progressives of America included Leon Wofsy Lou Diskin, Joe Bucholt, Roosevelt Ward, Harry Gay, Art Saha, and Joe Tarentola.

(Matusow also said People's Artists was a theatrical booking agency which had a "Communist cell." In this cell, he said, were members of the "Weavers" quartet, including Ronnie Gilbert, Pete Seeger, Freddie Helleman, and Woodie Guthrie.)

The classes were enlivened by girls from AYD and Communist Party branches in Hunter, Queens, and Brooklyn Colleges.

Although I had joined the Communist Party, I was still assigned to youth work and part of my job included meeting with these girls whose "political development" was not satisfactory to the party.

I remember one such meeting of the Hunter College Communist Party during which a pretty girl comrade confessed she couldn't follow the many twistings of the party line, particularly on the international front.

"The party is no place for stupid people," one of her comrades observed.

"I'm not stupid," she told us. "I just can't keep up with the changes."

We decided to enroll her in the Jefferson School.

My other work as a fledgling revolutionary took me to various youth clubs and to the American Veterans Committee. I was ordered to join a post in the Bronx which was not controlled by Communists.

"We've got to take over the post," Mike, my immediate superior said. "We'll pay your dues and all expenses. But we've got to get control."

We tried for several months but that AVC post remained in unfriendly hands and I was ordered to new assignments.

During the Labor Day weekend of 1947 I was invited by a comrade to spend a week at Camp Unity.

There I found that the comrades played as hard as they worked.

But I couldn't call it a vacation.

Breakfast opened with the Daily Worker and a lecture by one of the Communist big shots who visited the camp frequently.

After lunch there was another lecture and after dinner various games or songs, all with a class angle.

The place swarmed with young girls—secretaries and students—in search of a good time and a new comrade.

A comrade on the national committee or a martyr facing jail "for the cause" usually was surrounded by a bevy of admiring Red beauties.

How much the comrades relaxed I never learned, but I found out why the comrades who went to Unity—and about 500 packed it every week—seldom took their wives or husbands.

As a young fellow raised in the Bronx and who had soldiered across the country and in France, I wasn't a prude. But Camp Unity was no place for an average guy who perhaps hadn't reached the proper political distaste of bourgeois morality.

When I went back to the city, I took a job with an organization known as People's Artists.

For years the Communists had been whooping it up for folk music and People's Artists—which was run by party members—was booking such artists as Sam Levenson, Susan Reed, Pete Seeger, Betty Sanders, Ernie Leiber, and many others.

Socials were held by the Communist youth branches with square dances and folk singing attracting dozens of high school kids.

While we were stepping up our recruiting of students, one of the national youth leaders gave us a rude jolt on the subject of culture.

In December 1948, Henry Winston, national organizational secretary of the Communist Party, came to our Tompkins Square club and made a sarcastic speech.

Winston was to go on trial in a month along with 10 other Communist leaders for subversive conspiracy.

"You white-collar comrades," he shouted at us that night, "have got to get out of your mental eclipse and get rooted with the masses.

"Get out of your soft jobs, leave New York and go to work in the basic industries. Don't be afraid to leave the comforts of home. The party needs you in places that count."

Two years later Winston was to leave New York but not for a job in "the basic industries." He was a fugitive from the FBI after failure to appear for his 5-year jail term.

During the next few months I continued that feverish activity that marks the average Communist in the midst of his desire to remake the world.

I would meet with a group of student Communists from Queens College or Long Island University where the party had cells.

I would supply them with current Communist literature, give them the party line on world events, urge them to greater recruiting efforts and money, money, money.

"Doesn't the party ever get enough money?" one girl said at an executive meeting of the club.

She walked out of the clubhouse and never returned.

Few of the young comrades ever took such drastic action. Some argued and debated party decisions but usually succumbed when I cracked the whiplash of discipline.

Others meekly gave their money and their time without questions.

That spring I won a prize of a trip to Puerto Rico by collecting the most subscriptions for the Daily Worker. I took the trip in April, but it wasn't much of a vacation.

WENT TO PUERTO RICO

I was given a long list of Puerto Rican comrades to see. I was told to pass on certain instructions. I was ordered to set up a party youth press. I also was to serve as a one-man OGPU and submit detailed reports on any political waverings by the Puerto Rico young Reds.

I came back from the trip completely exhausted.

It was a warm summer day and outside the dingy club offices the sun was shining and the world looked inviting.

All of a sudden I remembered the Polo Grounds and the Yankee Stadium up in the Bronx and the many summer afternoons I had spent in the bleachers sans Marx, sans Lenin, and sans Stalin.

I locked the office and went to the ball game.

I didn't quite know it then, but Stalin was losing a recruit while Allie Reynolds was pitching a shutout.

(Tomorrow: Harvey Matusow makes a telephone call to the FBI and becomes a counter-spy in the service of his country.)

YOUTH TOLD TO INFILTRATE KEY INDUSTRY FOR SABOTAGE

(By Harvey M. Matusow)

(Undercover operative for the FBI in many Communist organizations and youth leader of the Reds in the city's public colleges and high schools. This is the third installment. As told to Howard Rushmore.)

I had been drawn into the Communist Party through an innocent-sounding front called American Youth for Democracy, set up to lead young people into the fifth column.

But in December 1948, the political bureau of the Communist Party decided such fronts as the AYD and the Young Progressives of America were not enough.

And the Labor Youth League was organized.

I attended the meeting in New York County headquarters of the Communist Party the night the decision was made.

Arnold Johnson, who has since been indicted for subversive conspiracy, told us:

"We must change our entire plan of youth organization.

"The party is setting up a Marxist-Leninist youth group and our prime aim is to shift our comrades into basic industry."

I knew what that meant.

The party was preparing its underground for sabotage and espionage by placing trusted comrades in aircraft plants, arsenals, the steel and iron industry, and in every plant of importance to our defense effort.

I couldn't sleep that night. The doubts that had been coming to my mind increased.

Only a year before the girl labor leader who had recruited me into the Communist Party had said:

"Harvey, you are where you belong."

But was I?

TRIED TO FORGET DOUBTS

However, youthful convictions are stubborn and despite the long, long thoughts that plagued my loyalty to the party, I flung myself into work in an effort to forget them.

The orders for formation of the Labor Youth League were translated into quick action.

At Columbia University, where the party had set up a Marxist study group, the student comrades swung into line and began to furiously study Lenin's blueprint for revolution.

This pattern was followed by our cell in Hunter College, at Queens College and even at the Julliard School of Music, where we had an organized group.

WANTED SERVILE YOUTHS

The Young Progressives of America wasn't abandoned, for we still needed a mass front for students who were not yet ready for the party.

But increasing emphasis was placed on building a hard core of reliable young party members who would respond to party discipline and do what they were told.

Even to the teen-age Communist groups which operated in high schools, the word went out to place less emphasis on socials such as picnics, dances, and folk music and to concentrate on Marxism.

An older high-school student, usually a junior or senior, was placed in charge of the new LYL program in each high school.

Organizational work in such schools was done quietly and the YPA or American Labor Party was used for mass propaganda. But the real work of the party was the LYL and its goal of revolutionary overthrow of the Government.

In line with this program, the teen-agers were told to take petitions into their schools, to get classmates interested in the trial of the 11 Communists then going on at Foley Square, and to bring other high-school students to the courtroom if possible.

This rooting section in Federal Judge Medina's courtroom was important to the party.

Mike, my immediate superior in the party, called me one morning and said:

"I want you to attend the trial this week and take some comrades with you."

"But I've got work to do," I told them.

"This is a party order," he snapped. "The warm weather and vacations have thinned out our audience. Get down there and sit with the comrades on the left side of the courtroom."

"What do you want me to do then?"

"Mingle with the crowd in the square during recess and talk to nonparty people. Convince them Medina is unfair and the whole thing is a Fascist plot."

"And another thing," Mike said, "be careful. There's a reporter named Howard Rushmore of the Journal-American who is always snooping around to see what our comrades are doing in the courthouse. Don't go near him."

START PROPAGANDA

So I went to the courthouse and spent a week watching the trial. I noticed the 11 party leaders seemed bored with the whole thing and I watched their assumed look of martyrdom when they entered or left the building.

Their conviction in October was no surprise to the party, but it was a signal for action.

My old car was put into immediate use as a truck for moving mimeograph machines, paper supplies, and literature to individual homes of secret party members.

But I didn't go on the trips.

"We have security measures," Mike told me. "The addresses of these comrades are a closely guarded secret."

"Don't you trust me?"

"We just have to be careful of new comrades," he said. "The FBI has spies in the party and we are having all who joined in the past 5 years checked for loyalty."

So after that I was called to national headquarters at 35 East 12th Street and confronted by the party's control commission. This group acts as the party's OGPU and keeps a file on each party member's habits, personal life, friends, and his life history.

"You are still in the Army Reserve, aren't you?" they asked.

I must have looked surprised, for I never told them that I had signed up for the Reserves when I was discharged in 1946.

"Sure," I said. "What about it?"

"We want you to get out of the Reserves as soon as possible."

"But why?"

They looked at me coldly and said:

"Comrade Matusow, this is a party decision. You are not to question it or ask why. Just do it."

As I walked down 12th Street, I wondered why this urgency. I became curious and asked Bill, one of the LYL leaders, if he had been told to get out of the Air Force Reserves, in which he was a captain.

"No, I'm still in," he said when I questioned him.

But I had to get out * * *.

It didn't make sense to me—unless, as I thought suddenly, the party wanted to keep Bill in because of his officer's rank and his access to the Air Force.

I began thinking about the whole thing. I didn't like it, and yet I couldn't question the party orders.

I remember a recent LYL meeting when one of the recent recruits criticized Russia's actions in the U. N. There was silence in the meeting, the organizer changed the subject, and the recruit forgot the incident—until the next day.

He was on the staff of a Communist-controlled union. That morning he was called in and fired without explanation.

And he was expelled from the LYL the following week.

My enthusiasm over the new world the party painted for me at the Jefferson School and at hundreds of meetings began to fade.

Was this a new world? Or was communism just a form of Red Nazism, as my mother had warned me?

(Read how Matusow becomes an undercover operative for the FBI and what happens to him when the Communists discover his dual role in the fourth and concluding article tomorrow.)

[New York Journal-American, February 8, 1952]

REVOLTED BY RUTHLESS RED PARTY RULE: VET GETS CHANCE TO REMEDY ERROR

(Undercover operative for the FBI in Communist organizations and former Communist youth leader in the city's public colleges and high schools. As told to Howard Rushmore. This is the fourth and concluding installment.)

(By Harvey M. Matusow)

Democracy is only a word in the Communist Party, a word without meaning.

I had begun to realize that after a few months in the party, but with my rise as a Red youth leader I had a firsthand glimpse of the "democracy" that exists in the inner circles.

There can be no argument over a decision, no questioning of Russia's position, no doubting of the party's leadership.

For a young American reared in the tradition of majority rule and full argument over issues and events, such intellectual dictatorship is repellent.

I tried to discuss the problem with a girl who had joined the party about the same time.

"I don't question the party leaders because I don't feel I need to," she said. "They have been in the class struggle longer than we have. Who am I—or you—to disagree with them?"

In 2 years she had developed from a normal American girl into a robot. Had I?

I thought it over, watched the faces of the high-school students, the college kids I dealt with every day as a commissar.

Was I helping change them and their desire for a better world into a cog in a ruthless political machine?

During the month of December 1949 I thought it out.

NOTIFIES FBI

Next month I called the FBI.

My courage failed me the first time and I put down the receiver, but a few minutes later I made up my mind and talked to one of the agents who arranged an appointment.

The next morning I entered the building after being sure no comrades were around. I knew they kept a watch on the courthouse.

The agent, a young, polite man, took me into an office and called another FBI man.

I spent 5 hours telling them the story. They took notes, listened, and asked a few questions.

"I know I've made a mistake," I told them. "But it doesn't do any good in this thing to admit a mistake. I'd like to do something to remedy it."

"What do you suggest?"

"The party has tightened down on security. Every new recruit is screened carefully. It's hard for the FBI to get operatives in now and with all the checkups going on, you may find it hard to keep all of them in the party. I'd like to stay on and do anything you want."

They went outside and came back in a few minutes.

"Give us your phone," they said. "We'll let you know."

I didn't hear from the FBI immediately. I knew they were checking me carefully, for the Communists had made several attempts to plant spies in the FBI.

ARRANGE MEETING

Then one day the phone rang. It was the FBI agent I had first met.

"We'd like to talk to you away from the building. Could we meet uptown?"

We arranged the street intersection and the time. They picked me up in their car and we talked.

The FBI had decided to let me volunteer my services as an operative.

"But this is voluntary on your part," they warned. "We accept no responsibility for your welfare or your actions. You are never to say you are helping the FBI, and no matter what trouble you get into you are not to use us as an alibi."

I agreed. For security reasons I will leave out the details of our meetings and how I carried out my work. Even now the Communist Party is carrying on a complete reorganization of its entire membership in an effort to weed out all suspected counterespies.

But from that day on I became more active in the Labor Youth League and all the other groups to which I was affiliated or had knowledge. Now I had a reason.

During the next few months I gave the FBI more than 500 names of young Communists in the public colleges and schools, in the private universities, and in other groups.

I supplied descriptions, addresses, and even photographs.

On those lists were the names of the Communist youth leaders who had enlisted more than 3,000 teen-age students and 500 college students in New York City into the Red conspiracy.

Often I spent the entire night writing my FBI reports but would be off to party meetings in the morning and continue that pace throughout the day and evening.

Some of the comrades commented on my new zeal.

"I was worried about you." Mike said one night over a beer after an LYL meeting. "I thought you might turn out to be a tired Bolshevik, weary of the class struggle."

WRITES REPORT

Mike didn't know that half an hour later I was writing a report to the FBI about the meeting and about Mike's role in it.

I kept this up for a year.

And I was even more determined when I saw despite the increasing public feeling against communism and the verdicts against Red spies and conspirators that the party and its youth groups were losing comparatively few members.

"We're down to those we can depend on now," Mike said one day. "The summer soldiers have departed. The Bolsheviks remain."

I was always careful in my contacts with the FBI, for I knew the party had set up its own security squad of strong-arm men and Red detectives who trail a man, tap a telephone, and expose the FBI operatives.

ENRAGED BY EXPULSION

John Lautner, head of the party's control commission for New York State, had already been expelled as an FBI plant; although I knew—as did the FBI—that Lautner was a loyal Communist.

This expulsion so enraged him that he later did go to the FBI and only recently was a Government witness in Washington.

But one day they caught up with me.

Almost a year after I had gone to work for the FBI, I was called by Mike and told to report to national headquarters.

And I wasn't told to report to the student division on the third floor but to the fifth floor where the commissars had their offices.

They let me wait outside one of the offices for half an hour.

Then they called me in.

"This is our security head," Mike said, introducing me to a husky, cold-eyed man who did not offer his hand. Mike did not give his name, but added, "he is a former police officer."

Then the questioning started. Why had I remained in the reserves? Did I know any FBI agents? Had I ever been to the FBI office on Foley Square? Who were my friends? Why did I stay up all night working on a typewriter?

They had an amazingly accurate account of my daily habits—but no direct accusations. Were they only suspicious?

"Am I up on charges or not?" I finally asked, "If I am, what are the charges? And what is this all about?"

"That's our business."

"It's also mine," I answered. "I'm a loyal comrade and I don't like being treated this way."

The security comrade laughed.

"Loyal. That's for us to decide. But until you hear from us, you are to stay away from all party meetings and all party members."

"I intend to keep on seeing my friends."

He looked at me, and the other comrades got up and formed a circle around me.

GETS WARNING

"You are to stay away from our comrades," the husky guy said, "if you know what's good for you."

"Goons, huh? Remember, the party used me for a goon and I can handle myself."

"Remember what I said," he replied. "If you know what's good for you. Now get out."

An hour later I was talking to the FBI.

I told them of the warnings, and asked them what to do.

"Just sit tight and see what happens," they advised.

A week later on January 19, 1951, the Daily Worker said that "the New York County Committee of the Communist Party announced yesterday that Harvey Matusow has been expelled from the Tompkins Square section of the Communist Party for being an enemy agent."

I took the paper to the FBI and they agreed my work was done. The party grapevine would place the entire national organization on guard and my value as an operative was ended.

"Thanks," the FBI men said, "you've been a big help."

But I still haven't done enough, I thought. I volunteered for the Air Force, served 11 months and now, out of uniform again, I am on the staff of the Ohio State Un-American Activities Commission.

I hope to spend the rest of my life warning young Americans of the dangers of communism. And I know. I was there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you certain photostats and ask you if you can identify them.

Mr. MATUSOW. I can.

Mr. SOURWINE. What are those photostats?

Mr. MATUSOW. These are a few, only part, of the reports I gave to an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the year 1950. I believe 1951. I am not sure of the 1951 date. I don't believe there are any for 1951. They are some reports I gave to a special agent of the FBI in 1950, but it is not a complete group of my reports.

Mr. SOURWINE. But these are reports which you gave to the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. A selection of the reports, shall we say?

Mr. SOURWINE. But these individual items each is a report which you gave to the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were these factual at the time you made these reports?

Mr. MATUSOW. I would have to read them and tell you. I don't remember what is in them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at the time you were making these reports have any intention at any time to make a false report to the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have no recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not now recall what your intention then was?

Mr. MATUSOW. Whether I had intended to make any false statements to the FBI, I don't recall now, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you stating here that it is possible that you did at that time intend to make a false statement to the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not stating anything positively because I have no recollection of what went through my mind 5 years ago to that extent.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am pointing out to you, sir, unless you can state that it was not your intention, necessarily that constitutes an admission that it might have been so, if in fact one of these reports is shown to be false, there might be a claim that it was false with intention.

Mr. MATUSOW. There might be such a claim but I have no recollection one way or another. If I had time to read the reports, I would probably be able to refresh my recollection and tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated before this committee on an earlier occasion, when you accepted employment by the FBI as an undercoverman or informer, you intended to give them the truth and the facts and that you did so with the motive of helping your country.

Mr. MATUSOW. That's right.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right.

Mr. MATUSOW. You are asking me about specific reports now.

Mr. SOURWINE. That affirmation is all I wanted to get in the record.

Mr. MATUSOW. Right. No contradiction.

Mr. SOURWINE. May these reports, Mr. Chairman, go into the record at this point? I will comment on only one. They will speak for themselves.

Senator McCLELLAN. They will be admitted.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 87" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 87

DECEMBER 21, 1950

Ground floor of 35 East 12th street, front door is open during normal days work. Gate door on the stairway coming down from the second floor is always locked with a snap lock, gate on stairway going down to the pressroom is open. There is a phone in the hallway that is in good working condition, it is an inter-con phone set up, the main connection are (to the best of my knowledge, as of 1949 when I workes there) in the front room on the third floor in the office of the Twelfth & Thirteenth Real Estate Co. . Phone connection are also in the front and rear elevator, in the hallway of the 48 East 13th street entrance, and at other points around the building. The front (35 E 12th street) elevator has two doors, one opens on the hallway to the street, and the other on the mail room for the daily worker, this room runs from one end of the building to the other. It has connection with the Workers Bookshop, and the 13th entrance. Jimmy (do not know his last name) is the daytime front elevator operator, Is about 5:10 weight 200 lb, Negro has worked there for a number of years. Is used very often on Goon Squad work and for any action where force might be needed. . . . When Robeson or a party big shot are at meeting, he is one of the body guards. . His picture can be obtained from the shots of peekskill, he was one of the Robeson body guards, and picture was published in one or more papers. . . .

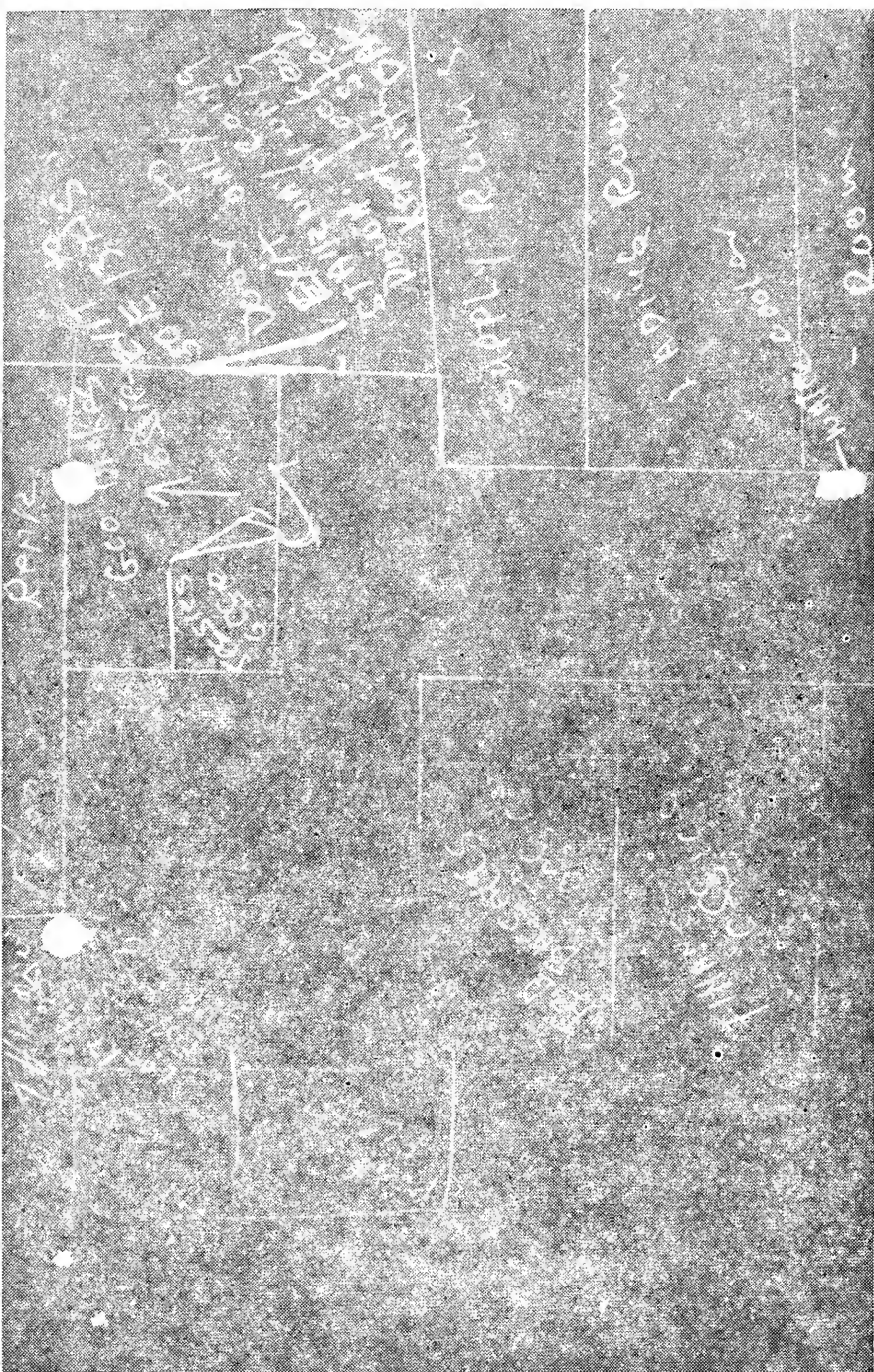
If you dont have a very good reason to be there, party members are advised to leave the building. Clara Marsh (5:3 weight 130 blach hair, brown eyes, has been membership director and finance director of the NY county CP operates the switchboard on the third floor. Rena Kline still has an office on the Third floor, as do organizers for local 65. At the thirteenth street side of the building there are two exits. One going down only, it leads to the Daild Worker Bus. Office, and 50 East 13th Street This door is barred with piece of steel 1/2 inch thick. It does not extend the gull lenght of door. . . . The exit door to 48 east 13th street is locked with snap lock, as are these doors, on every floor. The front door, (exit to 35 east 12th) is not locked on the third floor. It is locked on the second, open on the fourth, do not know about the 5th, open on sixth, not know about seventh, open on eighth, dont know about nine. . There are two direct coune tion from the third floor switchboard the board on the fifth floor which has connection on all floors. . . . The switchboard operator has control of the door at the head of the third floor, there are two buzzers that open it, one is a foot buzzer that the operator can operate while operating the board . . . It is a steel frame door with glass panel. In all the offices three are metal trays which are used to burn all paper mesages etc. . . They are very much afraid of wire tapping, and write insted of talk, then burn the material when meeting is over: :

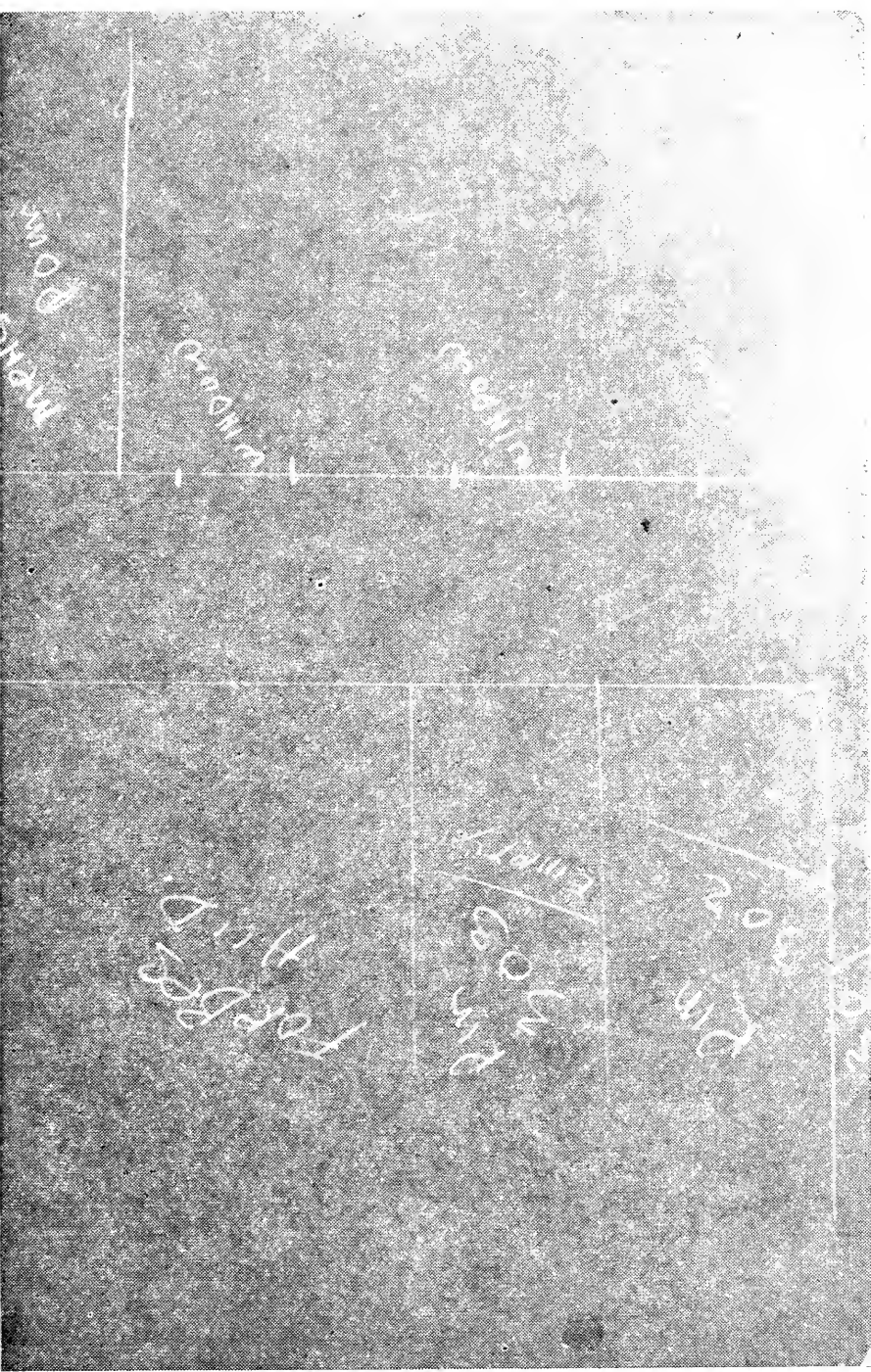
Jesse arrived about 12 noon(5:7 weight 150 lb, brown eyes, black curly hair, large nose) (he acts and operates as though he has had experience in police or investigation work) and Joe Bucholt arrived about 15 minutes later, Jesse told me to go to his ooffice with Joe and wait for him. Jack from the workers bookshop was on the floor he came there just to see jesse, and stayed in another

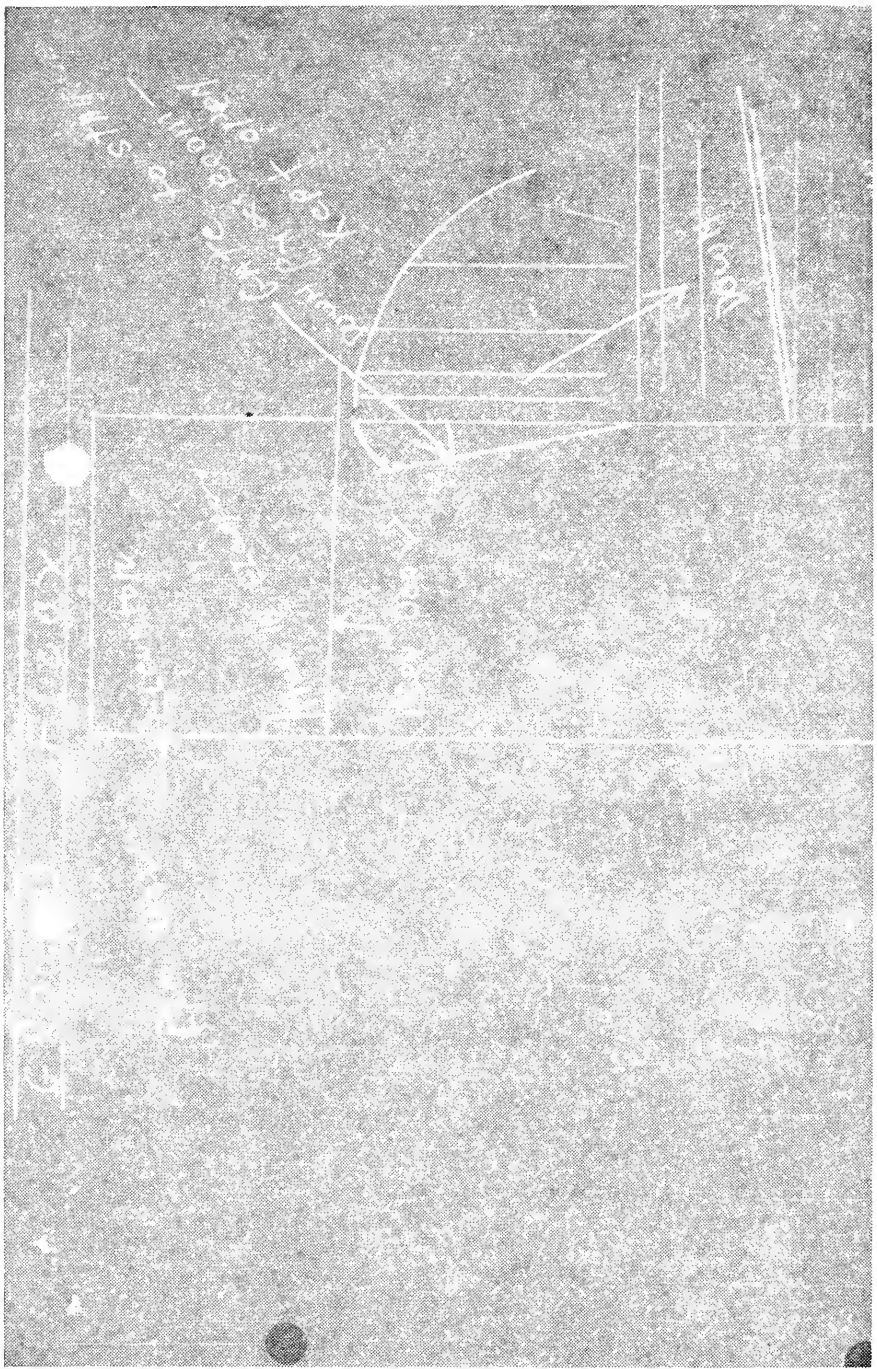
office during the entire meeting. Jesse would step out of the meeting and go down to hall to consult Jack every few minutes. . . . I think Jack is behind the whole investigation. He originally started the story that I was fired from the workers books shop for stealing money and books.

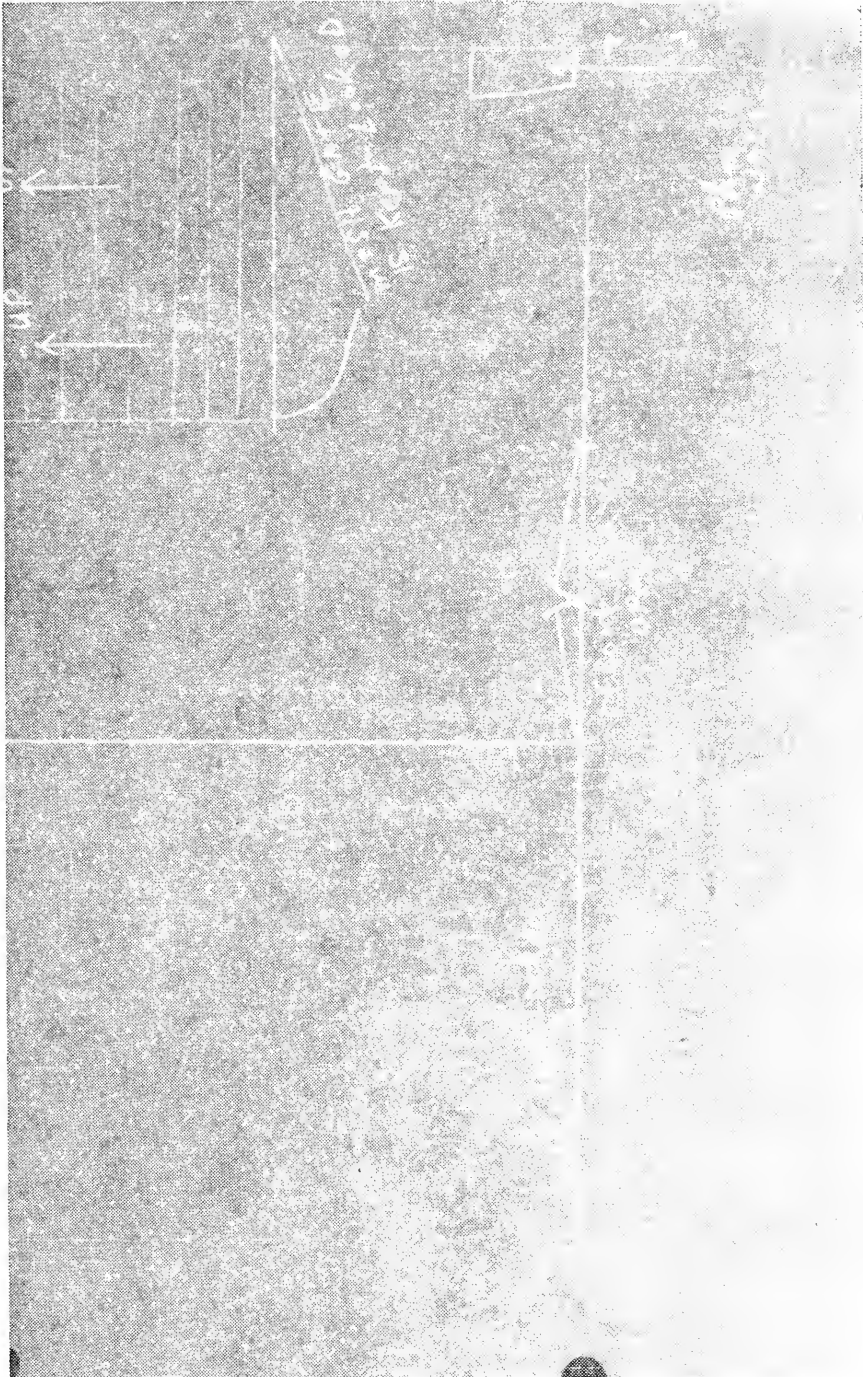
Jesse started off by asking me when I joined the Party, and who recruited me, what other organization did I belong to. Was I in the service, how long where did I serve, what outfit was I in etc. . . . He then asked me if I was ever in the OSS or the CIC/CID or did I know anybody in those outfits. I said no and thought no more about it at the time. The next question was about what did I do for work since my discharge from service. I told him about everything, he then asked about the money I made, and then why did I stay in New Mexico. He then went back to the worker sub drive of 1948-49 and asked me if I sold four or five subs to one household. I told him no, and at that point he said "I don't believe you" he ask Joe if he had any questions, Joe said yes and asked about Kay Then Joe said I don't believe you, and at that point Jesse took over again. .

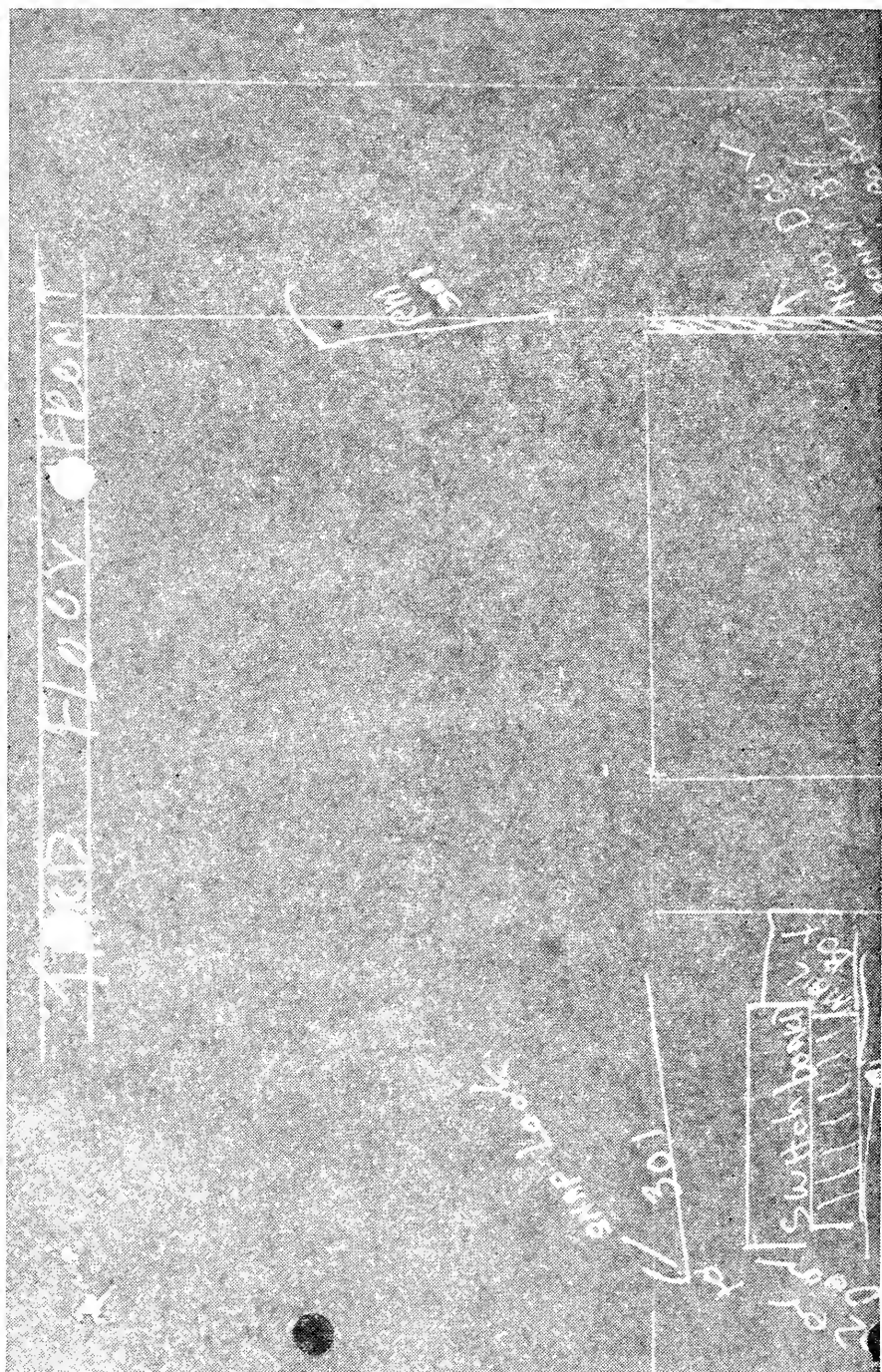
Did you ever have any OSS material in you library, I said not to my knowledge, which was true until he mention some Political Affairs that I had. They were purchased at the Abramms Magazine Service on 13th street, where they got them I don't know, but I bought them there and told Jesse so, but he just said your a liar.. Then he went on to give me a list of people who received more than one sub (4 or 5) and accused me of all of that during sub drives it was common policy in the party clubs to send 2, 3, 4, subs to one home and deliver the papers, so that everybodys name would not be on the mailing list) I denied knowledge of all of those subs, still didn't believe me, then came the bookshop ad the charge that I had stolen money and books from the Bookshop. I had cleared, at least I though I had cleared that matter before I left New York. In fact That matter was supposed to have been cleared up about two weeks after I left the bookshop.....The question of New Mexico did not seem to have much bearing on the investigation..... I accused them of witchhunting, but it had no affect on there opinions they asked me if I had anything else to say, and I said no. I had a feeling that they knew more then what they were saying... I was told to stay away from the progressive movement in order to prove that I was not a member of the OSS. We stayed in Jesse's office for at least 30 minutes, I was trying to get them to change there minds, but I was unsuccessful. Jesse said he would believe that any one of the three charges by itself was false after hearing my explanation, but that all three were to much for him to believe (the three charges, OSS literature, Falsely selling subs to the worker, and stealing money and books from the Workers Bookshop.) There was nothing more I could do at the time, I was not told what was to happen. I have surmised that an expulsion will be the next step. I have spoken to a few people, They don't believe the charges but they say that there is nothing they can do. I spoke to Art about it, and I think he is next, Something which affects him, and I am sure had a bearing on my case was Mel Brown. As of Today I am no longer a member of the Communist Party, or any of there front organizations. . .











July 10, 1950
6PM Meeting With Rae

HMM

Supper Meeting with rae at my house on the Subject of the Ed work in the Paul Robeson Club of The Labor Youth League (5th AD NYC). . . . I will speak at a street meeting tomorrow nite at 99th Street & Columbus Avenue, (The Draft & Korea). Rev John Darr Will Also Speak. . . . The Club Ed work will be outlined in the following form.

1. Peace a. Korea. b. The Draft
2. The Mundt Bill a. Free The Political Prisoners,

We discuss the united front, and getting other people and organizations in the drive for peace and getting petitions signed. . . . The club work will point out the work in the Jewish Middle class community, so as to get as many Jewish Middle Class Youth in the Left Wing and The Communist Party. We are going to start an area Leadership Class, The Class will be discussed in detail at a later Date, about five people from the club will attend. There will also be a county New Members Class. . . . Rae said that we will have to hold many more street meetings so as to get as many youth as possible opposed to the war in Korea and the draft. . . . She says that the club is very disorganized, for there is a fear and confusion within the membership. She says that the party will not commit itself on the draft as yet. We are to have in the next week an intense program to try to recall the draft, and to stop it. . . . If this is successful we will try to start a program of not going into the service, but if the draft goes into full effect, and the CP could not get support against it, Rae said that we might go into the service and work from within, tho she said it was not official. . . . The party will have its official line within two weeks, or sooner if the draft starts. . . . The phone number of BEN the Club Organizer is EN-2-4074

June 30 1950

Meeting with Rae West Side Organizer of the Labor Yout League, New York County A member of the Communist Party. Was at one time member of the Exec. Committie of the student division of the Communist Party. Have seen her at Communist Party Meetings. Have discussed my transfer to the communist party of the 5th AD NYC. . . . She works for the Barber Union Local 3 799 Broadway Have known Rae for about one year. . . Have seen her in the Workers Bookshop, and at the county headquarters of the CP at 35 east 12th street. . . . We discussed my xxxxx activity in the LYL and in the Party. . . . I am to continue to work in the Paul Robeson club of the Labor Youth League (5th AD) I will continue to be on the Educational Comm. . The Ed director is Phil Marcus who I am to call this week to plan ed work for the club. Rae told me that there will be a leadership class in the county starting the third week in July, two members of the Paul Robeson club will attend. Rae xxx would like to see Murial Marcus and Larry Patterson attend xxxxx these classes. The classes will be three nites a week for five weeks. I was told to attend the ed directors meeting next thursday July 6th 1950 Phil Marcus will also attend. It will be held at the county headquarters on 125th street. The new county ed director is xxxx Ened Fogel (The wife of Bob Fogel the Student Organizer of the LYL and CP.) I will meet with Ened this afternoon or monday morning. The Paul Robeson Club will hold an outdoor meeting this saturday July 1st, on the subject of Peace and Korea. I was told that one of the most important parts of my job will be to organize more street meetings, so as to get more youth in the LYL. The main job of the LYL until Labor Day will be to get Peace Petitions signed. . . I was told that during the mornings that I don't work I should get as many petitions filled out as possible. . . I took a picture of Rae, and she asked me to call her monday nite to take some pictures of some League members painting slogans on the streets in Harlem. Will get the Place . . Monday. . .

HMM

The Progressive Forums, were held at the xxxxx Panal room (3rd Floor) 13 Astor Place. (some of the Speakers and performers) Josh White, Pete Seeger, the Weavers, Molly Pecon, Sammy Levenson, Richard Lauderbeck, Oscar Brand, and many others. . .

Harry Klein ran the forums for a while. He is listed in the Un American Committee books as the Press Director of the Brighton Section (Brooklyn) he is now running the Brighton Film Fourms. . . . He has and may still be a member of xxxx Communist Party Club on the East Side NYC. Louis

Drucker and Rose Baron of the Workers Book Shop Are Also Members of the same club. . . . I have seen Harry at the Communist Party Headquarters at 35 East 12th Street many times. I have seen him at the Daily Worker Office I have heard him discuss the Forums with many Communist Party Members. (Irwin Silber Music Section Organizer at the time). He was criticized by the party a number of times for the people he had at the forums. . . .

At one time Harry Klein was associated with xxxx Lenny Jakobson who was the booking director of peoples artists.

In recent months Harry Klein was associated with Liberty Book Club as a subscriber. . . . He would station himself at the Jefferson School and all Progressive Affairs. He worked at this for about Nine Months. . . .

Harry Klein asked me to attend the forum which started when Richard Louderbein (?) spoke on China. I also attended the dance that followed. This all took place at 13 East 13th (?) place in the ??? room on the third floor. My knowledge of it is for the year 1941.

July 19, 1950

HMM

Dave Goldway Introduced James Jackson CP Member from the South, as the first speaker in a series of four lectures, sponsored by the Jefferson School in conjunction with the New York States Labor Youth League . . . The Speaker was 45 minutes late. . . Before he arrived Sam Engler New York State Ed Director of the Labor Youth League. . . I know him to be a member of the Party. . . I had many discussions with him when I was the State Literature Director. . . I know it to be a fact that he is a member of the State Educational Comm of the CP. . . He has attended Full Time School (OCT 1949). I have seen him meet with Dave Goldway of the Jefferson School, and with Members of the CP State Ed Comm. . . He is about 5:8 about 145 lb. black hair, horn rim glasses, balding in the front. His face (Eyes) are sunken. . . He at one time had Palsey of some sort of Paralysis one leg is bent and he has a very heavy limp, and one of his hands show signs of the illness. . . The following is the report given by James Jackson.

Last nite in Birmingham Ala a new city ordinance was passed a local MUNDT BILL. The bill gives Communist Party Members and there friends 48 Hours to get out of town or be put in jail for 180 days. This is the start of reign of terror in the USA Masked under the banner of fighting for Korea, but the "Freedom of the Korean People" means less liberty to the United States. The constitution has been ignored in the South, Texas, Ala, Georgia, Fla, etc. . . Reaction in the South is old, but today it is setting the Pattern for the whole country. . . The south has traditions of KKK, Political Dictatorship, but more than that it has 40,000,000 people who have history of struggle. . . the south is a backward area, economic, it is semi-colonial, absentee land and industry ownership. . . The Prison House of American Negro Nation. The area is the Geographical area for the Negro Nation in the USA. The south lives in Imperialism, The Negro People Are Kept down in the Dust, No representation tho they are in many places a majority of the Population. . . The working class is the most exploited in the United States. Textile Workers Production up 25% over the North but wages down, the same for the shoe workers, the mine workers and the steel workers. . . There are few child labor laws in the South as well as little protection for women, not the proper social security, lack of mine safety laws. . . The south has one half the farms in the USA, 90% Negro Farmers, 75% of the Share Croppers, & 3% National Income. Roosevelt said it was the number one economic problem, and today it still is, it has not changed. . . There is an unbalanced agriculture (Sugar Cotton & Tobacco) the south has traveled the road from slavery to semi slavery there are 2,225,000 share croppers plus the tenant farmers (he then went on to tell about the share and tenant farmers. . .) plus the negro people of all class and the Negro Students all contribute to the struggle for national liberation. There fight is against the Landlord, the Banker and the Industrialist, and on there side is the state. . . when the workers strike or fight back the National Guard and the Police are used, the people can not use them, but only the bosses, and the landowners. . . The state stands behind the Economic Power, and is supported by the Federal Govt. In the Courts and in the Congress. . . and behind them is Wall Street and Washington The Modern Day Robber Barons. . .

Importance of the Struggle can be seen by weakening Wall Street. We must Not permit Truman & Washington to get away with the conditions in the South. Southern People have never taken it lying down—There have been hundreds of slave revolts in the south, Peoples Govt's Were set up after the Civil War. The progressive Populist Movement in the early part of this century has left a deep impression, and traditions. The CP in the early 30's and before lead in the

struggle for freedom, they are the true heirs the the traditions of the past. The CP is still giving leadership to the Negro People in the South. We are leading the Struggle for peace, we of the South will not fight, and we will stop war. . . The Negro People Will Have Liberation, by whatever means. . . .

FINS

Mr. SOURWINE. I make this comment that the memo of July 19, 1950, shows that Mr. Matusow at that time was reporting upon one Sam Engle, New York State educational director for Labor Youth League, at the time that Matusow was State literature director and that Engle was also a member of the State educational commission of the Communist Party.

I think that has a bearing in view of Mr. Matusow's testimony earlier before this committee on the point of whether he knew anybody on the State educational commission of the Communist Party or whether he may have received any instructions from that commission with regard to certain books to be pushed in the bookstore.

Senator McCLELLAN. Does the witness recall that the one of these documents submitted here just admitted in the record contains that information?

Mr. MATUSOW. I presume that contains that information and Mr. Sourwine refreshes my recollection that I knew somebody who was on the State educational committee of the Communist Party.

I don't deny this.

Senator McCLELLAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you a document and ask if you can tell me what it is?

Mr. MATUSOW. What was your question about this?

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell me what that is?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, I don't quite get the script. It looks German or Russian. It looks more German. I can pick out a few words. I don't make out the script.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't profess to read any foreign script.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir, will you return it?

Mr. Matusow, I send you a printed document and ask you if you can tell me what it is?

(Witness examined document.)

Mr. MATUSOW. It looks like it is titled "Right Over Europe." It is in German, it is published by Herausgegeben Von Der Deutschen.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you read it, Mr. Matusow?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think I can; yes; what do you want me to read?

Mr. SOURWINE. Just read a sentence.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. I will see how good my translation is. Published in West Germany in Stuttgart, January 1955. Copyright January 1955 in Germany. My German is a little rusty. I can pick up some of it.

I am not going to give you a verbatim translation.

In substance I will try. It will take a few minutes. Be patient.

Senator McCLELLAN. A little louder.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said be patient. That it has been 10 years since I read German.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you read it?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is a good 10 years since I have read any. I can refresh my memory. Just keep coming and I will get it.

Mr. SOURWINE. He says, ask another question.

Mr. MATUSOW. I can look at this and answer your questions at the same time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would rather not disturb you.

Mr. MATUSOW. You wouldn't be disturbing me, Mr. Sourwine. Your questions are not that difficult.

Senator McCLELLAN. The Chair understands that you were asked to read a sentence out of the document. Have you been able to translate it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not at this point. I am refreshing my recollection of certain German words to transpose them.

Senator McCLELLAN. The Chair will give you time.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, while we are waiting, I should like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that a witness before this committee on a previous occasion made reference to the case of one Salsedo, who, he said, was pushed out of a window while in the Federal custody.

I have secured from the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress a brief memorandum with regard to this case and I have the report of the case. It is at Federal Report, Volume 278. The case is Salsedo versus Palmer.

In this case the administratrix, Andrea Salsedo, brought an action. The gravamen of that action was that the death of Salsedo had been caused by the Federal agency in whose custody he was. As the court says in the case:

The complaint alleges that the defendants caused the death of the decedent by the following acts and conduct:

"They lawlessly and wrongfully arrested and seized his body and held him in confinement and captivity without process of law and against his will. They assaulted him. They inflicted upon him blows and grievous bodily injuries. They subjected him against his will to repeated interrogations and inquisitions. In, during, and throughout said period the defendants and each of them tortured the said Andrea Salsedo mentally by the following acts and conduct: They threatened to inflict upon him grievous physical injury and death, and to cause his prosecution, conviction, and imprisonment for a crime of which he was innocent; and they made and broke repeated promises to set him free. They caused him to believe, and he did believe, that they had present power and ability to inflict upon him said wrongs with which they threatened him and they caused him to be and live in constant fear. In and by said tortures the defendants and each of them caused Andrea Salsedo to lose control of his mind and will, and to become suicidally despondent and mentally irresponsible for his own conduct, with the result that on or about May 3, 1920, he projected his body from a window of his chamber of confinement in the premises occupied by the so-called Department of Justice on the 14th story of the building at Park Row, New York City, to the pavement of the street below, and died."

I call attention of the committee there is no mention in the complaint that he was pushed.

The court in deciding this case said:

We think it unnecessary to examine into the cases further. In our opinion the allegations of the complaint are insufficient to sustain the cause of action against the defendants for causing the death of the unfortunate decedent. His death was not the natural or probable consequence of what the defendants are alleged to have done, and the connection between the defendants' original acts and the final result was too remote.

Mr. Chairman, this is perhaps a relatively unimportant matter but it is an example of the perversion of history we also find in these statements of these witnesses.

I ask the reporter be instructed to compare the actual case with what I read and correct the record if read incorrectly, on these two pages, 93 and 98.

Senator McCLELLAN. That may be done.

(The following memorandum from the Library of Congress to the subcommittee was later ordered into the record at this point:)

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., March 23, 1955.

To: Senate Committee on Internal Security. Attention: Mr. Mandel.

From: American Law Division.

Subject: Disposition of suit brought against Attorney General Palmer by widow of Andrea Salsedo.

Andrea Salsedo was reported in the New York Times (May 4, 1920, p. 1, col. 8) to have committed suicide on May 3, 1920, by jumping from a window on the 14th floor of the premises occupied by the Department of Justice in New York City. Alleging that his death resulted from derangement produced by tortures inflicted upon him by Federal law-enforcement officers, his widow, as administratrix, on January 4, 1921, began action for damages in the Supreme Court of New York for the County of New York. The defendant, A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States, by petition filed with the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, effected the removal of the case on February 18, 1921, to the latter named district court. Thereafter, on February 24, 1921, the defendant demurred to the complaint on the ground that it did not state facts sufficient to constitute a cause of action, and on February 26, 1921 (New York Times, February 26, 1921, p. 7, col. 1, records this date as February 25, 1921), Judge Martin T. Manton sustained this demurrer and without opinion ordered that the complaint be dismissed upon the merits. This judgment was affirmed on appeal on December 14, 1921 (*Salsedo v. Palmer*, 278 F. 92).

NORMAN J. SMALL,
American Law Division.

Senator McCLELLAN. Is the witness ready to proceed?

Mr. MATUSOW. It seems to be a book published in Germany dealing with the Soviet Union's policies, in Germany, China, Dr. Dietrich A. Loeber, a German, wrote the book.

I can get the substance. It is a book that has been published recently in Western Germany.

Mr. SOURWINE. What you have in your hand is a single sheet of paper printed on both sides.

Mr. MATUSOW. It seems to be the front jacket of a book. I presume it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you read any single sentence there?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, they talk about the international organization here. I can't read every word in every single sentence. I think I get the substance of it.

My Spanish or French might be better.

Mr. SOURWINE. We were not attempting to test your Spanish or French.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to identify these for the record. This is written on both sides of a single 3-by-5 white card in German script. Here is the English translation.

I would like to ask that it go into the record. The substance is not important. It shows it is ordinary German, neither especially difficult or especially easy.

Senator McCLELLAN. The first card is in German. That is the one you previously showed to the witness for the purpose of having him identify it and he was unable to identify it.

Mr. SOURWINE. He said he could not read it.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said it looked like German or Russian to me but I could not read the script.

Senator McCLELLAN. This is the English translation of the German written by the same person.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes. This is an advertisement for a book published in Germany. It is a single sheet of paper printed on both sides. It is of no importance except to one who might care to judge the difficulty of the German and I ask that for that purpose it may be printed in the record.

Senator McCLELLAN. All three of them may be printed in the record.

(The documents above referred to were marked "Exhibits 88, 88A, and 88B," and appear below:)

EXHIBIT 88

Einzelne neue in Spanien

Widert - Die (un)gewöhnliche (un)gewöhnliche
 fangen kann, nicht mehr bei
 (un)gewöhnliche (un)gewöhnliche, nicht (un)gewöhnliche
 ein (un)gewöhnliche (un)gewöhnliche
 (un)gewöhnliche (un)gewöhnliche, (un)gewöhnliche (un)gewöhnliche

EXHIBIT 88A

... before predicting the exact (over)
 figures for the world coffee production, it should be realized that
 this is a very complicated process,
 which is even further complicated
 by the absence of an adequate
 coffee crop-reporting program...

EXHIBIT 88B



OSTEUROPA-RECHT ist eine halbjährlich erscheinende rechtswissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die es sich zur Aufgabe stellt, zuverlässig über das Recht der Sowjetunion und dessen Ausstrahlungen auf das Recht der zum sowjetischen Einflußbereich gehörenden Staaten in Osteuropa und Asien zu unterrichten.

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON DER DEUTSCHEN GESELLSCHAFT FÜR
OSTEUROPAKUNDE · DEUTSCHE VERLAGS-ANSTALT STUTTGART

Mr. SOURWINE. I do this because there has been testimony by Mr. Matusow that he got a glimpse of a diary in the possession of a German prisoner and read what was on the pages of that diary.

I will ask you now whether that diary was in script or was it printed?

Mr. MATUSOW. That was a diary that was in printed script and there was a map in the diary. I can still get a copy of the diary notation. I would like to produce that diary for this committee.

There seems to be some doubt on it. I would like to produce on this question something right now.

Senator McCLELLAN. Do you have the diary?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; but I have something that will corroborate something in relation to that diary—this photograph at St. Auold, France, in 1945, by a buddy of mine as I was placing flowers on an unmarked grave which turned out to be the grave of my brother. This was a year and a half before the Army notified my parents that that was the grave of my brother.

I can obtain the V-mail correspondence sent by me to my mother a year and a half before the Army officially notified her that my brother was buried in that grave in St. Auold, where I buried him.

I will get more photographic proofs and affidavits from the people who were with me when I buried my brother.

Mr. Sourwine claims I lied when I read a diary of a German prisoner who kept a diary in which there was a notation that his antiaircraft squads shot down my brother's plane on the 10th of September 1944 over Nuremberg. I did read that diary and found my brother's grave in that way.

If he wants to say I lied under oath, well, I would like to have him testify under oath. I would like to have this picture A inserted in the record.

Senator McCLELLAN. We will not have counsel testify. If you have some document that you feel will corroborate any testimony you have made, if you submit that to the committee—

Mr. MATUSOW. I will send that document down to the committee as soon as I can locate it.

Senator McCLELLAN. Then it will be made a part of the record, and the picture.

Mr. MATUSOW. If the picture can be made a part of the record I will get a good glossy.

Senator McCLELLAN. If it can be made a part of the record, you can send it in and it will be made a part of the record.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have some 8-by-10 pictures of this. If the committee would prefer that, I will provide it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I send you a clipping of a column by Victor Riesel entitled "Ordeal of Matusow"—

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not having an ordeal.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which indicates that at your first press conference after the announcement of your book, Nathan Witt and Carl Marzani were present and I ask you whether it is true that Nathan Witt and Carl Marzani were present at that press conference?

Mr. MATUSOW. They might have been present. I was told they were present. I presume they were there.

I don't recall seeing Mr. Witt. I don't recall seeing Mr. Marzani. I know I did not speak to Mr. Witt or Mr. Marzani at that press conference, if they were there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this item may be put in the record at this point.

Senator McCLELLAN. It may be inserted in the record.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 89" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 89

[Charlotte Observer, February 8, 1955]

VICTOR RIESEL: ORDEAL OF MATUSOW

NEW YORK.—Harvey Matusow, professional breast-beater extraordinary and confessed short-order liar, stood behind a green covered table at the other end of the room from the whisky.

Aside from the fact that the bottles were scotch and rye rather than vodka, the pathetic refugee from truth appeared to be the star witness in a Soviet confession trial somewhere in a Moscow "people's" court, instead of an author at a press conference.

The friends of the Soviet Union who arranged this public confessional did a job their Russian counterparts would have been proud of. There was the official photographer stalking both the audience and the star. There were the officious coming and going of busy-busy little functionaries passing in and out of a back door, just as I've seen in an East Berlin "people's" court.

There was the earlier moment when the captured prize was brought through the back door, promptly at 2:10 p. m., and thrown to the western newsmen.

The frayed pink-beige drapes and the dull, worn carpeting of New York's Hotel Biltmore conference room seemed to darken the mental torture chamber. And Harvey Matusow began to confess.

EFFECT WAS NAUSEA

Even the sophisticated anti-Communist writers who had come to listen and to question—and perhaps even to bait—this admitted perjurer, suddenly were overcome by mental nausea at the spectacle of something in human form saying:

"I'm a guy who has lived with a lot of lies * * * I wanted to see my name in print * * * I got a new religion * * * I found it was not exactly easy to break with the witness world * * * I wanted to make a fast buck * * * I have not found any conspiracy in the Communist Party * * * I disagree with Mr. Malenkov but * * *"

But the real drama was not in the paid-for groveling of the professional liar. It was in the smug satisfaction evident in the faces of the pro-Commies who had handed Matusow a few dollars to get out front and debase himself.

The real drama was in the willingness of Sovieteers to exhibit such self-torture because it serves the party line.

The real drama was in the cast of characters with whom the weird Harvey now associated himself. Sitting back on a springy couch was the peep-show's publicity director—one Carl Marzani.

There was nothing about Marzani's cool, crewcut head that showed the ravages of 2½ years he had served in a Federal pen for lying about his Communist affiliations. Last I heard of Marzani he was working for the pro-Communist United Electrical Workers Union—some of whose members in Milwaukee would meet underground to cheer Communist military victories over United States troops in Korea.

PICKED TARGETS

Marzani had been a successful fellow in our Office of Strategic Services. He actually was one of the men responsible for picking Japanese targets for the Joint Chiefs of Staff when they were planning the Doolittle raid.

Close by Marzani was his friend, Lawyer Nat Witt, now a graying militant. Witt is the attorney who submitted one of the affidavits in which Matusow told a Federal court that he had lied in a case involving an official of the pro-Communist Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

Witt just a few years ago refused to affirm or deny a Senate prober's question which sought an answer to:

"Did you serve in the Communist Party with Alger Hiss?"

Witt would not answer on grounds that he might incriminate himself.

Another question asked Witt by Senate counsel back in '52 was:

"Mr. Witt, did you know prior to 1940 that Mr. Alger Hiss was furnishing information to J. Whittaker Chambers?"

Again Witt refused to answer, on the same grounds. It was the same Witt who was with Matusow Thursday.

There were others around Witt and Marzani with long records of pro-Communist activity. They were here to see that all went smoothly with the confessional

of the pathetic liar, dressed up like a human in a gray suit, red bow tie and white shirt. It went well for them.

Their prize spoke and demeaned himself. He served their purpose. He hurt the anti-Communist movement by identifying all of it with himself and claiming it had helped him and provoked him and paid him to lie in the first place.

Mr. SOURWINE. What connection do you have with Carl Marzani?

Mr. MATUSOW. He is associated with Cameron Associates. I met him after I completed writing the book *False Witness*, and have subsequently talked with him informally. I have had no business dealings with Mr. Marzani.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you a photostat of a birth certificate and I ask you whether you ever saw this birth certificate or a photostat of it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have seen a copy of my birth certificate which this apparently is.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a copy of your birth certificate?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes. There is one error in this certificate. It should have been corrected by the board of health. They were notified about it. The Marshall here is spelled with one "l." It was always intended to be two "ls," in the middle name. That is not the original birth certificate. I have the original birth certificate. This is a copy of the county clerk records showing I was born on that date, et cetera.

Mr. SOURWINE. This shows the date of birth as October 18, 1926, which was 15 days after the date of your birth.

Mr. MATUSOW. That's right, sir. I still have the original birth certificate which does not even take that form.

This is a copy, certified copy by the county clerk's office.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the official record?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; but there was a misspelling in the official record, that is all I am saying.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this may be inserted in the record, Mr. Chairman, not in facsimile but in print for the purpose of showing—perhaps we can avoid that. May I ask the witness a question? Maybe we won't need to put it in.

In this birth certificate how is the maiden name of your mother spelled?

Mr. MATUSOW. S-t-o-l-p-e-n-s-k-y.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Thank you.

Mr. MATUSOW, do you recall testifying that participants in the play *Pins and Needles* were blacklisted?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I did not testify to that effect.

I believe I mentioned it in the book that some of the participants in the play *Pins and Needles* were blacklisted.

Mr. SOURWINE. What persons connected with that production were blacklisted and by whom?

Mr. MATUSOW. Blacklisted by me. A fellow named Al Nadler was in the show *Pins and Needles*. That is one I recall.

A gall named Weitz, I have forgotten her first name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you intend, sir, to give the impression through your book that the persons associated with this production, *Pins and Needles*, were blacklisted because of their association with the production *Pins and Needles*?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think that helped in a few cases, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. There wasn't anybody blacklisted by you because they were associated with the play, *Pins and Needles*, was there?

Mr. MATUSOW. If that is the impression that you got, that is the wrong impression. I said they were subsequently blacklisted partly because of their work in that show, Pins and Needles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you blacklist anybody because of their work in Pins and Needles?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said "Yes." I just gave you two names.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you blacklist those persons?

Mr. MATUSOW. When I worked on Counterattack. This fellow Nadler was on a TV show sponsored by General Foods and produced by Proctor and associates. This is in the second week of May 1952, if my memory serves me correctly.

I spotted his name on the casting list. I said he ought to go on the blacklist and discussed him with a few people and built up a record around him, and since then he was on the blacklist.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do you spell his name?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is N-a-d-l-e-r. In the cast list put out by Proctor Production up in New York his name was spelled M-a-d-l-e-r. I found out they had misspelled it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you blacklisted Mr. Nadler because—

Mr. MATUSOW. Partly because of his work in the show, Pins and Needles.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you blacklist any other persons because—

Mr. MATUSOW. That is one specific. This gal Weitz—I did not have anything to do with getting her out of work. I added her name to a few blacklists around the advertising agencies and up at Counterattack. Whether it prevented her from getting work I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that all you were referring to when you said in the book that the persons associated with this play—

Mr. MATUSOW. I said people—I don't remember the exact quote.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that all you meant when you said you had blacklisted them? That you had subsequently blacklisted them.

Mr. MATUSOW. We get up to New York—I will go get my playbill of the show Pins and Needles and I will give you a rundown of the names and tell you who I helped blacklist. The show ran for a few years and there was some cast turnovers. But we will see who got on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. What I am trying to find out, Mr. Matusow, is whether you had any intention in your book of conveying the idea that persons associated with this play were blacklisted because of their association with the play—

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I was trying to get that impression across for a few people who were blacklisted.

Mr. SOURWINE. By persons other than you, did their association with this play cause them any harm from any person other than you?

Mr. MATUSOW. There are people like Vincent Hartnett and Counterattack and Mr. Mandel, who works with them—you know that—who helped create these blacklists, and Pins and Needles was classed as a leftwing show, and if you appeared in that or in New Stages or any other progressive, off-Broadway theater, you were blacklisted unless you came forward and cleansed your soul and cleared yourself up by making up stories about people who worked with you in the theater.

You know that, Mr. Sourwine, you don't have to ask me that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Some of the people who were associated with this play are leading figures on the Broadway stage today.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, they are. Some of them aren't. Some of them were leading figures and now cannot work.

You know that, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't know that.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am saying that people who appeared in that show appeared in a Broadway production and had nothing to do with politics. You know that, too. Like yesterday you had Mr. Morrow down here who told a lie when he said I borrowed \$500 from him. I have three tape recordings where Mr. Morrow himself introduced me. He claims he introduced me only once. I will give you the tape recordings where he said, "Now I give you Mr. Harvey Matusow," and I said, "Now I give you Senator Mansfield." I will send those tape recordings down by the first of next week.

You ought to get Mr. Morrow for perjury on the so-called \$500 loan. I can prove otherwise.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, we will come back to those tape recordings in one moment.

Mr. MATUSOW. Thank you. I would love to do so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that I be permitted to give this playbill and this cast list to Mr. Matusow and that he be asked to furnish us with the list and the details concerning any persons in there whom he knows to have been blacklisted by himself or anybody else.

Mr. MATUSOW. I will gladly give you a list of names, of people who have been blacklisted.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you have stated that you have tape recordings of speeches.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have three speeches which I gave that were cut and I believe in Livingston or Lewistown, Mont., Mr. Morrow had a plane sent up to—I believe it was Livingston—and I was flown down to Lewistown or it was vice versa. I met Mr. Morrow at the airport and we rode to the radio station. The first program took a half hour.

I have that broadcast. That tape was sent all over the State of Montana.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you have the tape recordings and can identify them among the 200 rolls in which you could not identify the one the committee asked for, I think the committee would like to have them and I ask that Mr. Matusow be instructed to produce these for the committee's consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; he is instructed to produce them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow—

Mr. MATUSOW. Will the committee furnish me with—never mind, I will do it myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have raised the question about the \$500 loan.

Mr. MATUSOW. I read that in the paper. I presume it was correctly reported.

Mr. SOURWINE. I understand that it was your testimony that you did not borrow \$500 from Mr. Morrow while you were in Montana.

Mr. MATUSOW. It is my testimony and my 1952 tax return or the one I filed in early 1953 will show that that money that Mr. Morrow claims I borrowed from him I declared as income for the year 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give him a note for that money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not. I signed a receipt showing that I received money so it could be filed with the proper authorities in relation with expenditures in the election campaign.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

I send you Mr. Matusow, a letter purporting to bear your signature, and ask you if it is, in fact, a letter which you signed and sent?

Mr. MATUSOW. Here we go again. Yes, this is mine. I identify it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, this is a letter which has previously been mentioned in the record, a letter written by Mr. Matusow to Mr. Rafferty. I ask that it may be inserted in the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 90" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 90

AUGUST 3, 1953.

JOSEPH RAFFERTY,

Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOE: Eight years ago today I received my discharge from the Infantry Eight years of dishonest living.

I'm writing this letter for no other reason than to put on the record a history of living. One that should warn all people that come into contact with me . . . what to expect.

I have been in Reno since last Friday, and Billie and I have had many long talks . . . Talks that have done me more good than the air I breathe.

I love Billie . . . and have hurt her. And for that reason, as well as the desire to want to live with myself, I will do anything in this world to make up in any small way the treatment I have giving her . . . She just has to name it, and if possible . . . it will be done.

At this point there are no lies between Billie and me. I have told Billie that I took, or should I say stole \$1,780 from her. I have also told her that the story that appeared in Drew Pearson's column in January was my doing. In fact I got \$250.00 for it. The \$250.00 was actually paid for the notes that appeared on TV in May. And by the way . . . I didn't call anybody about that story. And with the exception of my stupidity in calling the police, I was not the culprit for the story of May 9th.

The Pearson story was the biggest of my lies, but there were others. And in a sense the others were as big as the D. P. story. For in actuality a lie is a lie, no matter how big or how small we think it is, it is still a lie.

I realize now that a relationship built on lies is bound to fall, and that is the reason that Billie is in Reno, and that is why I signed the papers for her.

I have also come to realize that the Pearson story didn't really hurt Billie, nor did it hurt Joe McC., but it did hurt you in the greatest sense of all . . . After all, Pearson did call you a liar, and did it in print . . . My fault . . . yes . . . and saying that I am sorry won't correct anything.

In the last 6 weeks I've come to realize that you don't get fullness in life by lies, and by always taking . . . God only knows that giving is truly a greater joy.

I can't say I'm sorry, for that does nothing to correct the situation that caused my stupidity . . . That I won't do it again, I can't promise . . . I do know that I'll try not to do things like that again, but only time will tell.

I could continue and outline the things that I believe caused Billie the amount of unhappiness she has had due to me, but I think you know them.

I'm glad that I was able to write this letter to you, and put on the record some of the past . . . the past that I'd never pick as the future . . . Thanks for your time.

HARVEY M. MATUSOW.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, have you in the last 2 months spent any nights in the Hotel Dauphin in New York City?

Mr. MATUSOW. Hotel where?

Mr. SOURWINE. Dauphin.

Mr. MATUSOW. No; the only time I set foot in that hotel in my life was on February 2, that was a Tuesday—no; Wednesday—that was February 2 this year.

I went there for John Daly's News Show. They wanted to shoot some television on me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall in relating then, in chapter 10 in your book, an incident concerning a conversation you had with Mr. Al Blender?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you report in your book that you had said to Mr. Blender that when you got on the stand you were going to tell everyone you had been intimidated?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said, I jokingly said something like that; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you report in your book that Mr. Blender said maybe the papers would be reporting the suicide of a witness or something to that effect?

Mr. MATUSOW. In substance. The papers might say "You were found to have jumped from the fifth or sixth floor of the United States Courthouse," and everybody laughed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that report in your book true?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I said it was done in jest. I did not know whether they were joking.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that conversation actually take place?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Your testimony was that it did.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you state in your book chapter 15, pages 1 and 2 of the galley, that J. B. Matthews put you in touch with Mr. William McDowell, attorney for the Texas & Pacific Railroad in Dallas?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you further state that you had some dealings with Mr. McDowell?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you further state that he gave you \$800?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is that it was \$800; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were those names in your book true?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you further state that Mr. McDowell had confidential reports from the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I stated in the book he said he had confidential reports from the FBI.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that true?

Mr. MATUSOW. That he said so?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say that to you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall testifying that Roy Cohn coached you to give false testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, in view of the testimony in New York on this point, do you want to change your testimony now?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I don't know. Roy Cohn does not have too much of a reputation for telling the truth. I still claim that Roy Cohn coached me.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there any possibility that this was a case of mistaken identity and even if you were coached, you were coached by somebody other than Cohn?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will never forget the smile on Roy Cohn's face when he said, "You will make as good a witness as Louis Budenz." He sat there in that car, and he had a grin on his face as he said it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You stick to your contention that you were coached by Roy Cohn, is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you familiar with—

Mr. MATUSOW. Ask Roy Cohn, too, if he ever went to the apartment I was subletting from the counsel for this committee, Robert Morris. He appeared in that apartment. He had an accident in 1951. He had crumpled a fender on his father's 1951 Chevrolet. Ask him if we did not refuse to drive downtown with him because he is too reckless a driver, after we left the apartment and went to Foley Square. Ask him if we didn't go to the Stork Club, and he was out with his girl friend, "Rusty" or "Dusty," and he was embarrassed when he took her home, because the landlady had changed the lock on her door.

He came down red-faced, and Leonard Lyons, the columnist, and I were sitting in Cohn's car. Roy Cohn doesn't recall these things, apparently, but I have a very good memory about Roy Cohn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Including, in addition, these other things you have volunteered testimony on?

Mr. MATUSOW. I hope he appreciates that I volunteered testimony that he is out with a girl named "Rusty."

Mr. SOURWINE. Your contention is that he coached you in your testimony; is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, are you familiar with the New York State law on perjury?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that in New York where contradicting statements are given in judicial proceedings it is not necessary in order to prosecute to prove which of the two statements is true?

Mr. MATUSOW. You are telling me that; I take your word for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been giving contradicting statements under oath in New York State in judicial proceedings?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will have to look at the judicial proceedings to tell you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask you that the pertinent section of the New York State law on this point be inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 91" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 91

SECTION 1627-A. PLEADING OF CONTRADICTORY STATEMENTS

An indictment or information for perjury in the second degree may allege the making of contradictory testimony or statements under oath on occasions in which an oath is required by law, without specification of which thereof is true; and the perjury may be established by proof of the willful giving or making of such contradictory testimony or statements, without proof as to which thereof is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. While you were at Taos did you talk to Mr. Kahn more than once by telephone about writing your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is I talked to Mr. Kahn on two occasions. I believe he called me back after the first call was completed to inform me the airline ticket was coming—something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you testified to that effect before now?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I said to the best of my recollection it was once or twice, I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. You know, don't you, that you have testified before now that there was only one conversation.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said to the best of my recollection there was one conversation, and now I say there might have been two.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know that since then it has been shown that the airline ticket was ordered on a date which made it inconceivable that that could have been the only conversation?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, I don't know any such thing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you ever enter into a common-law marriage in New York State?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think New York State recognizes those, but I have.

Mr. SOURWINE. With whom?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am sorry, I am not going to talk about it. There is no point in you drawing or dragging that woman's name into it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Inasmuch as you testified here that you never did live as man and wife—

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not say that. I just said that New York State does not recognize common-law marriages. I did not say I never lived as man and wife with a woman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not on a previous occasion before this committee, Mr. Matusow, testify that you never did live with a colored girl?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever enter into a common-law marriage with a colored girl?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you lived with a girl—

Mr. MATUSOW. If you are going to come out with this one-twenty-fourth-percent Negro about the woman I had a relationship with in 1949-50, O. K., but I don't know and I don't care. I am not going to bring her name into it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the committee—

Mr. MATUSOW. Just to make the record clear, I have had more than one common-law relationship with more than one woman—O. K?

You are going to find out anyway. A lot of people seem to be doing a lot of talking. But I am not having one now.

Mr. SOURWINE. What I meant, Mr. Matusow, by asking if you had entered into a common-law relationship with a woman, a common-law marriage in New York State, was: Did you at any time live together with a person of the other sex in New York State as man and wife?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. And do you now say you have done that more than once?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say that you—

Mr. MATUSOW. I presume you know it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say that you did do that in New York in 1949-50?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. With the same woman during both years?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you live together?

Mr. MATUSOW. In New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where in New York City?

Mr. MATUSOW. 60th Street; I don't remember the address.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not remember the address?

Mr. MATUSOW. One hundred something West 60th—167.

Mr. SOURWINE. During that time did you hold yourselves to be husband and wife?

Mr. MATUSOW. At times; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is what you have referred to as your Communist marriage; is it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; in the outline you have on page 3 of the galleys I believe, A-3 of the galley proofs, I have been reading.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the committee desire to attempt to get the name of the other person, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the will of the committee?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe the woman is married now to somebody else. She has nothing to do with politics or me as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I show you a clipping from the Dallas Times-Herald of Thursday, October 7, 1954, with a headline "Dallas Ex-Red Protests Term Given Batchelor" and I will ask you if it, if the letter referred to in that newspaper story, is the same letter referred to by you in your testimony as written notice to the Department of Justice that you were not going to testify in any more cases?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you write any other letter to the Department of Justice on or about the same time, giving the same notice?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe that was the letter I wrote to the Department of Justice; that is the only one I remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this newspaper story be inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 92" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 92

[Dallas Times Herald, October 7, 1954]

DALLAS EX-RED PROTESTS TERM GIVEN BATCHELOR

A protest against the Army court-martial life sentence given Cpl. Claude Batchelor, returned Korean war prisoner, was sent to Attorney General Herbert Brownell Thursday by Harvey M. Matusow of Dallas.

Mr. Matusow, who joined the Communist movement at 18, broke with the party and has since testified at many Government investigations, said he would not appear at six hearings where he was scheduled to be a witness.

"The reason for this is my conscience will not let me be a party to any future Claude Batchelor cases," he wrote.

Mr. Matusow said the life imprisonment term was too severe for a youth who joined the Army at 16 and was subjected to skilled Communist "brain-washing" for 2 years in Korea.

"The mind of a 16- or 18-year-old is too susceptible," the Dallas man said. "More than 90 percent of the Communists become Reds before they are 21."

A similar protest against the life sentence for the Kermit soldier was made in Dallas earlier this week by Robert A. Vogeler, American businessman who was held prisoner of the Hungarian Communists for 17 months after his firm was taken over by the Hungarian Government.

And in Big Spring Monday, H. W. Walker resigned as chairman of the draft board, saying he did so in protest against the Batchelor court-martial verdict.

Mr. SOURWINE. There was nothing in that Batchelor letter about you having perjured yourself, was there?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; not that I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recall stating that you wanted to make a speech at a Farmers Union Convention but could not do so because they wanted you to file a \$25,000 financial responsibility bond?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you then testify that you made the same speech and recorded it and sent the recorded copy to the Farmers Union?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe I said I sent it to the Farmer's Union.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you keep a copy of that recording?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, the committee has a copy of that recording.

Mr. SOURWINE. I send you, Mr. Matusow, with the chairman's permission, a transcription of the recording which you furnished the committee and I ask you if you can identify it as the speech that you made on that occasion?

Mr. MATUSOW. Presuming that it is a true copy of the wire recording that I gave the committee on my last occasion I will say yes, that is my recording.

Mr. SOURWINE. In view of that stipulation I ask that Mr. Stephen Haaser, the records manager of the subcommittee, be sworn for the purpose of asking him one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESTIMONY OF STEPHEN G. HAASER, RECORDS MANAGER, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNAL SECURITY

Mr. HAASER. I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Haaser, is this a true transcript of the tape recording Mr. Matusow furnished us?

Mr. HAASER. It is a true transcript of the wire recording which was given to the subcommittee.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was a wire recording you gave?

Mr. MATUSOW. Two spools.

Mr. SOURWINE. With that stipulation I will accept this as the report.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this go into the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 93" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 93

SPEECH BY HARVEY MATUSOW IN MONTANA, 1954

Mr. OVERCASH. Thank you, Madam Mayor.

I'm sure that applause was for you and not for me.

I would like to state at the outset that certain circumstances have developed since the sponsorship of this meeting was assumed. If there should be—I don't

think there will be—but if there should be any liability of any kind or nature whatsoever, financial, moral, or otherwise, which should develop as a result of this meeting. I, as chairman of the Montana Citizens' Committee for Americanism, completely absolve the American Legion Auxiliary of any responsibility in any nature whatsoever; and the Montana Citizens' Committee for Americanism assumes full and complete responsibility.

For about 3 or 4 years I have been intensely interested in the subject of subversive activities in this great country of ours.

Now, there are any number of subversives, but for the time being it is my judgment that we have only one subversive organization to fear. That is communism.

I consider it a waste of time to spend our energies and our efforts in fighting windmills when we are threatened by a situation as serious as that of world communism today; so to all intents and purposes, my references to subversives are to those of a Communist characteristic.

We have with us this evening a young citizen who has a very interesting loyal and patriotic background behind him.

His father attained the rank of sergeant in the Infantry in the First World War. His father volunteered for First World War service; he was not drafted, inducted, or in any way brought into the service except on a strictly voluntary basis.

The same may be said of this young gentleman here this evening. He volunteered for service in World War II at a time when he was not subject or about to become subject for induction. He has never been registered before a draft board.

He also served in the present Korean situation. Again, a volunteer, a member of the Reserve.

In the Second World War this young fellow was indoctrinated by a couple of Communist noncommissioned officers in his organization—indoctrinated by marxism or communism or whatever you prefer to call it.

Soon after his discharge from World War II, he became a member of the Communist Party. He remained in the party some 5 years.

Sometime after becoming a member of the Communist Party he began to have doubts about this organization in which he was active—active in colleges, active in the youth movement, a very vulnerable place for Communist work. So he went to the FBI.

After—may I go back just a minute. Also, this young man had a brother killed, a tail gunner on a B-17 in World War II.

When he had these doubts, he went to the FBI. After checking him at considerable length to make certain of the honesty and loyalty of this man, they urged him to remain in the party and report on Communist Party activities to them. Which he did.

He did this until it was discovered by the Communist Party, at which time he was read out of the party, so to speak, by the Communist Party Control Commission.

Since that time he has been active in anti-Communist work, testifying on numerous occasions before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which Senator Pat McCarran, of Nevada, is chairman. He has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities; he has been an employee of the Ohio State Subversive Activities Commission, and just last week or 10 days ago before coming to Montana he testified in Utah before the McCarran committee in the matter of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union.

He has come up to Montana to tell you something about communism, about its threat to our American way of life, about some of its friends and what we should do about it.

I think I have taken enough of your time, so I am going to give you at this moment, Mr. Harvey M. Matusow, a former Communist spy for the FBI.

[Applause.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Madame Mayor, Mr. Overcash, ladies, and gentlemen, and those ladies and gentlemen who, I hope, are here representing the Farmers Union of Montana.

Before I go into what I would have prepared as a text for my talk tonight, I'd like to tell you a little story.

Today, in the United States, in this very day in October in 1952, in the city of Great Falls, Mont., free speech was denied by somebody or a group of people who, by their own admission said they were willing to listen to a story before their convention at Great Falls. And I, at personal expense, the expense of chartering an airplane and canceling an engagement, flew to Great Falls, Mont.,

to address the Farmers Union convention upon the invitation of the leaders of that Farmers Union.

And when I arrived there I found out that in order to have free speech, according to those leaders of the Farmers Union, I had to have \$25,000 to give them in cash; otherwise, I couldn't speak.

[Applause.]

I am not calling the Farmers Union Communists; it is an old and honorable union, but there are Communists in leadership of the Farmers Union.

This is being recorded now, and if anybody in the Farmers Union would like to get a recording of my words, if they send me the price of \$10.40, the cost of two tapes, tape recordings, plus postage, plus labor, which would run another \$10, I would be glad to send them a copy of this speech. And if they dare sue me—I hope they do, because they are going to get their ears pinned back.

[Applause.]

They said last night in Lewistown, if anything I said be slanderous to the honest and sincere members of the Farmers Union, then they must not be honest and sincere, because if the Farmers Union sues me for calling some of its leaders Communists, which they are, I'm gonna throw the kitchen sink at 'em and the hot water's going to be running when it hits.

It seems that a trial was held in Salt Lake City the last year or so and some people in the Farmers Union—which I am not calling Communist, mind you—won a suit.

The only reason they won that suit in Salt Lake City is because the people they were suing didn't understand communism and didn't know where to get the facts. If they had come to me, the Farmers Union would have lost that suit, I can assure you.

The documentation exists, and I have it.

Now, let's get on to what I wanted to say at the Farmers Union Convention.

Again, I repeat, the Farmers Union is not Communist, but there are leaders in the Farmers Union who are.

I address now any member of the Farmers Union. I have in my hand a Farmers Union Cooperative booklet, Loaning Library List. The official list of books distributed by the Farmers Union in their library setup. And I state as a fact, as a matter of public record, that 20 percent of the books in this list—which is over 12 pages long—20 percent of the books were written by Communists and people with Communist-front activities; and over 38 of the books in this list are books published by the Communist Party of the United States under the name of the Communist Party and its publishing house, International Publishers. And those books are being distributed by the Farmers Union today; not because members are Communists, but because the leaders of the Farmers Union infiltrating that organization with Communist literature. Twenty percent of the books.

They even have listed in here, The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, written by Joseph Stalin, Andrei Vishinsky, and Nicoli Lenin. Yes, the book which is the official publication of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, distributed by Mr. Alexander Trachtenburg, now a Communist conspirator on trial in New York City for advocating the overthrow of this Government by force and violence. And 38 of his books are listed in that catalog; 38 books of a man who is now on trial for trying to overthrow this Government.

That is one of the indictments on the leaders of the Farmers Union who happen to be Communist.

Point 2 on the indictment: I hold up a publication for Communists, the official Communist Party publication up until the year of 1946 when it changed its name to "Political Affairs." And I would like to quote from this publication, the official Communist Party publication:

"The northwest block of the Farmers Union opposed candidate Kognan's leadership supported by the New Deal.

"In the last convention they ousted Kennedy as the national secretary, but the bit of frictional strife has stopped the hesitant, confused, progressive majority from taking any serious steps in support of the New Deal labor and social legislation."

One of the steps to change the situation was stated in the August resolution adopted at the June central committee planning meeting of the Communist Party, and this is the resolution of the Communist Party a few years ago:

"In our mass work, our main concentration must be to build the National Farmers Union."

That is the official Communist Party statement, "to build the National Farmers Union, to develop local, State, and national programs around which we can rally and capitalize a firm Communist leadership."

That is the official situation as far as the Communist Party is concerned in the Farmers Union.

I ask the honest and sincere members of the Farmers Union to correct that situation.

That is just point 2 on the indictment, and again I say I hope they sue me; and then maybe the American Legion Auxiliary will be proud to be part of the exposing of that Communist plot in this country—Communists who have infiltrated the fine and honorable Farmers Union.

Point 3 on my indictment of Communists leadership in the Farmers Union.

In a publication of the Montana Farmers Union, a publication, official, sent out to all legislative directors of the Farmers Union, and it states, and I quote: "First of all, we wish to state that we are ordering a 1-year subscription to Facts for Farmers for you. We know this publication will be of real help to you in keeping up to date on current and long-time legislation affecting farmers."

For those who don't know it, Facts for Farmers is the official Communist Party publication put out by the farm commission of the Communist Party with its editor named Lemuel Harris, the chairman of the farm commission of the Communist Party.

And Farmers Union of Montana was sending that to its membership, gift subscriptions of the Communist Party official publications for farmers. Point 3 on the indictment.

Point 4. Still another service that you may receive free of charge is the information bulletin put out by the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C. This is a fact. The official Soviet information bulletin, put out by the Soviet Embassy, was being distributed by the leaders of the Farmers Union in Montana to its membership—again to indoctrinate and instill the Communist line into the minds of the honest, sincere Americans who belong to the Farmers Union.

This letter was signed by D. W. Chapman, president, and Mildred J. Stokes, director, State education, Montana Farmers Union.

That's indictment Nos. 3 and 4.

And there's indictment Nos. 5 and 6 here, but I won't go into that because we can get it later.

Another indictment; Just this week, a convention, the Farmers Union, a speech was made and the quote that was made was, "When Stalin moved into Poland, he did not enslave or make Communists of the Polish peasants; he made landowners of them." And in substance he said, Stalin and the Polish Communists are agrarian reformers, or similar to some of the statements that people make about China. And that Russians aren't so bad when they're Communists because they are on our side if we are farmers.

Well, I don't know if any of you people who belong to the Farmers Union here have ever been to Russia. I have. I happen to be of Russian parentage, and they have been to Russia. My mother was a Russian farmer and she has got a scar on her neck here because she didn't like Communists when she was a kid.

My grandfather didn't want the Communists to hold a meeting on his farm—he was a small landowner in Russia—and because of it, some Communist goons cut my mother up, and she's still got the scars from it.

You talk about Russia and Stalin making landowners of the peasants of Poland rather than Communists and they don't know what they're talking about.

That was a speech given at the Montana Farmers Union convention this week.

That's indictment No. 5.

I can go on here and go through indictment No. 6 through 160. I could take up a lot of time in doing it, but I will wait until the Farmers Union sues me to go through the 160 of them.

I will just hit a few more.

Now, I am not at war with the Farmers Union, mind you; there is nothing wrong with the Farmers Union. The only thing wrong with it is its got some Communists in it they ought to get out.

When I worked for the Communist Party in its national headquarters in New York, I was a security guard for the Communist Party.

This is indictment No. 7:

I was a security guard for the Communist Party. My job was to see that no unauthorized persons entered Communist Party headquarters; and I had a bulletproof glass door in front of me with a microphone in it, and when somebody came in that wanted to go into Communist Party headquarters I pressed a button and a buzzer rang and the door would open.

On more than one occasion, leaders of the New Jersey, Ohio, and Southern Farmers Union appeared at that glass door at Communist Party national headquarters—I can name them—and walked through that door to have meetings with the leaders of the Communist Party as to what role they, Communists, would play in the Farmers Union to help subjugate the American people and the innocent people in the Farmers Union.

That's indictment No. 7.

Indictment No. 8: The use of known Communists working with the Communist Party National Committee, working with the Communist Party Cultural Commission, such as Robert Clayborn, as an employee of the Farmers Union in New Jersey; the use of such singers and folk artists who were known Communists working through the Communist Party Cultural Commission as the Weavers, the well-known singing group—the Weavers before they became the Weavers, that is. When Lee Hayes was an independent, working without a quartet, and so was Pete Seger and this young man named Fred Hellerman. Yes. Working for the Farmers Union at their affairs, being booked by the Farmers Union to appear at their affairs, with the checks being paid not to those entertainers but to the Communist Party of the United States Cultural Commission through its organization called People's Artists.

And I worked for People's Artists; I used to process those checks, deposit them in the bank, and I know what banks they're in and I know where the photo-stats can be gotten of those checks.

If they care to sue me, I hope they do again, because facts exist.

I could go on for 3 hours and talk about communism in the Farmers Union; and I hope there are some Farmers Union people here who'll wake up and realize that they have Communists in leadership in their union and it's about time they got rid of them.

Now I am going to stop talking about the Farmers Union for a minute because I am not at war with the Farmers Union. They chose to battle me when they bought that radio time here in Montana; they chose to call me the irresponsible person but yet when I arrived at Great Falls they chose to let me cool my heels in the outer lobby and leave without speaking.

I called their bluff and I called their phony charges—and they were phony, because if they weren't, the people at the convention of the Farmers Union would have heard me. They would have heard me repeat what I did here and much more.

That is all being recorded, and as I say, the Farmers Union may have a copy of this recording for the price that it will cost me to make it, \$20. My address is post office box 213, Dayton 1, Ohio, post office box 213, Dayton, Ohio.

Please, somebody write it down and get it to the leaders of the Farmers Union. \$20 check or money order and they will gladly get a copy of this recording.

Now, let's get on to the subject of communism and where else it exists.

I got a little hot under the collar there, but communism gets me that way.

Well [inaudible] trying to find out if I can get a glass of water. I have been talking a long time today to Mr. Overcash because I couldn't talk to the Farmers Union convention.

All right, now, I want to get on to the question of where communism exists and how they have put out their prongs and where they are trying to capture our Nation, our world and our freedom.

The Communist Party in its program has set out to infiltrate sections of our Government—and they have—and set out to infiltrate sections of our cultural agencies—our newspapers, radio, television, et cetera.

And by the way, I might add, everything I say here can be backed up by documents. I've got quite extensive files back someplace; where they are is my business, but they exist.

And they went into our newspapers, many of them; they went into our radio, television, motion pictures, and then they went after the youth. They went into our schools, many of our schools. They went into our colleges, our universities and our high schools.

Besides going into our schools, they have infiltrated some of our churches.

Now let me make something clear here. The Farmers Union didn't make that clear in their broadcasts when they said a few things about me today and yesterday. That when I talk about Communists infiltrating an organization, I do not mean they have taken over control of the organization. For instance, Gen. Bedell Smith, the head of the Central Intelligence Agency, said, "Communists have infiltrated the Central Intelligence Agency." He means they are there to spy and find out what the CIA is doing.

Even Mr. Overcash, a national committeeman from Montana to the American Legion's national committee, will admit that there are probably a few Communists in the American Legion. I happen to wear that button, too, and would also say so. They are secret Communists; they are there to infiltrate, not to take over the Legion, but to spy on the Legion.

And sometimes when we talk about infiltrating we mean spying and other times we mean taking over and running. So I will make sure I clear that air up when I mention various organizations.

As I say, they have gone into some of our churches. When I say this, I don't want to infer that your church, if you happen to belong to one of these, is Communist-riddled or a Communist-dominated church. There again it's the infiltration, it's certain small sections of certain churches or religious groups in this country. And these are facts that have been sworn to in testimony before court proceedings and congressional committees.

Besides that, the Communists have also gone into some of our trade unions. They have organized some trade unions, infiltrated others. A prime example of their infiltration has been the honorable and old Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which was the first industrial union in the United States of any major proportion.

I happen to like the principles of trade unionism because I am a member of the CIO unions today.

I want to get one of these.

Yes, I am a member in good standing of the International Union of Electrical Workers and in January of this year was editor of the CIO News of Dayton, Ohio, and I am also a member of the American Newspaper Guild, a good CIO union. So if any of you think I am going to attack unions, no; but I am going to attack Communists in unions, because unions are American; Communists are un-American.

Well, I feel better.

Yes, Communists have gone into our trade unions, have gone into our schools, some of our churches, have gone into our Government and have gone into many other groups.

Let's take their approach one by one, point by point.

I want to talk first about Communist infiltration into certain church groups, and when I do that, I'd like to cite the official record of the Congress of the United States, the official citations of congressional committees and of the Justice Department, which are listed here, when I talk about certain Communists who have infiltrated our church groups. These are a series of questions and answers. I will read just a few of them. Please bear with me.

Question: Are Communists trying to corrupt religion?

Yes. Congress, through its years, 17 years, to be exact, of investigating, have said yes.

What is their method?

The Communist Party of the United States assigns members to join the churches and church organizations in order to take control where possible and in any case to influence thought toward action toward Communist ends. It forms front organizations designed to attract fellow travelers—with religious interests, that is. It tries to get prominent religious leaders to support Communist policies disguised as welfare work for minorities or oppressed groups.

In the words of Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party—and this is what he said: "By going among the religious masses we are for the first time able to bring our antireligious ideas to them."

Does it exist? Even the head of the Communist Party said so.

A few other things.

Are there Communist clergymen? Yes.

Do they all admit they are Communist? Some do, but except in special cases, the Communist Party requires them to keep their membership secret.

For instance, Rev. Claude C. Williams, a Presbyterian minister, was and admitted by his own admission a Communist Party member.

The Reverend Eliot White, retired Episcopal minister, has served as a delegate to the Communist convention and has lectured at Communist Party meetings, and in 1952 marched with the Communist contingent in the May Day parade in New York City.

Now these are facts. The Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church are not Communist, but there are individuals in that church who, by their own admissions, have admitted they were Communist.

So, does the Farmers Union who attacks me for being irresponsible call the Congress of the United States irresponsible? No. How can they? Would they call this admitted Communist, Reverend Williams or White irresponsible? I don't think so, because people like Reverend White and Williams I know for a fact have addressed Farmers Union meetings in New Jersey. They weren't irresponsible then; are they irresponsible today? No. I am just quoting facts.

Now, let's see. They ask, "Do you mean that just because a clergyman joins or sponsors 1 or 2 Communist fronts for one reason or another, he is playing Stalin's game in America?" No. We are talking about those clergymen who over a period of years consistently followed the party line and joined not 1 or 2 fronts but 20 or 30. These are the core of agents that the party depends upon in the religious field.

Now, has Communist propaganda ever sneaked into our churches? Yes. For instance, the minister was discharged as editor of an official church publication for permitting communistic propaganda to appear in this publication. They don't list his name, but it happened.

Does J. Edgar Hoover say there are Communists in religion? "I confess a real apprehension"—these are the words of J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI—"I confess a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the Gospel to promote their evil work."

It happened. The FBI has files on it, according to J. Edgar Hoover.

But still the Farmers Union says I don't know what I'm talking about. Well, maybe I don't.

Do Communists propagandists ever actually get before church groups as speakers? Yes. For example, the head of the Communist Party, on one occasion at least, spoke at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

Well, I just want to hit 1 or 2 groups here.

What is the Institute of Applied Religion? One of the most vicious Communist organizations ever set up in this country, declared subversive by a Democratic Party attorney general. He declared it subversive on the basis of the FBI recommendation. Institute of Applied Religion.

Now, what is the Protestant? Some of you might have seen it. I happen to remember it because it was the official Communist Party religious publication, if there can be such a thing. A magazine which fanatically spreads Communist propaganda under the guise of being a religious journal. Boasts a support of 6,000 ministers but not actually connected with any official religious organization. The Protestant magazine.

Now, where is it published and who are its officers? It is published by Protestant Digest, Inc., in New York City; editor, Kenneth Leslie; associate editors, James Luther Adams, John Hammond, and Gerald Richardson.

These are official congressional citations as well as Justice Department citations.

Now, they go on here to talk about the Methodist Federation for Social Action; not an official part of the Methodist Church. And thanks to the awareness, finally, of the Methodist Church, this Methodist Federation for Social Action—which for years has occupied office space in the official headquarters of the Methodist Church—has finally been told to leave and finally been told they can no longer use the word "Methodist."

But for years men like Dr. Harry F. Ward, another pro-Communist, a long-time Communist frontier, whose books have been published by the Communist Party; he's a Methodist bishop; and Rev. Jack McMichaels, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, were the heads of this Methodist Federation for Social Action which, as I say, thanks to a keenness and an awareness on the part of the Methodist Church, has finally been forced to withdraw the name "Methodist" and finally been told it has to leave the offices of the Methodist Church.

But for many years it has been there and doing the work of communism. The Methodist Federation for Social Action has been cited as a subversive organization, as a Communist subversive organization, in a 75-page booklet put out this year by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

There again are more facts, documents.

But there again the Methodist Church took proper action and has proved that God will win out over atheism. But for a while—and many people had been fooled, duped, by such people as Jack McMichaels and Dr. Harry F. Ward and, yes, Bishop Oxnun, who has many, many Communist fronts to his record going as late as 1952.

So, are there Communists in religion? Yes.

Are they religious? No. They are there to subjugate and propagandize for the purpose of Stalin and not for the purpose of Christ.

In that same context, that's how the Communists work in the Farmers Union, for those members here who don't know about it.

Let me continue.

I think that should clear the air on some of the charges I am purported to have made against religious people. I am not accusing people of religion of being Communists, no; I am accusing Communists of being Communists who have gone out after people who have an honest and sincere faith in God to try and get them to communism.

How does communism get in our schools? Only 3 days ago in New York City sworn testimony before the Senate Internal Security Committee brought out the fact that 500 Communist Party members were teaching high school in the city of New York.

(End of wire No. 1.)

(Beginning of wire No. 2.)

(Mr. Matusow is speaking. Apparently there was a break while the wire was being rewound and a new spool was secured, as the subject is a different one.)

Mr. MATUSOW. Montana, specifically.

I have here in my hands a copy of the Great Falls Tribune of March 14, 1949, an actual copy of the newspaper, and it has an article in it entitled, "Civil Rights Organized at Sunday Meeting." It goes on to talk about the organization of the Cascade County Civil Rights Committee was created at a meeting Sunday at Carpenter Hall with the election of—I'm not going to mention that person's name right now. All right, maybe I will. Martha Lyon, L-y-o-n, as chairman.

Other officers were Andy Compuros, first vice chairman; Lily McKenzie, second vice chairman; Mrs. Alma Jacobs, secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Velma Good was temporary chairman.

That's a newspaper story, 1949.

Excuse me. The water got me.

"The group will meet once a month and will affiliate with the national Civil Rights group."

For those who don't know what the national Civil Rights group is, I will tell you: It's the Civil Rights Congress. Now, the Civil Rights Congress is the official and legal arm of the Communist Party, cited so by the Attorney General. The Civil Rights Congress furnished bail for the Communist fugitives, seven of them, by the name of Henry Winston, Gil Green, Robert Thompson, Bill Norman, Jackson, Sid Steinberg, and Fred Fine. That's seven Communist leaders, all at large now because they received bail from the Civil Rights Congress.

And when they refused to answer the questions—that is, the Civil Rights Congress—as to who put up the bail, and where are these men, Mr. Frederick Vanderbilt Field and the mystery story writer, Dashiell Hammet—he's the person who wrote the Thin Man, the Fat Man, Sam Spade, and the Maltese Falcon—went to jail. Dashiell Hammet, by the way, was a Communist.

Well, they went to jail and the Civil Rights Congress was outlawed. The Federal courts back East will not recognize the Civil Rights Congress as a legitimate agency to furnish bail to people who are being prosecuted, because they will not cooperate, they just work against the Government.

The Federal Government has cited the Civil Rights Congress, and I'd like to read that citation to you before I go into this. This citation on the Civil Rights Congress is—I have got to find it first. Here it is. "Civil Rights Congress cited as subversive and Communist, Attorney General Tom Clark, December 4, 1947."

Now that's an official citation by the Attorney General, and he's a Democrat. He is a member of the Supreme Court bench right now.

I am not playing partisan politics. I don't.

Well, this group was formed and they sent out to get signatures on a petition, to get a bill thrown out of the Congress called the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon bill. Now this Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon bill has since been passed under a Democratic Congress as the Wood, or McCarran-Wood Act, or the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Now in 1949, before it passed, it was known as the Ferguson—the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon bill—and in 1947 it was known as that. But it was the same bill that finally passed under a Democratic Congress.

But here's the thing about it: They set out to lobby against this bill, and the Congress of the United States issued a report on that lobby and it said, "The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, a Communist lobby * * * " right there on the front cover of an official congressional document, and it starts out to say, "The National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill since its inception has served as a registered lobbying organization which has carried out the objectives of the Communist Party in its fight against antisubversive legislation. The National Committee to Beat the Mundt Bill first came into being June of 1948, when Jerry J. O'Connell registered with the Clerk of the House of Representatives."

And this 16-page report deals with nothing else but Jerry J. O'Connell, former Congressman from Montana and now, I believe, yes, Jerry J. O'Connell now is with the Progressive Party. I got that today at Farmers Union hall, if you don't believe I was there, [ask] anybody who was there. They were handing those out in front of the Civic Center in Green Falls.

[Applause.]

Well, as I say, it cites Jerry J. O'Connell, who, by the way, for this microphone and the record, I will call the leading Communist Party member in the State of Montana, unquote, Harvey Matusow said it. It's a fact; he can sue me too if he wants to. But I went to a Communist Party meeting with him in Washington, D. C., in 1949. I know Jerry O'Connell.

As I recall, he's about that tall and he's kind of plump and he's got a round, moon face, and he's a little bald, and what's left of his hair then was kind of black around the edges. I believe that was Jerry J. O'Connell when I met him. And I've only seen him that one time.

And I think when I met Jerry J. O'Connell I was reporting information to the FBI and it's probably in a report in the Justice Department files right now.

So things exist and are facts and what not.

But as I was—getting back to this Committee To Defeat the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which was cited as a Communist lobby and the Civil Rights Committee which was cited as a Communist front. I am going to read names here—I don't know if they are Republicans or Democrats; I've read them before at other meetings, I have no political ax to grind. I don't care if they are Republicans or Democrats, but I feel the people of Montana should know that these men, who are not Communists—I repeat: These men are not Communists—but you should realize how Communists have duped people in your State, in your State government, into working and signing a Communist petition.

They are not guilty of anything; they are not Communists. I am just pointing this out to show you how innocent, sincere people can be duped by communism.

We have established the two Communist fronts connected with this petition. And even the language here—by the way, the petition was put out by Jerry J. O'Connell—the language here cites people such as Prof. Zacharia Chasse, of Harvard, who was one of the heads of the National Lawyers Guild and has been identified with over 50 or 60 Communist fronts. It lists Mr. Arthur Garfield Hayes, who was with the American Civil Liberties Union and has pulled no bones about that fact that he has worked with Communists.

It also lists here Prof. Harlow Shapley. Now, this is an interesting one, because Shapley is—now, these people didn't sign it; the people who signed it said, "We are happy to add our names to those of * * *" Shapley, Zacharia Chasse, and Arthur Garfield Hayes. Now, Prof. Harlow Shapley was the chairman of the Waldorf Peace Conference set up by the Communist Party in 1949 in New York City. Now, this Waldorf Peace Conference was a Communist front, and I think we might take it from the man who we must believe—if he says it's a Communist front, it definitely is one—because Dean Acheson called the Waldorf Peace Conference a Communist front. If Dean Acheson can do it, well, there's no doubt in my mind.

I know; I helped set the thing up, too, and it was a Communist front. But why go on and on?

Now let's get to some of the signatures. Remember, these people are not Communists, they are not traitors, they are not un-American. These people were duped, and I point this out just as a graphic example as to how communism works in the State of Montana; it is the most graphic example I can point out, because the first signature I read is John W. Bonner, Governor of Montana. I repeat, he is not a Communist, he is not disloyal, he is not un-American; he was duped, just as many millions of Americans have been duped over many years.

The first signature is John Bonner. The second signature is H. "Something" Call, up in—chairman, Cascade County Democratic Committee.

Another one is Representative, Montana Legislature, Leo C. Greybill, who, I think, by the way, is a counsel for the Farmers Union—so if they sue me, I might meet Mr. Greybill [phonetic].

I am not calling him a Communist; I am not calling him anything subversive. I'm just—again, this is a graphic example.

Other names here are Lief Ericson, a man named Prokoby [phonetic], Harry A. Morgan, William I. King, of—I don't know where these people are from, they might be Republicans or Democrats. I presume some are Republicans; I presume some of them are Democrats because Mr. Bonner must be running for governor on the Democratic ticket—I have seen his name.

Another one here is Arnold Olson; another one here is Peter Fontana; another one is John F. Duzak; another one is William Burtock; another is Ronald Holt, representative, Montana Legislature; and, member of State Board of Health Charlotte R. Holt; and there's a Jerome E. Locke, or F. Locke; and W. P. Pilgrim.

Now, as I say, these are people who were duped by two Communist fronts. They are facts. Anybody who'd care to look at these signatures on the petition may come up and do so.

But I don't want to accuse these people of being disloyal or un-American; I just want to accuse the un-Americans of working in Montana and duping these people. Well, maybe they didn't have the realistic attitude to see that it was a Communist front, because both these organizations were cited as Communist fronts long before they put their names on their signature, but I presume the information never reached Montana. I am almost sure it never did, because I have read one of your newspapers and find out that up in Great Falls it doesn't carry much that would educate the people on the question of communism, carries very little education. The stuff it carries usually runs quite the contrary; not procommunism, but it does not educate on the question of communism.

Yes?

[Inaudible question from the floor.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I have no bones to pick with them.

FLOOR. [Inaudible question.]

Mr. MATUSOW. It might be; yes.

FLOOR. [Inaudible question.]

Mr. MATUSOW. The gentleman says the names I have mentioned are all Democrats. Well—

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir, if they are, they are. You are the one who said so, not me.

I go on to how communism has gotten into the State of Montana and I find that—well, let's see—I lost the note here somewhere, so I'll leave that part out.

There has been communism in the State of Montana up in Great Falls during World War II when one of the top Soviet agents in the United States lived at one or another hotels in the city of Great Falls, and according to sworn testimony before Congressional committees did carry on espionage at Great Falls.

And on 1 occasion a military intelligence officer had to walk out to the air-base and at gunpoint remove 2 or 3 Soviet officers or pilots or Soviet men who were picking up a plane here in the United States for transportation to Russia, went through the plane and found top secret documents which should never have been out of their locked safe.

Right here in Great Falls, Mont.

And today, according to figures as to Communist Party membership in the United States, per capitawise, Montana has more Communists than any other State in the 48, according to official figures. That is a fact. There aren't many Communists in Montana, probably not more than 400, but in proportion to your population, that is more than in any other of the 48 States.

Well, I could go on for—

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, there was a question there which I will keep in the back of my mind to answer when we start our question-and-answer period.

I add one more point to my report here and I think that it should be asked of the gentleman who is running for office before election day. No reference made to him, no inference; he is a good, loyal and honest American. But I think it should be asked him why, in 1945, after the Attorney General in 1942 listed New Masses as a Communist Party publication, the official cultural publication of the Communist Party, the Representative from Montana, Mr. Mansfield, wrote an article in New Masses, the official Communist Party publication—this is a copy of it—3 full years after it was cited as the official Communist Party publi-

cation by the Attorney General and, believe it or not, the Communist Party itself, did he write that article.

He is a loyal, honest, good man; he's a good legislator. I am not attacking him as a partisan politician, I am just not attacking him. I am just bringing the facts to the voters of Montana. That is my purpose; I don't play partisan politics; I go out after communism and I go out after the way communism has duped innocent people such as Representative Mike Mansfield, when he did this report on China for New Masses, the official Communist Party publication.

I am not going to continue talking any longer because I've talked now for over 51 minutes. I want to stop now and get some questions and answers and I know I have got the first question from that gentleman there, so if I answer it—the gentleman wanted to know if my figures were the official FBI report. I will state now that my figures are from official reports before congressional committees.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I say there are approximately 400 Communists in the State of Montana.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not saying that, no.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I said, official—

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, you are saying it, sir.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I do not—I have never seen any official FBI reports on Communist Party membership figures.

FLOOR. Thank you.

Mr. MATUSOW. But I have seen official congressional committee reports on that. Another question?

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Of course not.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. 1947.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I have been a Communist Party member until 1951.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. A Communist is a revolutionist; one. A Communist is one who does not believe in the liberties of individuals; two. A Communist is one who will do anything to get his way, and that is to destroy the American form of government as set up in our Constitution through our Bill of Rights—our freedoms of press, speech, and assembly; our freedom of religion, and our freedom to get up here and talk the way both you and I are doing.

If this were a Communist nation and there were Communists able to stop me, I would not speak, or if a gentleman who was a Communist disagreed with this gentleman, you would not be able to speak.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. My sponsor is the Montana Citizens for Americanism.

FLOOR. [Inaudible; interrupted by applause.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I got this in front of the civic center; it's on the tape there. I got this in front of the hall where the convention of the Farmers Union was being held. And if any of you were there today you would have seen these—wait a minute, I have got a bunch of them, here. I don't have to document it with 1, I can document it with 15 of them.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I made the statement a minute ago and we can check it on this wire recorder that I got it in front of the civic center, where the Farmers Union convention was taking place.

We might as well not argue about it because it's right there on wire and we can check it back because my voice has been recording all the time.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Is this a half-truth or is this 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 truths? [Counting papers.]

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. No. To be exact, I picked up five of these inside the lobby right next to the stand that said "Health," or something; right in the Farmers

Union hall. There were about six pine trees set up and these were laying on a table and that's where I picked them up. For your information.

I didn't want to say it before, but I am saying it now because you are trying to put me on the spot.

I did not want to reflect on the Farmers Union and I do not want to, but these were in the hall on a table in front of 4 or 5 or 6 pine trees in the civic center in Great Falls.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I have not—this is being put out by the Progressive Party. But they were at the hall where the Farmers Union convention was taking place, for your information.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I agree there were other things you could get, but you could also get Progressive Party literature.

FLOOR. You were inferring [inaudible].

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, you are inferring; I was not inferring anything. I am stating facts; you are stating inference.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. That is correct. There was no free speech at the Farmers Union convention because after I was challenged to speak there I was refused admission to the hall—the body of the hall, that is—to address the membership after the challenge appeared 3 times a day on 21 radio stations in the State of Montana which called me an irresponsible person, without mentioning the fact that they wanted a \$25,000 bond, they didn't mention the fact that they wanted me to post a \$25,000 bond—

FLOOR. This \$25,000 bond [inaudible].

Mr. MATUSOW. Did I say here for the record that the price of free speech for the Farmers Union is a \$25,000 bond or didn't I? The people here will remember what I said. [Applause.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Another thing—I'm glad he's here; this is good.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. I said that and I say it again for public record any day in the week, 7 days a week and 365 days a year and this year I can say it 366 because it's leap year.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. They did and I arrived.

FLOOR. You arrived; that's right [inaudible].

Mr. MATUSOW. And I wanted to get in to speak.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Under the conditions that they asked me to speak. Come up there and speak under the sponsorship of an organization, and the Montana Citizens for Americanism offered to sponsor me.

Now let me tell you something that you don't know—hold it—

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, no, wait a minute—

FLOOR. [Inaudible] radio recording and [inaudible] wasn't that it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Then we came up today and said, If you want me to speak for a half hour with a half-hour comeback, I will get on the floor and speak for a half hour, and they said, "No; you have got to post \$25,000 before we even let you get up on the stage."

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, look, I am saying these things now; do these people want \$25,000?

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Now, look, this \$25,000 [undiscernable word] the Farmers Union got at Salt Lake City is kind of strange.

FLOOR. [Inaudible.]

Mr. MATUSOW. They're not part truths, they are whole truths, sir.

FLOOR. Will you allow me to read [inaudible].

Mr. MATUSOW. Let me read it here.

FLOOR. I'll read it.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, come up here and read it, with my comments as you read it.

FLOOR. All right, I'll sure do that [coming up on stage]. [Reading:] "The Montana Farmers Union invites the American Legion, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Great Falls Teachers Bureau and any other persons, political

party, or other organizations sponsoring or wishing to sponsor Harvey M. Matusow—"

Mr. MATUSOW. Now stop there. The national—the Montana Citizens for Americanism was an organization willing to sponsor me. That's point 1.

MAN ON STAGE. "And who is willing to accept financial responsibility for any repercussions—"

Mr. MATUSOW. [In unison] repercussions.

MAN ON STAGE. "As a result of what said person may say to—"

Mr. MATUSOW. "To Harvey M. Matusow." Let me finish there—

MAN ON STAGE. Wait a minute, wait a minute—

Mr. MATUSOW. Whoa, whoa, one by one. You said you'd read it and I'd comment.

FLOOR. [Inaudible; applause.]

Mr. MATUSOW. You said you'd read it and I'd comment. Now I can comment.

MAN ON STAGE. I said I would read it. You can comment all you want to.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. You read it and I'll comment.

MAN ON STAGE. But you wanted to [undiscernible].

Mr. MATUSOW. [Distorted and undiscernible.] Harvey Matusow to the convention of the Montana Farmers Union now in session at Great Falls.

Now, Mr. Overcash, as chairman of the Montana Citizens for Americanism, said here at the outset of this meeting that he would take any and all financial responsibilities and that the Montana Citizens for Americanism would, if anybody cared to sue. And he said that to the leaders of the Farmers Union there today, and they still wouldn't let me go up.

MAN ON STAGE. Are they responsible?

Mr. MATUSOW. He is! Is Mr. Overcash, a national committee member of the American Legion, a responsible citizen of Montana?

MAN ON STAGE. I don't—

Mr. MATUSOW. You insult the American Legion and you insult a lot of good organizations. He is past departmental commander of the American Legion. Is he responsible? I think he is.

MAN ON STAGE. All right. "Harvey M. Matusow will be allowed time on the Farmers Union program to explain the false impression he is leaving in the people's minds about the Farmers Union and YMCA, the churches, the American educational system, the Boy Scouts, and other organizations."

Mr. MATUSOW. Stop. All right. Now, did I explain anything? Did I leave any false impressions about churches here? Were there false impressions? No. Were there false impressions about the Farmers Union? Did I call it a Communist union? No. I called its leaders Communists. Some of the leaders, that is.

Did I leave a false impression about American education? I cited congressional hearings; I cited sworn testimony. Are those false impressions?

O. K. You continue, sir.

MAN ON STAGE. "If this invitation is not accompanied by—"

Mr. MATUSOW. "Is not accepted by Matusow and his sponsors, it will be further assumed that the irresponsible—" by the way, the Farmers Union is going to be sued for this statement: I'd like to let you know that, by me.

MAN ON STAGE. Go right ahead.

Mr. MATUSOW. "Statements he is making in Montana will be taken merely as a political attack on many respected and responsible citizens of the State."

Have I attacked any citizens of the State? Have I just stated the facts? Have I called them good Americans even when I read their names on that petition? Was I irresponsibly attacking these people? No.

These people will back it up. These are the people of Montana you're talking to.

MAN ON STAGE. That's right.

"It is a matter of record that the Farmers Union faces squarely up to the challenges as that of, ah—"

Mr. MATUSOW. It—"faces squarely up to such challenges as that of Matusow's, given usually to * * *" (Break in wire.)

"The Farmers Union will set aside anything on the convention program to hear Matusow up to 3 p. m., Saturday, October 18, 1952, when the convention closes."

Now, they said they'd set aside anything on the convention to hear me. So I sent them a telegram and said, I have taken up to 2 hours to present this thing, this talk, to the people of Montana—which they charge is irresponsible. And I want to get the same consideration, the same 2 hours, to present the same talk. Is that fair? Yes.

Would they want me to do it in 15 minutes, and cut an hour and three-quarters out?

MAN ON STAGE. [Undiscernible; talking simultaneously.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Wait a minute, now. They said they'd set up anything—"We will set aside anything on the convention program to hear Matusow."

But did they hear me? No.

MAN ON STAGE. No; because you wouldn't talk.

Mr. MATUSOW. I wouldn't talk?

MAN ON STAGE. Not under their—only—

[Laughter from audience.]

Mr. MATUSOW. Ooooooh, come now!

MAN ON STAGE. [Undiscernible] * * * to give this message to Harvey M. Matusow:

"This announcement is sponsored and paid for by the Montana Farmers Union."

FLOOR. [Undiscernible] * * * right to be heard without being heckled. [Undiscernible] * * * Matusow * * * [undiscernible] * * *

Mr. MATUSOW. I'm not heckling him. I'm stating facts.

FLOOR. [Undiscernible] * * *

FLOOR. [New voice] * * * [undiscernible] * * *

[Shouting back and forth on floor.]

MAN ON STAGE. An announcement to appear on 5-minute programs, 3 times over KMON and stations in the following cities: Butte, Billings, Missoula, Kalispell, Livingston, Miles City, Shelby, Helena, Lewistown.

Because of the short notice, it may be impossible to have the announcement made on all stations. But Great Falls first broadcast at 5:30 p. m. on KMON, three times.

Received from an anonymous spokesman at about 9:50 p. m., October 17, 1952, by telephone, from Harvey—ah, Ma—

Mr. MATUSOW. Matusow.

MAN ON STAGE. Matusow, now speaking in Lewistown—

[Laughter from audience.]

MAN ON STAGE. Montana, to Leonard Greenfield [phonetic] of the Montana Farmers Union in Great Falls, Mont.

"I accept your invitation to appear at convention under condition that I receive maximum of 2 hours' time, from 1 p. m. to 3 p. m., Saturday afternoon, October 18, 1952, and a tape recorder be present to record my speech in its entirety and that I am given the speech on tape in its entirety immediately on the completion of the speech."

Signed, Harvey Mat—

Mr. MATUSOW. Matusow.

Now, may I read? You read that section, now I'll read my telegram.

MAN ON STAGE. Well just wait a minute, I'll go ahead and finish it up.

Mr. MATUSOW. Hoooo!

MAN ON STAGE. And then you can go ahead and say what you please.

That wasn't a telegram, that was a phone call.

Mr. MATUSOW. By the way, this thing was sent—the United Press contacted me in Lewistown last night and I gave the United Press an official statement. It went out over a United Press teletype because they said they'd been asked to contact me, and—the first message I received was from the United Press about this, and United Press asked me to give a reply and they would get it to the Farmers Union. And that was the anonymous phone call or whatever it may be that this refers to.

MAN ON STAGE. Well, anyway, the man wouldn't give his name.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, that's not my fault.

MAN ON STAGE. The spokesman would not reveal his name; said he didn't want his name connected with the matter; agreed to have Matusow call me at 214 Park Hotel before 11 p. m. October 17.

Mr. MATUSOW. Now, may I make comments on that telegram before we come to the next one?

MAN ON STAGE. That's not a telegram; that's a—

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. Well, let's comment on that before we get to the next subject.

MAN ON STAGE. Let's go ahead with—

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, well, let's go ahead with it. We'll be fair about it.

MAN ON STAGE. I'll let you go ahead here with your speech.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I was coming here to speak; you didn't—

MAN ON STAGE. An anonymous call about 11 p. m., collect. We refused to pay call. Vic Overcash called about 15 minutes later. He asked, "What is your answer to Matusow's proposition?"

"Harvey M. Matusow, Lewistown Mont. Regarding a telephone call from your anonymous spokesman, our invitation for you to speak at our convention was conditioned upon whoever is sponsoring you assumed full responsibility for any information that you might give in regard to our organization or any other organization that you might mention, and in the event you do not have a sponsor who will assume financial responsibility, that you put up a bond of at least \$25,000 to cover any action which might be brought because of any statement which you might make being slanderous to any person concerned, including our organization. And furthermore any tape recordings made at our expense will be retained by us. We will give you one-half hour for your presentation with the right of our representatives to question for one-half hour."

That is signed by Richard G. Shipman, vice president and acting president of Montana Farmers Union.

Mr. MATUSOW. Now, may I discuss that point? That is the correspondence—the rest of it was vocal. That was the end of the correspondence with the Farmers Union.

MAN ON STAGE. That's right.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. Now, let's discuss the correspondence and then we'll discuss the meeting. Fair? I won't interrupt you when you're discussing it.

MAN ON STAGE. I would just as well finish this up.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right.

MAN ON STAGE. "It is a matter of historical record that only responsible sponsored speakers appear on the Montana Farmers Union convention platform. That's spokesmen for bond sales, health drives, charitable bodies, Government agencies, business institutions, and many other organizations have spoken here, well identified, with the responsibility clearly understood.

"Harvey M. — ah —"

Mr. MATUSOW. Matusow.

MAN ON STAGE. "Matusow."

[Laughter from audience.]

MAN ON STAGE. "Apparently a speaker who has been leaving false impressions was willing to appear on our program only on his own recognition."

Wait a minute. What is that?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, the same difference. Only if I spoke for myself, according to that, yes.

MAN ON STAGE. "He did not——"

Mr. MATUSOW. I can't read it from here; I haven't my glasses.

MAN ON STAGE. "He did not furnish any sponsors and did not offer financial responsibility for any possible damages, repercussions, his remarks might leave. We refuse to take responsibility for what he might say.

"Harvey Matusow did not see fit to accept the conditions of our invitation to speak, and that is the reason he did not speak before this convention."

Mr. MATUSOW. Now may I comment on those? May I borrow them?

MAN ON STAGE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. May I borrow those?

MAN ON STAGE. No, I want to keep these.

Mr. MATUSOW. No. Just stand here for a minute. You said I could wait until you finish and then I could comment on them.

MAN ON STAGE. All right.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. We've commented on the original challenge.

Now, at approximately 12 o'clock last night, though this says 11:50, but it was approximately 12——

MAN ON STAGE. It said 11—something; I don't know.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, the phone call between Mr. Overcash and somebody at the Farmers Union said that, "Regarding telephone call from anonymous spokesman on——" well, let's get the first letter first.

"Regarding a telephone call from your anonymous spokesman, our invitation to speak at convention with conditions upon whoever is sponsoring you to assume financial responsibility for any misinformation that you might give in regard to our organization or any other organization that you might mention, and in the event that you do not have a sponsor who will assume the financial responsibility, that you put up a bond of at least \$25,000."

That states clearly that if an organization such as the Montana Citizens for Americanism—which offered to sponsor me—sponsored me, there would not be

the necessity for a \$25,000 bond, which they insisted Mr. Overcash put up today when he arrived.

And I did not speak to the leaders of the Farmers Union there. I was in their presence, and I said, "Hello," and I said, "Goodbye." Mr. Overcash did all the talking as a representative of the Montana Citizens for Americanism.

And this states clearly, by his own record, that if no organization would sponsor me, I personally must put up the \$25,000.

(End of wire No. 2.)

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever testify that the Government of Czechoslovakia attempted in 1951 to steal atomic secrets at Los Alamos?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; substantially something like that. I don't know just how I phrased that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that testimony true?

Mr. MATUSOW. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. I show you——

Mr. MATUSOW. Let me put it this way: I was friendly with a few of the delegates from Czechoslovakia at the United Nations. I met them when I worked in the Communist bookstore in New York. They used to come in the bookstore and wanted to buy various books and very few Communist books. They wanted to buy historical books about the United States, mostly folklore and certain classical historical works such as by Beard, et cetera.

I became very friendly with them and I used to go to the U. N. I would take one of the delegate's credentials so I could sit on the floor and listen to the various languages.

It was a social relation. When I went to New York in November 1950 I visited one of these delegates and went to his penthouse apartment on York Avenue in New York. While there they did not approach me as I have testified. But I approached the Czech delegates. I said, "I'm going back to New Mexico and I think I can get atomic secrets," or something like that. In other words, trying to provoke him into an incident where he would say yes. He said he would think about it. Before he thought about it, I was expelled from the Communist Party.

They might have been interested in atomic secrets. I wouldn't say no. They didn't approach me. I approached them. I figured I would have something to report to the FBI.

I reported that conversation to Agent R. C. Clancy, of the FBI in New York, on a day in November or early December in 1950.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you report it to him accurately?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I just reported it to the committee, I reported it in the same way.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you three photostatic pages and ask if you can identify them.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't remember what they are—no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this——

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know what they are specifically. They have some vague familiarity.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to ask you whether you can recognize them as pages from a list made out by you at the same time as the autobiographical sketch which you prepared in Ohio and furnished to the House committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. Are these pages of a list of names that I gave the House committee?

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking that; yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. They were not related to something else. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are they the same as the ones given by you to Agent Harlan Shaw?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I believe I gave this list to Agent Harlan Shaw, of the Dayton office of the FBI.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask that this list as so identified might go in the record at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted in the record.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 94" and appears below :)

EXHIBIT No. 94

Herbert Oppenheim or Oppenheimer: Member of the Chelsea youth club of the Communist Party. Attended meetings with him. also attended marxist institute at the jefferson school.....he is member of the YPA, and the LYL.....Family has textile mills, showroom on fifth avenue below 34th street.....25 yrs old, 5.11, 150 lb, black ahir.....was guest at San Cristobal Ranch

Judy Oppenheim, or Oppenheimer: Married to Herb, membe of the chelsea youth club of the op. LYL, and YPA... During the trial at Foley Sq. she was doing some full time sect. job in the national Hq of the Communist Party at 35 east 12th street She is orig. from Denver, Colo. Met her at San Cristobal Valley Ranch, in summer of 1950... She also attended the marxist instutite at the Jefferson School in the fall of 48, and spring of 49..... she is 23 yrs red-blond hair, 5:3 125lb.....

Teak Thomas: On New York County Commiytee of the Communist Party..... Harlem Section Org. of the Party Youth set up in NY County... Was County AYD Director.....Is now active in Brooklyn NY, not as a full time party employee..... First time I met Teak was at a meeting of the AYD, NY City wide dealing with the AYD Press Camp..... he at that time was one of the editors... he ran the meeting..... next met him at the Jefferson school in New York..... and later at party hq..... Had many informal Discussions with him at the party hq in new york when I worked there as a switch board oper..... he is 35yrs 5:8 160lb negro.....

Millie: Don't know her last name, she is member of the Party in Bronx NY... She is the sect in the state office of the LYL in NY..... don't know anything about her background except that she is member of the party,,, 5ft 35yrs red hair, 130 lb....

Josh Lawrence: Member if the Communist Party NY State... very active in the trade union move. in new york city.... have seen him at county, state and national hq...Negro 40yrs 5.9 150lb...

Viki Lawrence: Worked with her at switchboard in NY County Office f the party..... she is membe of the womens commission..... when i worked at unity in summer of 49 she was on of the speakers.....married to Josh Lawrence... 37yrs 5.3 grey black hari....

Juan Sias* Corales: Head og the UGT or CGT Trade unin in P.R. Member of the P.R. National Committee of the CP. Trade union Director. First Editor of the Trade union Press which was set up by party funds in the USA... Met him in New York and in PR. He was the first party person contacted when we got to P.R?.....

Consuelo Sias Corales: Wife of Juan . . . she is Member of the National Committee of the PR Communist Party . . . Ed Director of same . . . et he in New York at National Paryy Hq. as well as in PR . . . She conducted part of the tour that Bassett and I went on while there . . . She took us to El Fanguito and there set up a meeting with party and nationalist party people about the evictions that the PR Gov't were planning in order to clean up the slums . . . she also took us out into the country side around San Juan and into some sugar mills, where she was very welcomed . . . we were intorduced as communist party members, and open habd was extended on that account

Dora: Full time employee of the party at the county office . . . leader in the east side reigon of the NY County Party I took her job at the county

office while she was attending full time party leadership school which was conducted at the Jefferson School she is 35 5ft 120lb brown hair

Greg Pascal: From Chicago, first met him at peoples songs office, later when he was active in the Wallace Caravans He was the person hired by the Jefferson School in the Summer of 49 to take my place at there camp Have seen him at the Party Hq on a number of occasions 5.10 165lb. negro . . . 23yrs

Hope, Foy: Was member of the Weaver's for a short time, however for some reason unknown to me she left the group first met her at peoples Artists shortly after peekskill, she was working on the Ben Davis Re-Election Camp in Harlem she is from Conn now lives in one of the city projects on the lower east side in New York . . . is in her 30's Negro 5:3 115 lb

Quincy Goldberg: Member of the Bronx County Staff of the Party . . . was at one time Section Org in Party section on 167th street Now doing Industrial Work with the Rail Road workers Has been refered to by many bronx people as the one man section . . . Met him at Camp Unity in 1949 . . . He was one of the people who camp up one weekend and approved me to get a tele campig. going on the question of the Mundt-Nixon bill or its counterpart of the time the morning of the second pookskill concert he was again at the camp, and helped orginize the unity party of the defense of the concert . . . He is 38yrs 5:9 155 lb Black Hair

Ester (Letz) Goldberg: Wife of Quincy . . . Was with him at Camp Unity . . was active in the New York County Office or State Office of the Party . . . 35yrs 5:3 130lb Blonde Hair

Lenny Kogel: Worked at Camp Unity as Life Guard during the summer of 1949. Had just received his lisc. to teach in the New York City School System. . . . Admitted to me being a member of the Communist Party. . . . Was active to a limited extent in Freedom Theatre. . . . 6Ft 200lb 24yrs Blonde Hair . . .

Anne Rivington: Reporter on the Harlem Worker . . . Rivington is not here real name. But is one she has used for a number of years. . . . 1 First met her at Contemp. Writers where she was sect. She arranged for the getting of speakers for there weekend programs . . . as well as all coro for the org. . . . She has attended the Jefferson School. active politically in Lower Harlem, in the Party as well as ALP. . . . 40yrs old 5:6 140lb black hair. . . .

George: Did not know his last name. Member of the Tompkins Sq Youth Club of the Party . . . Main job was to head the American Youth Of America. . . . He also writes for their national paper published on east 12th street, across the street from party Hq . . . he is about 25yrs old, 5:7 200lb black hair,

Jor Jaffee: Member of Peoples Songs, Peoples Artists, Communist Party, Labour Youth League YPA. American Folksay Group. . . . Worked at Camp Unity during the Summer of 1949 . . . admitted party member. Student at Up Town City College. . . . Was very active in the City College Strikes . . . 21yrs old 5:11 155lb. Brown Hair. . . .

Ernie Leiberman: Member of the Communist Party, Labor Youth League, AYD. . . . Active in Brooklyn College. . . . Went to Prage in 1947 as a delegate to the World Youth Fest. . . . Active in Peoples Songs and Peoples Artists . . . spent a month in 1950 at the San Cristoble Valley Rauch. . . . 22yrs old, 5.11 160lb Brown Hair. . . .

Tillie Goldway: Wife of Dave Goldway of the Jefferson School. . . . an admitted member of the communist Party . . . first met her at the Jefferson School camp in the summer of 1948. . . . When I last saw here she was working for t e Liberty Book Club. as the Sect. . . . to Russell head of the Org. . . . xxxxxx xxxxxxxxxxxxxx . . . she is 35 5:3 130 lb, red hair. . . .

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that a letter to the chairman of this committee from Maj. Joe W. Kelly, Director of Legislative Liaison, having to do with the service of former S. Sgt. Harvey Matusow, may go into the record at this point.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 95" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 95

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,

Washington, February 9, 1955.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Chairman, Subcommittee on Internal Security,
Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Robert McManus, of your committee staff, has requested certain basic information concerning the service of former S. Sgt. Harvey M. Matusow in the Air Force.

The following basic service data covering his period of service in the Air Force is submitted:

Enlisted in the Air Force Reserve November 20, 1950, in the grade of staff sergeant. (Grade held at time of discharge from the Army.)

Recalled to active duty on February 21, 1951, for 7 days for physical examination. (Brooks Air Force Base, Tex.) Home of record at time of recall: General Delivery, Taos, N. Mex.

Recalled to active duty on March 1, 1951, for 21 months.

Assignments during period of active duty:

March 1 to May 17, 1951: Brooks Air Force Base, Tex. (processing and administrative clerk).

May 18 to December 11, 1951: Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio (personnel supervisor and personnel affairs technician).

Relieved from active duty in grade of staff sergeant (honorable separation), December 11, 1951, under provisions of Air Force Message AFPDP 33265, November 16, 1951 (release of Reserve forces airmen from active military service), and paragraph 2, Air Force Regulation 39-14 (convenience of the Government). (Note: This release was part of an Air Force-wide program to release Reserve airmen from involuntary active duty.)

Honorably discharged from the Air Force Reserve, December 3, 1952, under the provisions of paragraph 12e, Air Force Regulation 35-6, dated May 21, 1951 (separation of commissioned and enlisted personnel from the Air Force Reserve). Paragraph 12e provides that "an airman may be discharged upon request when in the opinion of the Air Force commander the discharge will be to the best interest of the Government in furtherance of the Reserve program."

Sincerely yours,

JOE W. KELLY,

Major General, USAF,

Director, Legislative Liaison.

Mr. MATUSOW. While dealing with my service, if I may, Mr. Chairman, I read a statement in the press the other day that I developed a psychoneurosis from falling down a flight of stairs. I believe any doctor or any psychiatrist will tell you that the only type of psychoneurosis a man can develop from a fall down a flight of stairs is an aversion to staircases.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why do you bring up that point?

Mr. MATUSOW. You mentioned the Army record and I would like to get that point clear.

All the papers said I had this acute-something case of psychoneurosis from falling down a flight of stairs.

Any psychiatrist will tell you it is impossible to develop such a neurosis except an aversion to staircases.

Mr. SOURWINE. Up to this point there is nothing about that in our record.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know. You mentioned the Army and that brought it to my mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. I had no intention to put that in the record.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am sorry. But I wanted the record straight on my so-called psychiatric treatment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I want to cut down the time required here. We have a number of records about Mr. Matusow's service and there are only certain items I want to get into the record.

I would like to have permission to read from this record and then to have the photostats placed as an exhibit or in our files to back up what I read into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is ordered that it be placed in the record as an exhibit.

Counsel is authorized to read pertinent parts into the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, the first one, the only part I want to note is that on the third page, this is Mr. Matusow's service record for the period from the 20th of November 1950, to December 3, 1952, in the Air Force Reserve, the third page indicates that his service with the Air Intelligence Service Squadron was only 5 days from June 7 to 12, 1951.

Mr. MATUSOW. What were the days of my service?

Mr. SOURWINE. November 20, 1950, to December 3, 1952.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is the personnel classification sheet and all I want to call attention to is the statement that Mr. Matusow served 11½ years as a noncommissioned officer, 13 years as a salesman, 5 years as a writer.

Mr. Matusow at this time was 25 years old. His experience as a salesman must have started when he was 10 years old—

Mr. MATUSOW. It did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Even if it was concurrent with his experience as a writer. Mr. Matusow has without being asked the question testified on the one point I wanted to question him.

Mr. MATUSOW. It did in my father's store in downtown New York. The Pins and Needles thing comes up again.

Mr. SOURWINE. The third of these photostats is Mr. Matusow's letter of resignation and I think it might be well if Mr. Matusow identified his signature there and said that was a letter he did send.

Mr. MATUSOW. One of a number. I believe in order to have the record straight, if the Air Force is going to furnish letters, this was one of the milder of the 4 or 5 letters I sent the Air Force.

The others were much more severe than this and I think the record would be more damaging to me but I don't mind.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question is—

Mr. MATUSOW. I recollect that, I recognize the signature and I sent that letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. You assume unduly that the committee is attempting to damage you.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think unduly.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think that letter has been ordered in the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit 96, 96A and 96B" and appear below :)

EXHIBIT No. 96

1308 GRAND AVENUE,
Dayton, Ohio, March 13, 1952.

CHIEF OF PERSONNEL,

USAF Reserve,

Washington, D. C.

SIR: My name is Harvey M. Matusow, AF 12229061, S/Sgt USAF Reserve.

Released from active duty December 11, 1951 (W-P AFB).

Due to experiences in the Air Force while on active duty during 1951, and contact with the Air Force since my release from active duty on the question

of obtaining a commission (where my specialized background could be used). I have come to the following decision.

I am at this time (in this letter) applying for a discharge from the Air Force Reserve.

As of this date, March 13, 1952, I do not consider myself a member of the Reserve, and enclosed you will find my I. D. card.

It is a sorry note when a man has to fight the United States Air Force in order to fight for the United States Government against world communism.

The problems which seem to exist in the Air Force I have found do not exist in civilian life, in relation to the fight against communism. For the day following my release from the AF I was able to find employment with an official government body in Ohio that welcomed my skills on the subject.

I would appreciate your efforts in seeing to it that the discharge certificate is mailed to the above address in Dayton, Ohio

Sincerely yours,

HARVEY M. MATUSOW.

EXHIBIT No. 96-A

PERSONNEL CLASSIFICATION BOARD PROCEEDINGS

*Headquarters, Wright-Patterson,
Dayton, Ohio, 5 September 1951.*

A Board of Officers appointed by Par 24, Special Orders 173, 20 July 1951, to Hq, under the provisions of AFR 35-391, for the purpose of operating current classification and conversion and implementation of the Airman Career Program, was convened at the call of the President at 0900 hours, 4 September 1951.

Board members present:

Capt Howard L Strohl, USAF
1st Lt T N Caris, USAF
1st Lt Don E Fields, USAF

Board members absent:

Lt Col Jay P Roller, USAF
Maj Edward J Moriarty, USAF
Capt Hendley A McDonald, USAF
Capt Leo J Nolan, USAF
Capt Jerome M Kramer, USAF
Capt John T O'Brien, USAF
1st Lt Melvin A Lucas, USAF
1st Lt William H Johnson, USAF
1st Lt Warren L Richards, USAF
1st Lt John J Marinacchio, USAF

Advisors:

Maj Rupert K Fudge, USAF
Capt Kathleen J Curtin, USAF

The following personnel appeared before the Classification Board and were interviewed to determine proper classification.

S/Sgt James E Bloomfield, AF35794649
S/Sgt Ted H Hackler, AF13241068
S/Sgt Clarence K Jacobssen, AF16216484
S/Sgt Kay A Kent, AAS403074
S/Sgt Harvey M Matusow, AF12229061
S/Sgt Robert G Moses, AF16000144
S/Sgt Bruce R Slaugenhaupt, AF6808054
S/Sgt Frank J Stropek, AF6257801
S/Sgt Donald J Wolf, AF17217863
Sgt Don (NMI) Avant, AF14260224
Sgt Charles R Estep, AF13166065
Sgt Richard W Gillespie, AF15081282
Sgt Willard S Greer, AF18147101

Sgt Warren J Oppel, AF42105232
Sgt Ted R Poore, AF15210734
Cpl James W Ice, AF13371765
Cpl Joseph L Vazzana, AF12360271
Pfc Joseph W Malone, F15436251

Findings: [as to Matusow]

That S/Sgt Harvey M Matusow, AF12229061, due to his previous military experience as Administrative NCO for period of 1½ years; his experience as salesman for 13 years in civilian life, and experience as a writer for period of five years in civilian life; and, who, on his own initiative, has become familiar and up to date on personnel procedures and regulations, is qualified to retain present PAFS of Personnel Supervisor (73270).

RECOMMENDATIONS: [as to Matusow]

That the PAFS of Personnel Supervisor (73270) of S/Sgt Harvey Matusow, AF12229061, be retained.

That Personnel Actions Memorandums be published changing the PAFS indicated above.

HOWARD L STROHL,
Capt, USAF,
President.

T N CARIS,
1st Lt, USAF.
Member.

DON E FIELDS,
1st Lt, USAF.
Recorder.

Exhibit No. 96B

LAST NAME—FIRST NAME—MIDDLE INITIAL—SERIAL NO. <i>MURPHY</i>		RACE OR COLOR CAUCASIAN Unit 35-504 67 AP	
LAST NAME—FIRST NAME—MIDDLE INITIAL JULIAN		GRADE OR RANK AF 12229061	
COVERING PERIOD FROM 20 November 1952 TO 5 December 1952 INCLUSIVE			
ARM OR SERVICE FOR WHICH ENLISTED OR TRAINED (Indicate arm or service DAV, and the branch if any) U.S. AIR FORCE			
COMPONENT (Place "X" in box indicating Component) REGULAR ARMY			
REGULAR ARMY RESERVE REG. 28 MAY 51		ENLISTED RESERVE GRADE 121	
ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES REG. 28 MAY 51		NATIONAL GRADE 121	

(Information will)

SERVICE RECORD

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be entered in this space by typewriter)

THE LETTERING ON RUBBER STAMPS USED FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING ENTRIES IN THE BODY OF THE SERVICE RECORD WILL NOT BE LARGER THAN PICA TYPEWRITER TYPE. RUBBER STAMPS MAY BE USED IN LIEU OF TYPEWRITER.

THE SERVICE RECORD WILL NOT BE FOLDED OR CREASED.

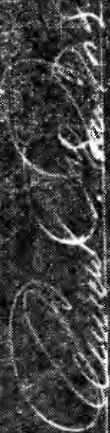
FOR INSTRUCTIONS SEE AR 345-125 AND TM 12-230A.

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SECTION 1 - ENLISTMENT AND INDUCTION RECORD									
LAST NAME - FIRST NAME - MIDDLE INITIAL JACK TUSON FLEAVEL		SERIAL NO. 18229661		COMPONENT 5350A		RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE (If voluntarily given) None M			
DATE OF BIRTH (Day) (Month) (Year) 3 Oct. 24		PLACE OF BIRTH (City or town and State or Territory) New York City		MARRIAGE STATUS single		U.S.A. YES		OTHER (Specify, if any)	
HEIGHT (In.) 68in.		WEIGHT 179		HAIR COLOR black		EYES blue		CITIZENSHIP	
STREET AND NO. OR R.F.D. NO. General Delivery		CITY OR TOWN Los		HOME ADDRESS OF SOLDIER Los		STATE OR COUNTRY New Mexico			
CHANGE		CHANGE		CHANGE					
LOCAL BOARD OF REGISTRATION (Number) (City)		PLACE OF REGISTRATION (City or station)		DATE OF INDUCTION (Day) (Month) (Year)					
ENTRIES WILL BE MADE IN THE FOLLOWING SPACES ONLY FOR PERSONNEL ENTERING THE SERVICE BY INDUCTION		PLACE AT WHICH ACCEPTED (State) (City or station)		DATE OF ENLISTMENT (Day) (Month) (Year)		YEARS TO SERVE (Years) (Months) (Days)			
ENTRIES WILL BE MADE IN THE FOLLOWING SPACES ONLY FOR PERSONNEL ENTERING THE SERVICE BY ENLISTMENT		PLACE AT WHICH ENLISTED (State) (City or station)		DATE AND PLACE STARTED TO COMPLY WITH ORDERS					
Los New Mexico		Los New Mexico		20 Nov 1950		Los New Mexico (3)			
ENLISTED FOR (Company, Regiment, Arm or Service, and/or grade)		GRADE							
U.S. Army		S/SGT							

NEAREST RELATIVE	NAME	RELATIONSHIP	STREET AND NUMBER OR R. F. D. NUMBER, CITY AND STATE
	Lydia A. Watson	mother	1701 West 100th St, New York
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
PLACE OF BIRTH	DATE OF BIRTH		
New York	22 MAY 1917		1191 Broadway, Room 52, New York
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			
CHANGE			

SECTION 3—PRIOR SERVICE.

TOTAL SERVICE FOR LONGEVITY PAY AT DATE OF THIS ENLISTMENT OR INDUCTION		ORGANIZATION, ARM OR SERVICE WITH WHICH LAST SERVED		LAST PERIOD OF SERVICE		
MONTHS	DAYS	U.S. Army		FROM	TO (Include)	
9	no			August 3, 1940	Aug 3, 1945	
GRADE AT TIME OF LAST DISCHARGE		REASON FOR LAST DISCHARGE		TOTAL SERVICE SINCE LAST DISCHARGE BY PURCHASE		
				YEARS	MONTHS	DAYS
				1	6	11
				Discharged by purchase		
CLEMENT C. CRAWFORD COLONEL USAFA 9532 YARD JAN		TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE AND ORGANIZATION OF RESPONSIBLE OFFICER		SIGNATURE 		

1. Entry will be made only for personnel of the Enlisted Reserve Corps or Regular Army. *Continued*

SECTION 9—REMARKS—ADMINISTRATIVE

DATE	REMARK	DATE	REMARK
Nov-20, 1951	Listed USARV for 3 yrs under provisions of AR 39-43		
26 Feb 51:	Recalled to AD for a short tour of 7 days AD per auth par 111 AR 39-43		
16 Mar 51:	AD 12 Feb 51 as directed by par 9 AR 39-43		
26 Feb 51:	Recalled to AD 1 Mar 51 for a period of 21 mos. per auth par 34 AR 39-43		
23 Feb 51:	Types of Discharge Certificates read and explained.		
7 July 51:	Types of Discharge Certificates read & explained.		
One (1) year nine (9) months & Three (3) days	time in grade as S.S. on date of RAD		
3 Dec 51:	Character Rating: Excellent		
Hon disch pr AFES	by reas of pp128 AR 35-5		
off 3 Dec 52			

SECRET

SECRET

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SECTION 12 - APPOINTMENTS, PROMOTIONS, OR REDUCTIONS *Date • F. Rank.*

GRADE OR RATING	DATE	AUTHORITY
<i>S/SGT (Platoon)</i>	<i>20-Nov-50</i>	<i>32041020 - Nov 50</i>
	<i>April 30-51</i>	<i>SA 74161</i>
		<i>Adjusted AD. Dr</i>
		<i>DD Form 2164E Form 22 May 51</i>
		<i>3 OCT 50</i>

SECTION 19—NATIONAL SERVICE LIFE INSURANCE OR U. S. GOVERNMENT LIFE INSURANCE
Minimums for Insurance Policies (700,000, 000)

AMOUNT OF INSURANCE	10,000.00	1 Mar. 51	N	6.70	Mar. 51	2	June 51	Medver P.L. 23	REASON FOR DISCONTINUANCE
IDENTITY OF MEMBER									
CLASS									

SECTION 20—OTHER ADJUSTMENTS OR DEDUCTIONS

CLASS	AMOUNT	RELATIVE TO WHICH OR EQUIVALENT	RESPONSE	DATE OF MONTH AND YEAR	REASON FOR DISCONTINUANCE
E	\$145.00	Mrs. Evelyn Estlin W		31 Jul 51	Retired Dis. I. M. C.

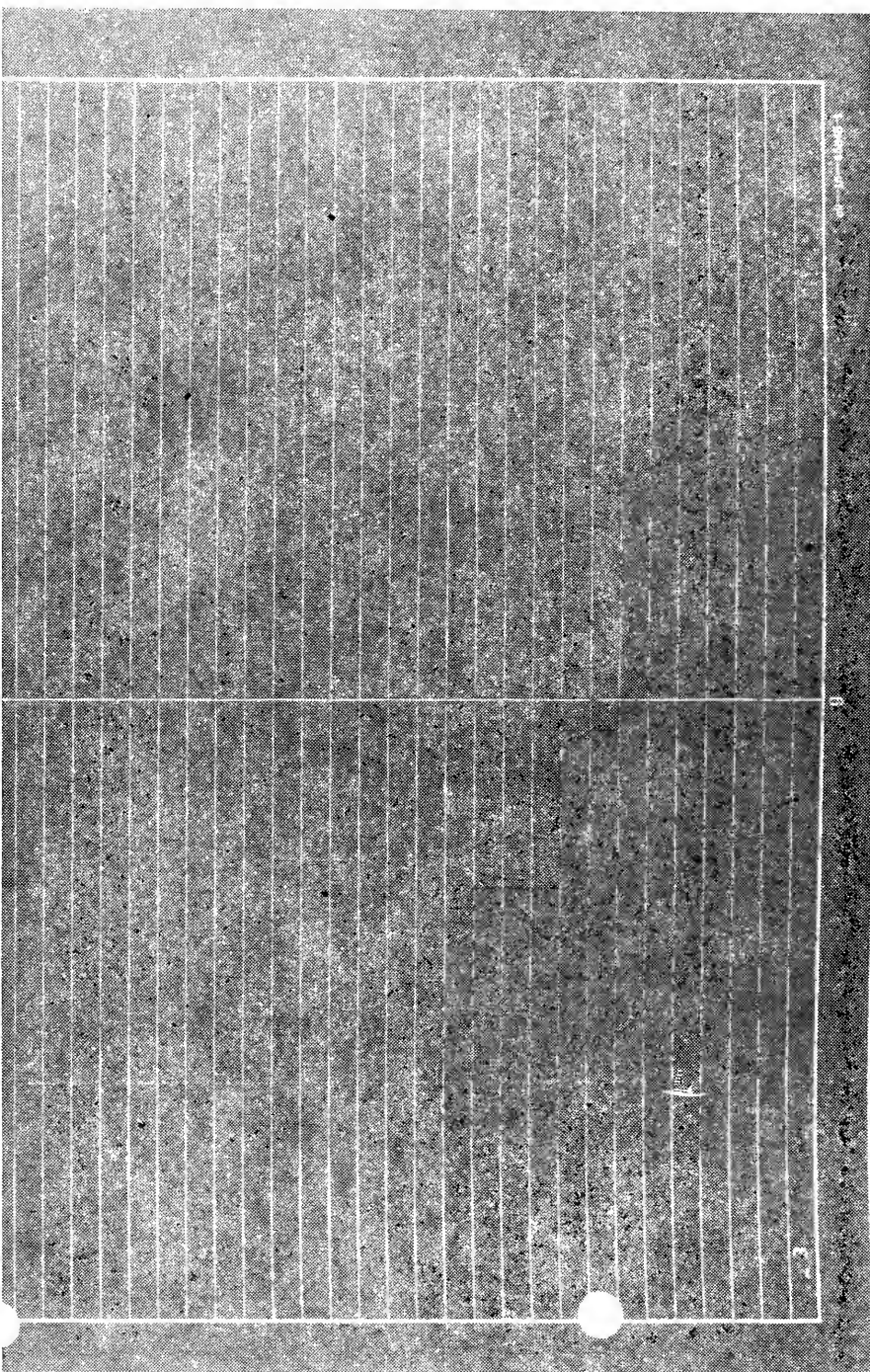
SECTION 21—MEDALS, DECORATIONS, AND CITATIONS
 Enter in this section any medals, decorations, and citations, whether or not additional compensation results.

MEDALS, ETC.	AUTHORITY	PLACE AND DATE PRESENTED	DATE EFFECTIVE

SECTION 22—REMARKS—FINANCIAL

Under this heading will be shown all financial data not entered elsewhere, such as: Pay lost under AB 37-1430, pay detained by courts martial entered on pay roll, stoppages of pay for lost or damaged Government property, transportation charges, partial or overpayments, etc.

DATE	DESCRIPTION AND AMOUNT DUE CENTER, SERVICE OR SOLDIER	ROLL ON WHICH PAID	DATE	DESCRIPTION AND AMOUNT DUE UNITED STATES OR SOLDIER	ROLL ON WHICH PAID
26 Feb 71	7 days pay and travel				
26 Feb 71	2119 Am 26 Feb 71				
	1st Lt, 1st Lt, 1st Lt, 1st Lt, 1st Lt				
22 May 51	Ann compl 6 yrs 8 days for basic pay prior to date of recall to AD. Verified from DA records.				



SECTION 24 - INDOORSEMENTS

Indorsements will be completed when a soldier is dropped from the rolls as an absentee transferred from his parent organization (regiment or equivalent unit) to another parent organization, and in all changes of station EXCEPT WITH AN ORG. TRANSFER. Indorsements WILL NOT BE USED when a soldier is only attached to another organization for quarters or furloughs or both, or when transferred within a parent organization, unless the transfer involves a change of station.

1st INDOORSEMENT

DATE THIS IND. FROM (Unit and station) TO (Unit and station) (Date and station) (Signature)
 8 May 51 Sq, Brooks Air Force Base, Texas Support Sq, Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio
 DATE DEPARTS PER (Unit and station) Par 31, SO 98, Hq 2224th Pers Prog Cincinnati, Ohio
 8 May 51 Sq, Brooks AFB, Texas dtd 7 May 51 Excellent

CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT/MEDAL
 FAVORABLY NOT FAVORABLY
 X
 I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORDS ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY FILED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED HEREIN ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHS TO WHICH WAS LAST PAID

UGENE A. SWINNEY 2d Lt., USAF
 2224th Personnel Processing Squadron
 TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE, AND ORGANIZATION
 Signature: Eugene A. Swinney

2d INDOORSEMENT

DATE THIS IND. FROM (Unit and station) TO (Unit and station) (Date and station) (Signature)
 4 Jun 51 Gp W-P AFB Dayton, Ohio 3060th Spt Sq 2750th AB
 DATE DEPARTS PER (Unit and station) Par 8 SO 137 Hq W-P AFB Dayton, Ohio
 7 Jun 51 Ohio dtd 1 Jun 51 Excellent Superior

CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT/MEDAL
 FAVORABLY NOT FAVORABLY
 I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORDS ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY FILED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED HEREIN ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHS TO WHICH WAS LAST PAID

TIRA V. FAIR, Capt., USAF
 Asst. Pers. Officer
 TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE, AND ORGANIZATION
 Signature: Tira V. Fair

3d INDOORSEMENT

DATE THIS IND. FROM (Unit and station) TO (Unit and station) (Date and station) (Signature)
 21 Jun 51 Sq. W-P AFB Dayton Ohio 2956th Air Int Serv Dayton Ohio
 Field Activities Gp (AUC) W-P AFB Dayton Ohio

CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT/MEDAL
 FAVORABLY NOT FAVORABLY
 I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORDS ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY FILED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED HEREIN ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHS TO WHICH WAS LAST PAID

DATE DEPARTED **12 June 1951** PER (Last name) **Par 37 SO 146 Lt W/P Art3 Dayton Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK Excellent**

CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL FAVORABLY NOT FAVORABLY

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

4TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

5TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

6TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

7TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

8TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

9TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

10TH INDORSEMENT

FROM (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)** TO (Unit and station) **1st Lt. C. (C)**

DATE DEPARTED **9 JUL 51** CHARACTER **Excellent** EFFICIENCY RATING **Excellent**

PER (Last name) **Par 47 SO 176 WPAFB, Ohio** CHARACTER **UNK None** EFFICIENCY RATING **UNK None**

I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.

Oliver M. Robinson

Oliver M. Robinson
7300 HAT. CON GP (MVAE)

<p>Transferees will be completed when a soldier is dropped from file/falls as an absentee transferred from one parent organization (regiment or equivalent unit) to another parent organization, and in all changes of station. EXCEPT WITH AN OR-CA/2/3/4/5/6/7. Inconsistencies WILL NOT BE USED when a soldier is only attached to another organization for quarters or rations, or both, or when transferred within a parent organization, unless the transfer involves a change of station.</p>	
<p>6TH INDORSEMENT</p>	
DATE THIS INDORSEMENT MADE	FROM (Unit and station)
19 Dec 51	Hq., 2750th AB WG
BY (Authority)	TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)
Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio	1st AF, Mitchell AFB, TX
PER (Authority) Par 22, 30265, JTD 4 Dec 51	CHARACTER
Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio	Excellent
EFFICIENCY RATING	SIGNATURE
Excellent	<i>James H. Specht</i>
<p>I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS REGIMENT/ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN. ALL RUNNING ALLOTMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHLY SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.</p>	
<p>7TH INDORSEMENT</p>	
DATE THIS INDORSEMENT MADE	FROM (Unit and station)
19 Dec 51	Hq., 2750th AB WG
BY (Authority)	TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)
Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio	1st AF, Mitchell AFB, TX
PER (Authority) Par 22, 30265, JTD 4 Dec 51	CHARACTER
Excellent	Excellent
EFFICIENCY RATING	SIGNATURE
Excellent	<i>James H. Specht</i>
<p>I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS REGIMENT/ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN. ALL RUNNING ALLOTMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHLY SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.</p>	
<p>8TH INDORSEMENT</p>	
DATE THIS INDORSEMENT MADE	FROM (Unit and station)
19 Dec 51	Hq., 2750th AB WG
BY (Authority)	TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)
Wright-Patterson AFB, Dayton, Ohio	1st AF, Mitchell AFB, TX
PER (Authority) Par 22, 30265, JTD 4 Dec 51	CHARACTER
Excellent	Excellent
EFFICIENCY RATING	SIGNATURE
Excellent	<i>James H. Specht</i>

TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE AND ORGANIZATION 5TH INFANTRY		SIGNATURE	
I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.		TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)	
DATE THIS IND.	FROM (Date and station)	CHARACTER	EFFICIENCY RATING
DATE DEPARTED	PER (Authority)		
TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE AND ORGANIZATION 5TH INFANTRY		SIGNATURE	
I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.		TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)	
DATE THIS IND.	FROM (Date and station)	CHARACTER	EFFICIENCY RATING
DATE DEPARTED	PER (Authority)		
TYPED OR PRINTED NAME, GRADE AND ORGANIZATION 5TH INFANTRY		SIGNATURE	
I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THIS RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS FINANCIAL INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWMENTS HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTH SOLDIER WAS LAST PAID.		TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)	
DATE THIS IND.	FROM (Date and station)	CHARACTER	EFFICIENCY RATING
DATE DEPARTED	PER (Authority)		

SECTION 24—INDORSEMENTS—Continued

Indorsements will be completed when a soldier is dropped from the rolls as an absentee, transferred from one parent organization (Regiment or equivalent unit) to another parent organization, and in all changes of station EXCEPT WITH AN ORGANIZATION. Indorsements WILL NOT BE USED when a soldier is only attached to another organization for quarters or rations, or both, or when transferred within a parent organization, unless the transfer involves a change of station.

BTH INDORSEMENT

DATE THIS IND		FROM (Unit and station)		TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)	
DATE DEPARTED		PER (Signature)		CHARACTER	
EFFICIENCY RATING		EFFECTIVITY RATING		SIGNATURE	
CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL		I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THE RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS WHERE APPROPRIATE, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWANCES HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHLY SOLDIERS' LAST PAID.			
FAVORABLY		NOT FAVORABLY			
TYPE OF SERVICE, GRADE, AND ORGANIZATION					

USP INDORSEMENT

DATE THIS IND		FROM (Unit and station)		TO (Unit and station to which soldier is transferred)	
DATE DEPARTED		PER (Signature)		CHARACTER	
EFFICIENCY RATING		EFFECTIVITY RATING		SIGNATURE	
CONSIDERED FOR GOOD CONDUCT MEDAL		I HAVE PERSONALLY VERIFIED THE ABOVE ENTRIES AND HAVE CHECKED ALL ENTRIES MADE AT THIS HEADQUARTERS IN THE RECORD. ACCOUNTS ARE CORRECTLY STATED UNDER REMARKS WHERE APPROPRIATE, INCLUDING DATA AS TO LAST PAYMENT AND UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED THEREIN, ALL RUNNING ALLOWANCES HAVE BEEN DEDUCTED THROUGH MONTHLY SOLDIERS' LAST PAID.			
FAVORABLY		NOT FAVORABLY			
TYPE OF SERVICE, GRADE, AND ORGANIZATION					

SECTION 25—REPORT OF SEPARATION

TO THE ADJUTANT GENERAL, WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

THIS SOLDIER WAS SEPARATED FROM SERVICE AT 0800 AM ON 12 APR 55-6

3 000 1952 27 HQ JAN MAR 54

3 000 1952 27

Mr. SOURWINE. I have a group here of some documents furnished by the Veterans' Administration. May that be ordered in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The first of these is a letter to Mr. Matusow showing reinstatement of his disability payments. The second is a record of examination dated September 25, 1947, and I want to call particular attention to the statement under point 7, "Sprained back May 1946 during calisthenics."

I want to ask Mr. Matusow can you remember the medical examination you had in September 25, 1947?

Mr. MATUSOW. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you able to say whether at the time you told the doctor you had sprained your back in May 1946 during calisthenics?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next item here is a medical report of the station hospital, ATS, *George Washington*, April 21, 1945—

Mr. MATUSOW. Army Troop Transport.

Mr. SOURWINE. He was admitted for an undiagnosed condition, characterized by headache and dizziness of 1 month's duration following a fall downstairs. I wanted to ask Mr. Matusow whether that was a different fall than the fall he previously testified to when he fell downstairs in an Army barracks in Germany?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall this bit on the *George Washington*. I seem to recall I was working on the ship's newspaper called the *Hatchet*. I spent 10 days on that ship.

Mr. SOURWINE. I call attention to the fact that in this medical report on the fourth sheet there is a note mentioning the fall downstairs at home. Was that the same fall?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know. I might have had gangplank fever. The war was still on.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next item is a report to the manager of the VA regional office, New York, from the chief of the outpatient division, Hospital, Kingsbridge Road, the Bronx.

Mr. MATUSOW. What was the date of that?

Mr. SOURWINE. The date on this is December 3, 1947. I call particular attention to the statement under (1) that in 1946 the patient fell down a flight of stairs.

Mr. MATUSOW. I had to keep backing up the gangplank fever story.

Mr. SOURWINE. The final item here is a report of physical examination and the date of examination was March 12, 1948, and I want to call attention to the statement under six, "Fell down a flight of stairs in a hotel billet, Bad Nauheim, Germany"—

Mr. MATUSOW. I have lousy balance.

Mr. SOURWINE. "Previously had been playing softball." I want to ask whether that is the same fall to which you previously referred as having taken place in army barracks?

Mr. MATUSOW. It might be. The record will still show the only type of psychoneurosis would be an aversion to staircases, but I walked up four flights of stairs today to get to this hearing.

Mr. SOURWINE. You seem to be repeating a fixed statement about psychoneurosis. The committee is not concerned with psychoneurosis. The committee is concerned with the reasons you gave for an alleged injury as the basis for which you received compensation.

Mr. MATUSOW. I had an injury. My back has borne that out for the last 8 or 9 years.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you or——

Mr. MATUSOW. Do you have all the record of all the treatment at the veterans' hospital?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow——

Mr. MATUSOW. I think the committee records should show that those records show that I was receiving physiotherapy treatment for a back injury and I could not walk for a number of days during that period and that same treatment was accorded me in October 1954 when the Justice Department has said I would not see their attorneys in Washington because I did not want to see them, but I was taking outpatient treatment in the Veterans' Administration which is at Kingsbridge Road.

Senator McCLELLAN. You said 1955?

Mr. MATUSOW. 1954; pardon me, sir.

(The exhibits regarding Mr. Matusow's medical record were numbered 97, 97A, 97B, 97C, and 97D and appear below:)

EXHIBIT 97

FEBRUARY 26, 1952.

Mr. HARVEY M. MATUSOW,
1491 Macombs Road, Bronx, N. Y.

DEAR MR. MATUSOW: Inasmuch as evidence has been received of the termination of your active duty in the Armed Forces on December 11, 1951, action has been taken to resume payment to you of your award of disability compensation, which was previously terminated by reason of your reentrance into active service on March 1, 1951.

Your award is as follows:

No payments from March 1, 1951, to December 11, 1951; \$15 per month from December 19, 1951.

Less prior payments to you, the necessary adjustment of your award will be made.

Very truly yours,

L. M. HYLTON, *Adjudication Officer.*

EXHIBIT No. 97A

16 all

NOV 12 1947
 115

V. A. Form 200a
 (Rev. 1945)

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

REPORT OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION



Date of admission to hospital: _____ 19____ C-No. 12 494 519
 Date of discharge from hospital: _____ 19____

1. Claimant's name: Watson Harvey M Address: 1491 Macombs Rd. Bx 09
 2. Rank and organization: S/SGT 222 1st Inf Enlistment: 10/31/44
 Discharge: 1/3/46 3. Birthplace: New York City, NY
 Age: 21 Race: White Color of eyes: Brown Color of hair: Brown
 Height: 65 1/2 inches Weight (weigh him): 168 Highest weight in past year: 217
 5. Examined: _____

6. Permanent marks and scars other than described below:
Scar 1" on left index finger

7. Origin and date of frequency of disability as alleged by claimant:
Injured back May 1946 during Calotennes
Germany - Treated in Steben Hof for 2 weeks

8. Brief medical and industrial history:
(No part examination this may or may not sufficiently file time showing date date of discharge from military service. When previous examinations have been made, the extent of all previous and subsequent history covering the period since the most recent previous examination, thereby bringing it up to date of the examination. If, for any reason, and where such can be shown, the nature, character, cause, extent, time, date, place, where, for whom, and for what condition, for the medical and/or medical treatment, when, where, by whom, and at what occupation and wages was he discharged, and how conditions were the employment.)
Examined and treatment by Dr. Decker, Stebenhof
Grand Locomotive Works from Nov. 1946 - Aug. 1947
Not employed at present
Worked for Army Advertising Agency 116 W. 32 St
from March 1947 - Sept 1947
Lost 10 days because of back disability

2
 7. Present complaint (subjective symptoms, not diagnosis):

*Severe back pain on standing forward.
 Back aches on damp and cold days.*

Signature of claimant (or his mark) *Henry M. Natanson*

For the physical examination the claimant must be stripped.

10. Temperature _____ Respiratory rate: Seated _____; standing _____;
 immediately after exercise _____; 5 minutes after exercise _____ Pulse
 rate: Seated _____; standing _____; immediately after exercise _____;
 5 minutes after exercise _____ Any arrhythmia of pulse? _____ (If so, describe:
 _____)

(Tablet 2, catechol tablet omitted)

Blood pressure: Systolic _____ diastolic _____
 (The systolic test will consist of 21 beats, alternately, on each foot)

11. General appearance _____; nutrition _____; muscular development _____;
 carriage _____; posture _____; gait _____

12. Eyes: External structures, each eye _____

Internal structures, each eye (if practicable) _____

Vision (Snellen chart): Uncorrected R- 20/ L- 20/

Corrected R- 20/ L- 20/

13. Ears: Auditory canals: Normal? _____ Discharge? _____ From external canal or
 middle ear? _____ Mastoidectomy scar? _____ Appearance of membrana
 tympani? _____ Ordinary conversation heard: Right _____ feet; left _____ feet.

(Test only at prescribed distances—1, 2, 5, 10, 15, 20 feet.) Tests for bone conduction
 (Specify Rinne, Weber, Schwabach): _____

W. A. Form, 5642
(Rev. 1952)

3

C-No. _____

14. Nose, throat, sinuses: Normal? _____ If not, record findings:

15. Cardio-vascular system: Normal? _____

(If not, record rate of heart, rhythm, regularity, murmur, abnormal sounds. Any abnormal? (If so, describe) Any abnormal? (If so, describe) Record any abnormal findings, including pulse volume, "bounding pulse", etc.)

16. Respiratory system: Normal? _____

(If not, record rate, rhythm, regularity, and depth. Any abnormal? (If so, describe) Any abnormal? (If so, describe) Record any abnormal findings, including wheezing, rales, etc.)

17. Digestive system: Are mouth, teeth, gums, stomach, intestines, liver, gall bladder, and

pancreas normal? _____
(If not, record findings. Record color, consistency, pulse and circulation of stomach contents at first void. Label and refrigerate.)

18. Salivary; lymphatic glands: Normal? _____ If not, record findings.

19. Nervous system: Are brain, spinal cord, peripheral nerves, and mobility normal? _____

(If not, record extent and character of abnormality. Record all physical symptoms, history of disease, nature and extent of laboratory investigations, previous history and present status of disease, and all other pertinent information. Record color, consistency, pulse and circulation of spinal fluid at first void. Label and refrigerate. Record color, consistency, pulse and circulation of cerebrospinal fluid at first void. Label and refrigerate. Record color, consistency, pulse and circulation of cerebrospinal fluid at first void. Label and refrigerate. Record color, consistency, pulse and circulation of cerebrospinal fluid at first void. Label and refrigerate.)

20. Genito-urinary system: Kidneys, bladder, prostate, penis, testicles normal? _____

(Record urine quantity (color, reaction, osmolarity, albumin, sugar, bile, and blood, phosphy and permeability tests with "Lab-atory examination.")

U. S. FORM 964
(Rev. 1952)

5

C-No. _____

21. Rheumatism: Articular or muscular? _____ What joints affected? _____
Swelling, crepitation, atrophy, deformity, limitation of motion, ankylosis?

22. Hernia: Inguinal, femoral, ventral, umbilical? _____ Side? _____ Size? _____
If inguinal, complete or incomplete? _____ Truss worn? _____
Retained by truss? _____ Operable? _____

23. Hydrocele? _____ Varicocele? _____ Side? _____ Size? _____

24. Varicose veins? _____ Size and location? _____
Sclerotized or ruptured? _____ Soars or ulcers? _____
Elastic stocking worn? _____ Operable? _____

25. Pes planus (flat or weak foot)? _____ Side? _____ Degree—first, second,
third? _____ Abduction (overpronation)? _____ Inner border bulged? _____
Painful? _____ Limp? _____ Stand on toes? _____ Pes cavus (hollow
foot)? _____ Side? _____ High arch? _____ Dorsal flexion at ankle lim-
ited on active and passive motion? _____ Associated equinovarus? _____
Hallux valgus (bunion)? _____ Side? _____ Painful? _____ Describe:

26. Skin (location, type, extent of lesions):

16-5000-1

27. Residuals of gunshot wounds or other injuries:

(Type of lesion, nature and duration of pain, character of motor phenomena, degree of weakness)

Exam. of back reveals slight tenderness in the right lumbar-sacral region, as though of spine, slight pain elicited on bending forward, No pain on bending backwards, sideways or in rotation. Straight leg raising elicits pain in the lumbo-sacral region.

28. Residuals of effects of past or present vicious habits (Alcohol, narcotics, venereal infections):

(Type of lesion, nature and duration of pain, character of motor phenomena, degree of weakness)

Flexing the leg, in flexion, abduction, adduction, rotation elicits no pain.

Hypertension of hip elicits slight pain in the lumbo-sacral region.
No radiation of pain.
Reflexes normal.

29. Laboratory examinations:

(Type of examination, nature and duration of pain, character of motor phenomena, degree of weakness)

X-Ray¹ - Lumbo-sacral spine

Pen 71 21

CHECK ONE <input type="checkbox"/> BEDSIDE, WHEEL CHAIR, OR STRETCHER <input type="checkbox"/> BED PATIENT <input type="checkbox"/> AMBULATORY	LAST NAME—FIRST NAME—MIDDLE INITIAL METUSOW, HARVEY M REGISTER NO. 12 459 819 REQUESTED BY S. STACKHAMMER, M.D. DATE 9/25/47	DATE OF X-RAY 9/25/47
PART TO BE EXAMINED Lumbar-coccyg spine		
PERTINENT HISTORY AND PROVISIONAL DIAGNOSIS Strain, lumbar-coccyg spine		
FINDINGS LUMBAR ACRAL SPINE: reveals a moderate scoliosis with convexity to the right. Otherwise, no abnormalities of the bones or joints are noted including both hip joints which are visualized in these views. <div style="text-align: right;"> J.F.S. S.D. BLUM, M.D., R.C.I.C.T. <small>Department of Radiology</small> </div>		
FILE NO. 78066 78065		DATE 9/29/48

VA FORM 10-2614b-2 (Replaces VA Form 10-2614b-1, and VA Form 10-2614b-2, which may be used for purposes of VA Form 10-2614b-1, but which may not be used for purposes of VA Form 10-2614b-2)

DATE **9/29/48**

X-RAY REPORT

30. **Additional:**

Check space to be used for further details of medical or industrial history or additional description of condition if the space in the foregoing section was not sufficient.

31. **Diagnosis:** 1) *Strain, lumbar neural, chronic with scoliosis to the right, lumbar spine*

32. Is the claimant bedridden? *No* Is he able to travel? *Yes* Does he need hospitalization? *No* Will he accept it? _____ Is an attendant necessary for travel? _____ Did you examine him yourself? *Yes*

Date *JUN 25, 1947*

Name of examiner *ST. JOCKHAMMER M.D.* Title *Surgeon*

EXHIBIT No. 97B

Bed-32

Control Approval Symbol MCS 67

NAME AND ARMY SERIAL NUMBER

Matusow, HARVEY M. 12227061

GRADE	ARM OF SERVICE	AGE	RACE	NATIVITY	SERVICE YEARS
Sgt	343508	19	W	NY	7 1/2

LOCATION WHERE TAGGED:	DATE	HOUR
STATION Hosp. A.T.S. Co. Washington	21 APR 45	2040

DIAGNOSIS: IF INJURY, STATE HOW, WHEN, WHERE INCURRED

Line of Duty:

TREATMENT GIVEN:

War Dept., A.G.O. This paper loaned Veterans' Administration

TETRAE TOXOID:	DOSE	TIME
OR ANTE-TETANIC SERUM:	DOSE	TIME
MORPHINE:	DOSE	TIME

DISPOSITION:	DATE	Hour
STATION Hosp. A.T.S. Co. Washington	21 APR 45	2045

SIGNATURE, WITH RANK:

FORM No. 52b - MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.
(Revised November 4, 1943) 16-25484-1

SUPPLEMENTAL RECORD

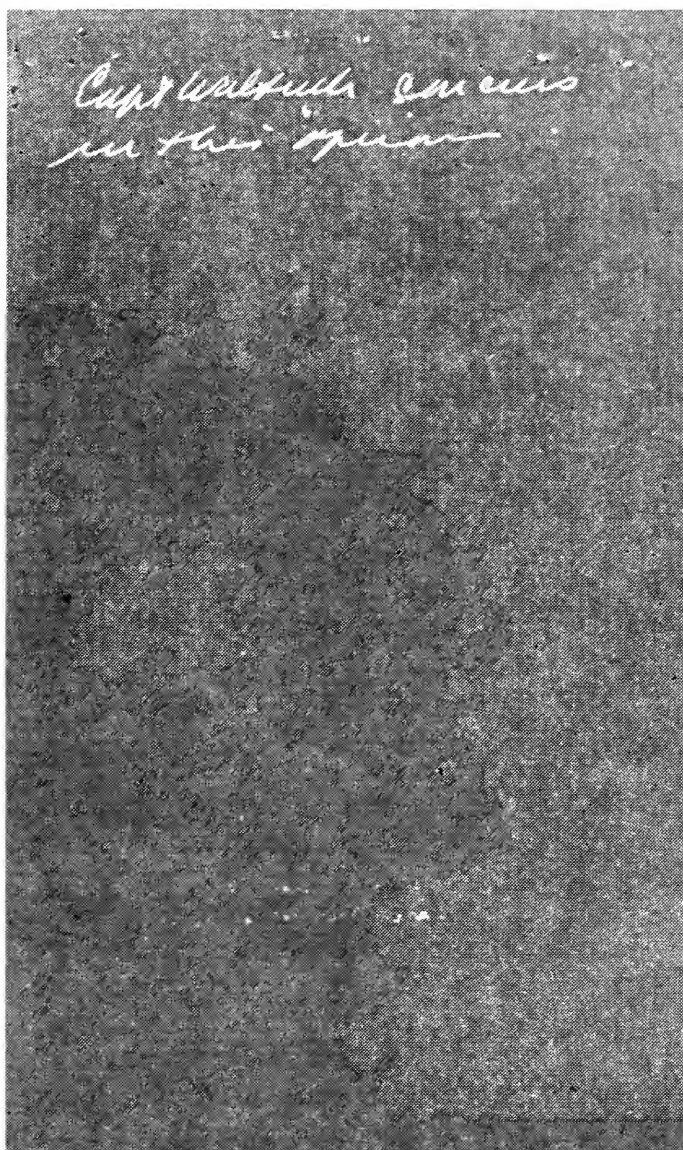
Psychoneurosis,
anxiety state,
mild, acute, triggered
by psychosomatic
disorders of headache
and dizziness.

H.O.O. - YES

Disposition: TO DUTY

T. M. McMillan
CAPT. M.C.

24 APRIL 1945



MATU SOW HARVEY M

1 Last name **MATU SOW** 2 First name and middle initial **Harvey M** 3 A. G. No. **1229061**

4 Grade PVT	5 Company A	6 Regiment and Arm or Service 13th Arm 4th Reg	7 Age 18
8 Race Wch	9 Nativity	10 Service 5/12	11 Date of admission 07/60

12 Source of admission **Ft Huade**

13 Register numbers or hospital memoranda:

21 March 41 : 2100
 Patient complain of
 Pain in R.L.Q. + vomit
 was hospitalized Ft. Huade S.H.
 15 March 41 + discharged
 23 March for same complain
 also fell down stairs at
 home, 1491 Mc Combs Road -
 Bx, Wyo. suppurating left
 forearm.

Temp. 99.4 Pulse regular, not
 rapid. R = 20 BP 102/60
 Abdomen - negative
 Urinalysis - negative
 WBC 11500 Poly 62%

Diagn: Carbuncle left forearm
 No evidence of appendicitis.

R - To return to base station
 + report to sick call, if necessary

NOTE: Patient did not tolerate well at
 Ft. Huade + appeared comfortable

14 Name of Hospital **War Dept. A.G.O. This paper loaned Veterans' Administration** **8210**

15 Fill in on Register Index, Diagnosis Index, Disability Index, Death Index, Out-patient Index, or Venereal Report Card, as appropriate.

16 Spaces 4 to 15 inclusive not to be filled in when form is used for Register Index in time of peace and in the Zone of the Interior in time of war.

Form 82a
 MEDICAL DEPARTMENT, U. S. A.
 (Revised March 15, 1956)

Control Approval Symbol MCS 67					
Last name	First name			Initial	
MATUSOV	BARRY HARVEY			M	
Army serial No.:			Grade		
12229061			Sgt		
Company		Regiment and area of service		Division	
F		GH 359 (a)			
Age	Race	State	Service	Source of admission	
19	W	NY	7/12	Command	
Received at (hospital and location):				Date	
Station Hospital USAF George Washington				21 Apr 45	
Diagnosis: psychoneurosis, anxiety state, mild, acute, manifested by disorders of headaches and dizziness					
Line of duty: <u>Yes</u>					
Changed and additional diagnoses, operations, with dates:					
944 1212, A.G.O. This paper known Veterans' Administration					
Disposition:				Date	
Duty				24 Apr 45	
<i>Herbert P. MacNeal</i> 16-10000					
HERBERT P. MacNEAL, LT COL., MC					
Signature of Surgeon.					
Received at (hospital and location):				Date	
Changed and additional diagnoses, operations, with dates:					

Disposition:	Date
--------------	------

Signature of Surgeon.

Received at (hospital and location):	Date
--------------------------------------	------

Changed and additional diagnoses, operations, with dates:

Disposition:	Date
--------------	------

16-16280

Signature of Surgeon.

Received at (hospital and location):

Date

Changed and additional diagnoses, operations, with dates:

Disposition:

Date

16-10069

*** Signature of Surgeon.*

Received at (hospital and location):

Date

Changed and additional diagnoses, operations, with dates:

Disposition:		Date
<i>Signature of Surgeon</i>		
Received at (hospital and location):		Date
Case closed on this form and taken up on Form 51 M. D.	Register No.	Date

INSTRUCTIONS

Used as a brief consecutive record of a patient in a theater of operations and during peace-time field operations. Not to be used as a clinical history. Initiated at first hospital to which patient is admitted (station and general hospitals in a theater of operations; all surgical, evacuation, and convalescent hospitals; not used by medical regiments, battalions, or squadrons in combat, but used at other times when operating stations furnishing definitive treatment). Remains with patient, enclosed in field medical jacket, attached to patient during transport. Forwarded with sick and wounded report when case is completed. Closed upon receipt at hospital of definitive treatment in zone of interior in time of war and forwarded immediately to Surgeon General.

If space on one fold is insufficient, continue entry into next fold. If one card is inadequate, continue the record on a second card, or a third, and so on, marking the cards as first card, second card, etc. Each additional card used must bear complete identification of the individual.

EXHIBIT 97-C

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION HOSPITAL,
Bronx, N. Y., December 3, 1947.

To: Manager, Veterans' Administration Regional Office, 252-7th Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Attn.: W. F. Greene, Adjudication Officer.

Subj.: Report of clinical findings.

1. Examined Nov. 7, 1947. In 1946 patient fell down flight of stairs and developed pain in back, patient received treatment in Germany. Patient has received treatment private for 13-14 months consisting of injections. Patient developed pain in back last night when train lurched. This was followed by feeling of nausea. Exam: Patient walks with guarded gait, carries a cane and has marked list to right. There is a moderate scoliosis of lower dorsal spine with convexity to right. There is no pelvis tilt present. Marked spasticity of paravertebral muscles. Marked limitation of forward body bending. Pain on straight leg raising bilat. referred to lumbo sacral angle. No tenderness along course of sciatic nerve. Reflexes of lower extremities are normal. No sensory changes of lower extremities. Impr. camptocamnia. Medication prescribed. Nov. 10, patient's conditions unimproved. X-ray essentially neg.

2. X-ray Exam. (taken on 11/7/47) radiographs of the lumbar spine demonstrate an irregular scoliosis of the mid lumbar spine convexed to the right in association with moderate dilatation of the bodies. Sacro-iliac joints appear to be of normal width with no evidence of alteration in the subchondral bone. Left hip joints are normal. There is some diminution in the extent of lumbar lordotic curve resulting in flattening of the spine and probably attributable to spasm of the para-spinal musculature. There is no evidence of significant alteration in texture of the lumbar centra. There is suggested minimal irregularity of the anterior superior margin of L5. There is no evidence of disc narrowing that would truly suggest prolapsed disc material. (this is all the information we have on the above veteran)

J. A. ROSENKRANTZ, M. D.
Chief, Out-Patient Division.

EXHIBIT No. 97D

VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

ADJUDICATION FILED

REPORT OF PHYSICAL EXAMINATION

DATE 4-19-46

CLERK

Date of admission to hospital 19__

Date of discharge from hospital 19__

C-No. 12 424 819

1491 Members Road

Address Bu 524 N.Y.

Enlistment 10-31-44 (Date)



1. Claimant's name McIntyre, Harvey M. (initials) (Date)

2. Rank and organization Sgt 42nd Inf. 88th Div. (initials) (Date)

3. Birthplace Brown nyc (Date)

Discharge 8-3-46 (Date)

Age 21 Race W Color of eyes Brown Color of hair Dark

4. Height 67 inches. Weight (weigh him) 192 Highest weight in past year 200
 5. Examined 22 SEVEN (This is) NEW YORK (Begin—date) 3-17-48 (End—date)

6. Permanent marks and scars other than described below:

Blind framing of left eye by bullet in 1944 during training period to include 1944 in Black Army Company in Italy with 1st Infantry Division in Italy and France in 1944 and 1945 in Germany and France in 1945 and 1946 in Germany and France in 1946 and 1947 in Germany and France in 1947 and 1948 in Germany and France in 1948 and 1949 in Germany and France in 1949 and 1950 in Germany and France in 1950 and 1951 in Germany and France in 1951 and 1952 in Germany and France in 1952 and 1953 in Germany and France in 1953 and 1954 in Germany and France in 1954 and 1955 in Germany and France in 1955 and 1956 in Germany and France in 1956 and 1957 in Germany and France in 1957 and 1958 in Germany and France in 1958 and 1959 in Germany and France in 1959 and 1960 in Germany and France in 1960 and 1961 in Germany and France in 1961 and 1962 in Germany and France in 1962 and 1963 in Germany and France in 1963 and 1964 in Germany and France in 1964 and 1965 in Germany and France in 1965 and 1966 in 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9. Present complaints (subjective symptoms, noted records)

Shen-Lan-Bid. Chronic. Persistent. Much

STATEMENT BY CLAIMANT. My answers to questions 8 and 9 have been read to me, and I hereby certify that the medical and industrial history are correct and the complaints recorded are all that I am suffering from, to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signature of claimant (or his mark)

Henry M. Matrician

For the physical examination the claimant must be stripped.

10. Temperature _____; Respiratory rate: Seated 16 ; standing 16

immediately after exercise _____; 3 minutes after exercise _____ Pulse

rate: Seated 72 ; standing 72 ; immediately after exercise _____

3 minutes after exercise _____ Any arrhythmia of pulse? No (If so, describe:

) Blood pressure:

(Wait 3 minutes after exercise)

Systolic

100

diastolic

58

USA Daily exercise test will consist of 26 jumps vertically on each foot, slightly obliquely - shall what made type at 4 yr

11. General appearance: well nourished - good muscular development - good; nutrition: good; carriage: best; posture: normal; gait: normal

12. Eyes: External structures, each eye _____

Internal structures, each eye (if practicable) _____

Vision (Snellen chart): Uncorrected R- 20/ L- 20/

Corrected R- 20/ L- 20/

13. Ears: Auditory canals: Normal? _____ Discharge? _____ Prom external canal or

middle ear? _____ Mastoidectomy scar? _____ Appearance of membrane

tympanic? _____ Ordinary conversation heard: Right _____ feet; left _____ feet

(Test only at prescribed distances—1, 2, 5, 10, 15, 20 feet.) Tests for bone conduction

(Specify Rinne, Weber, Schwabach):

V. A. Form, M.D.
(U.S. 216)

3

C-No.

14. Nose, throat, sinuses: Normal? _____ If not, record findings:

15. Cardio-vascular system: Normal? Yes

(If not, record each of heart dullness, murmurs, bruits, dyspnea, cyanosis, edema. Any hypertension? (If so, describe.) Any arteriosclerosis? (If so, what degree?) Record any electrocardiographic examinations made under "Laboratory examinations.")

16. Respiratory system: Normal? *Ch*

(If not, give date and measurements of chest on inspiration, expiration, and at rest. Any difference in mobility on or expiration of tidal? Record physical signs in each lung separately, gross palpation, percussion, and auscultation. State exactly the location of rales during inspiration following expiratory cough. State areas of dullness, consolidation, crackles, and wheezes by their record area of adhesions or fluid. Any cough, expectoration, or hemoptysis? Record system examinations under: Laboratory examinations.)

20. **Genito-urinary system: Kidney, bladder, prostate, penis, testicles normal?** *Yes*
(Do not use symbols (color, reaction, etc.) for genital, bladder, prostate, penis, testis, etc. and penumbra, testis, etc. "L.A." urinary examinations.)

11-10-67

V. A. Form 2816
(Dec. 1945)

6

C-No.

21. Rheumatism: Articular or muscular? _____ What joints affected? _____

Swelling, crepitus, atrophy deformity, limitation of motion, ankylosis?

Mild pain in lower left thigh. No - slight crepitus to add.
 No pain in lower right thigh. No - slight crepitus to add.
 No pain in lower right thigh. No - slight crepitus to add.
 Able to bend forward + reach with both hands to toes.
 Crepitus + pain normal full squat. No - limited range of motion.
 No pain in lower right thigh. No - slight crepitus to add.

22. Hernia: Inguinal, femoral, ventral, umbilical? Yes Side? _____ Size? _____

If inguinal, complete or incomplete? _____ Truss worn? _____

Retained by truss? _____ Operable? _____

23. Hydrocele? no Varicocele? no Side? _____ Size? _____
24. Varicose veins? no Size and location? _____
 Sacculated or ruptured? _____ Scars or ulcers? _____
 Elastic stocking worn? _____ Operable? _____
25. Pes planus (flat or weak foot)? no Side? _____ Degree—first, second,
 third? _____ Abduction (eversion)? _____ Inner border bulged? _____
 Painful? _____ Limp? _____ Stand on toes? _____ Pes cavus (hollow
 foot)? _____ Side? _____ High arch? _____ Dorsal flexion at ankle lim-
 ited on active and passive motion? _____ Associated equinovarus? _____
 Hallux valgus (bunion)? _____ Side? _____ Painful? _____ Describe:

26. Skin (location, type, extent of lesions): dry

6

27. Residuals of gunshot wounds or other injuries:

(Level of injury, location and character of scars, limitation of motion, muscle injury, effect on functions.)

none

28. Evidence of effects of past or present vicious habits (alcohol, narcotics, venereal infections):

(Report, laboratory tests under "Laboratory examinations")

*Genie W. Amulet is cigarette & Day. 3-5 cigarettes Day - occasional
Eggs - 6-7 times a week. occasional Beer - maybe 3-4 times a week*

29. Laboratory examinations:

(X-ray, including gastro-intestinal series; urine analyses; kidney permeability; sputum examination; blood counts; blood sugar determinations; Wassermann test of modifications for blood and spinal fluid; other spinal fluid examinations; basal metabolic test; electrocardiographic examination; examination of stomach contents; of feces, etc., if made.)

16-4977

CHECK ONE <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> BEDSIDE WHEEL CHAIR, OR STRETCHER <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> RED PATIENT <input type="checkbox"/> AMBULATORY	LAST NAME—FIRST NAME—MIDDLE INITIAL MATSOW Harvey M. REQUESTED BY M. ENVIDHOFF M.D.	REGISTER NO. 12-434 P19 DATE 3-12-1948	WARD NO. Boston
PART TO BE EXAMINED Lumbo-Sacral Back		PERTINENT HISTORY AND PROVISIONAL DIAGNOSIS Lumbo-Sacral Strain - Chronic	
FINDINGS <p style="text-align: center;">X</p> LUMBO-SACRAL SPINE: There is no change since the last examination of September 1947. There is a moderate degree of scoliosis with convexity to the right. No other pathology is seen. The intervertebral spaces and sacro iliac joints are within normal limits.			
FILM NO. 052		(Signature of Radiologist) W. SILVERMAN, MD	

Handwritten scribbles and a circular mark at the bottom of the page.

7

C-No. _____

T. A. Fagan, M.D.
(Dec. 1949)**30. Additional:**

(This space to be used for further details of medical or industrial history or additional description of disabilities if the space in the foregoing pages was not sufficient.)

31. Diagnoses: *Postural scoliosis. Acromioclavicular joint. Spine.*

32. Is the claimant bedridden? *No* Is he able to travel? *Yes* Does he need hos-

pitalization? *No* Will he accept it? *No* Is an attendant necessary for

travel? *No* Did you examine him yourself? *Yes*

Date *3-6-1948*

Name of examiner *A. Davidhoff, M.D.* Title *P.O. 100, 200*

100 (6X)

19-507-2 GPO

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you and any other person or persons plan together to use a United States district court in New York as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to the book *False Witness*?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you or any other person or persons plan the use of United States district court in Texas as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to the book *False Witness*?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it true that responsible officials of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers subsidized the writing and publication of *False Witness* by authorizing the expenditure of union funds for that purpose?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe they spent, from what I have read in the papers and been told since the publication of the book, about \$3,000, regarding the \$18,000 expenditure on this book. That is what I think it cost to put the book out.

I want to reiterate a statement I made to Senator McClellan on the first day I testified, that I am still willing to give the moneys, outside of the legal fees, to any school for scholarship funds, and I don't want the money from this book; I want that clear. I am very explicit on that.

Senator McCLELLAN. May I ask the witness one further question. Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator McCLELLAN. You stated that on the first day you testified?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it was, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. And you were also asked that day if you were willing to pay your debt to society. What do you want to say about that again, now?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, if it is based on the type of conviction I have received, which I believe was legally in error, and as a lawyer you might appreciate that fact, the fact that the Government, the Justice Department, and the judge didn't know whether they wanted to prosecute me under 42-A or 42-B of the code, but I will reiterate what I said before, sir.

If the investigation shows, and it will show—in fact, in yesterday's paper it did—that Elizabeth Bentley has lied, and the others, I am willing to go to jail with them. I spent 20 days in solitary confinement and I didn't mind it in the least.

Senator McCLELLAN. In other words, if all the others were put in jail, you would be willing to go?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am glad you admit my cohorts are liars, too, sir.

If I know a committee of this Senate or Congress is going to go after them, whether they are convicted or not I don't care so much, but if I know there is a sincere effort to undo the harm of the perjured testimony of these people, like Elizabeth Bentley, then my mind will be at ease and I am ready to stop and say, "O. K., come take me."

Senator McCLELLAN. You know it is very difficult for the committees of Congress, even the courts, to go after people when they try to go after them with liars, don't you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know, sir. I say they shouldn't go after them with liars. There must be some people in the country who know the truth.

Senator McCLELLAN. But when somebody imposes on the court, as you have, by becoming a liar, according to your testimony now, in order to convict people, don't you think you owe a debt to society if you are at all sincere?

Mr. MATUSOW. Of course I do, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. And yet you don't want to pay it except on somebody else's —

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't say that. So long as I know that this committee, for instance, would go after the real culprits in this thing— Look, would it be such a crime for this committee to admit, "O. K., we took a bad risk, we had a sour apple in the barrel;" maybe it was Harvey Matusow, maybe it was Elizabeth Bentley, instead of investigating what I am doing now when I am telling the truth and there is corroboration for what I am saying.

For instance, when I said I knew 10,000 people, before this committee, did anybody on this committee say, "Wait a minute, how can you know 10,000 people?"

Louis Budenz has identified as people over 4,100 people that he personally knows as Communists. Anybody in his right mind knows that Budenz or nobody else could know 4,000 people, upon his own own knowledge, as Communists, but Budenz has continuously testified before this committee and listed name after name.

When will this committee tell Mr. Budenz to hold on and start going into his testimony? Yesterday a lawyer for some man who Elizabeth Bentley accused came out and said she couldn't have received these so-called plates of German currency, but why doesn't the committee investigate this? I am willing to pay my debt, but let's get after all of the people like me who have been telling lies.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you say that the committee is derelict in its duty. Senator McClellan asked you if you were willing to pay your debt to society. Now, what is your answer?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, apparently I am going to go to jail. I have been sentenced, so there is nothing I can do about it. It is an abstract question.

If I go to jail, I go there proudly, and I am not going to go with any dishonor, I assure you, and I will come out a better man than when I went in. I met some fine people in jail this last trip.

The CHAIRMAN. You think that one 3-year sentence will pay your debt to society?

Mr. MATUSOW. Do I think what, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. That one 3-year sentence will pay your debt for the lies you have told.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, I don't know how many 3-year sentences or how many 5-year sentences, or what, it would take to pay my debt.

As far as I am concerned, with my own conscience I have paid it, but society may have different views.

The CHAIRMAN. The truth is you are a vicious liar; isn't it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have been.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, have you taken——

Mr. MATUSOW. After all, sir, I have been active in politics.

The CHAIRMAN. But you are a vicious liar.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; I have been a vicious liar. Let's get that straight. When I testified before falsely, before this committee and other committees of Congress and before courts, judicial, and quasi-judicial bodies; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Don't you think once a vicious liar, always a vicious liar?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. Go back to the Bible and start thinking about some of the people—what was her name who was a prostitute? She wasn't always a prostitute.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about——

Mr. MATUSOW. Let's talk about people who sinned and no longer sin. You know, it's a lot easier not to commit a sin, once you learn what that sin is. I have learned what a lie is, Senator, and I know why I am not going to tell any more.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you, if a person was once a vicious liar or once a professional liar, isn't he always that?

Mr. MATUSOW. Of course not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it has been my experience that he is.

Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, you and I have had different experiences, sir; that's all I can say. But I must say, sir, with all the witnesses you have had before your committee, you have met a lot of vicious liars.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and I have had a lot of experience with vicious liars.

Mr. MATUSOW. You have, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the worst one that I have ever seen.

Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. You weren't on Senator McClellan's committee listening to Roy Cohn. I am sorry you classify me as top, because I don't think I am. Mr. Cohn, I think, tops me in spades.

The CHAIRMAN. But you couldn't take the word of a self-confessed vicious liar and convict Mr. Cohn of being a liar on your word, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; but isn't it easier to take the word of somebody, when I say I lied, or try and find out when Mr. Cohn lies when he denies it every day and contradicts himself continuously, and the other witnesses. They just don't have the courage to admit they have lied, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the truth is that you lie every day.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, in bed I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, have you taken any part, intentionally and willfully, in a scheme to generally discredit the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States and its adherents?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think my testimony has been geared against mostly the former Communists, disillusioned Communists, the frustrated people, like Elizabeth Bentley, who have certain problems.

I don't believe my testimony has been geared against all the undercover agents and all the former Communists. I think I have singled out a few who I personally or through my own experience know or feel to have lied, based on their testimony. I am not going out and attacking the Justice Department, per se. I am attacking, and I will continue to do so, the corruptness that I have seen in the Justice Department.

I am not attacking the committees of Congress. I am trying to come forward and say, "Look, this is what has been wrong. You used guys like me. Now, why don't you correct it, straighten it out and have a better committee?"

I am not backing into this thing, I am going forward. I am trying to add something to what is possible to correct in this country, the decency and the real meaning of the Constitution, and the protecting of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question, Mr. Matusow, was whether you had consciously and intentionally taken part in a scheme to generally discredit the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have schemed with my conscience, yes. Other than that, no, I haven't schemed with anybody.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that there may be inserted in the record at this point three paragraphs from the charge of Judge Robert E. Thomason in the El Paso case.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 98," and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 98

Federal Judge Robert E. Thomason, said in part (on March 16, 1955):

"I am firmly convinced from the evidence of the witnesses, including that of Matusow, not only that the evidence offered, in support of the motion, is not worthy of belief, but that Matusow alone or with others, willfully and nefariously and for the purpose of defrauding this court and subverting the true course of the administration of justice and obstructing justice, schemed to and actually used this court of law as a forum for the purpose of calling public attention to a book, purportedly written by Matusow, entitled 'False Witness.'

"This court finds the fact to be that as early as September 21, 1954, responsible officials of the IUMMSW under the guise of seeking evidence in Jencks' behalf, subsidized the writing and publication of this book by authorizing the expenditure of union funds for that purpose. This at a time when, from the evidence, Matusow had no intention of writing any such book as was here exhibited or of changing his testimony given in the Jencks trial. I find that this subsidization was deliberately done the more easily to persuade Matusow to lend himself

to the perpetration of a fraud on this court by means of the filing of his recanting affidavit and his testimony given herein. I find that Matusow willfully and with full knowledge of the consequences, lent himself to this evil scheme for money and for notoriety.

"It is my firm conviction, moreover, that this hearing was deliberately brought on for the purpose of attacking the judgment of this court, attacking the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Justice Department, in a carefully thought-out scheme to generally discredit by these means the testimony of undercover agents and former Communist Party members who give evidence against the Communist Party of the United States and its adherents. Matusow, by his action, conduct, and testimony, had, and done in my presence during this period, obviously made an effort to convert these proceedings into a trial of the Department of Justice rather than of the issues before this court. Nothing that Matusow has offered in his defense has persuaded me otherwise."

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that there may be inserted in the record at this point a letter of transmittal from Mr. Thomas K. Hall, Chief of the Subversive Activities Section of the Department of Justice, and photostats of two memoranda bearing on conferences between Mr. Matusow and Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. These are memoranda furnished from the Department.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted in the record.

(The documents referred to were marked "99," "99-A," and "99-B" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 99

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
Washington, D. C., April 14, 1955.

J. G. SOURWINE, Esq.,

Chief Counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SOURWINE: Pursuant to your requests, I am furnishing for the use of your Committee photostatic copies of the following documents:

(1) Diary of Harvey Matusow on trip to Puerto Rico in 1949 consisting of 19 pages. This appears in the recent Flynn proceedings at New York as defense exhibit K.

(2) Intermittent diary of Harvey Matusow from January 1, 1948, to April 11, 1952, consisting of 69 pages. Certain pages of this diary appear in the recent Flynn proceedings at New York as part of defense exhibit A.

(3) Memorandum by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam following conference with Matusow at Hotel Waldorf Astoria in New York City on April 27, 1954, consisting of 2 pages. This memorandum appears in the recent Flynn proceedings as Government exhibit 62.

(4) Excerpt from diary of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam on conversation with Harvey Matusow dated May 31, 1954, consisting of 4 pages. This excerpt appears in the recent Flynn proceedings as Government exhibit 63.

If I can be of any further service to you in connection with this matter, please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM F. TOMPKINS,
Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division.

By THOMAS K. HALL,
Chief, Subversive Activities Section.

EXHIBIT No. 99-A

MEMORANDUM FOLLOWING CONFERENCE WITH HARVEY M. MATUSOW, PEACOCK ALLEY, HOTEL WALDORF ASTORIA, NEW YORK, N. Y., TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1954

Just before Mr. Tex McCrary who was to interview me relative to I Protest came into the studio, a man approached me and asked if he might have a talk with me after the broadcast. I told him I had had a very heavy day, that it was now nearing midnight, and that I was a little fearful I could not remain for the talk. He said, "My name is Harvey M. Matusow." I thought I had heard the name before but could not relate the name to any particular situation, and I told him that I did not recall him. He said, in substance, "I have been a member of Senator McCarthy's investigating committee staff, I worked for the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and with other similar groups." He sought to identify himself by presenting a card indicating some of his present activities and upon which his name was signed in red ink. I said, "And why do you want to see me?" He replied that he had had a religious experience of considerable significance and was a completely changed man. He said, "I have lied again and again in my statements to these committees and in my reports, and I want to go to each individual about whom I have falsified to ask his forgiveness." I told him I would see him for a few minutes after the show.

Mrs. Oxnam had a conversation with him while I was waiting to go on. After the show was over, I chatted with him for perhaps 10 or 15 minutes. He repeated what he had said concerning false statements to committees. I particularly pressed him concerning his relation to Senator McCarthy's committee and he said he was on the staff. He then told me that he had served the Ohio State Committee on Un-American Activities. He said that he was planning to write a book on the World of McCarthy and had planned a subtitle to read, "Blacklisting Was My Business." I said, "Why have you come to me? So far as I know you have never testified concerning me." He said, "No, that is true. But I delivered a speech at Libertyville, Ill., in which I lied concerning you and I have given false information concerning you." He made reference to some organization headed by a man whose name he had forgotten but who is active in Methodist circles. I judged from what he said that he was referring to Mr. Lowman of the Circuit Riders. I think Mr. Lowman lives in Cincinnati. He said that he had given him much of the material which he (Lowman) had given wide circulation. He said, "What I want to see you for is just to apologize for what I have done and to ask you if you are willing to shake my hand." I told him of course I was and did shake hands with him.

He indicated that he was in the radio or television business and that he was doing something in the theater. It was not quite clear and I did not wish to take time to question him too specifically. I said I would be very happy to see him later, and he wanted to make an appointment right away for that week. I told him that would be quite impossible since the Council of Bishops was in session and I had a number of radio and television commitments as a result of the publication of the book, I Protest.

I asked him why he had done such things, and he said he hardly knew, but that one fabrication led to another and there was a thrill in being involved in such revelations. I did not ask him about the religious experience as far as a church is concerned, because I thought he might have been one of those who had given up the complete control of the mind such as exists in Communist Party membership for another control of the mind in which some have found satisfaction, namely, in the Roman Catholic Church. He said that his relationship to God now was of such a nature that he had to be right with his brothers and that this was the occasion for searching me out. He appeared very eager to get into an extended conversation, and I found it a bit difficult to bring it to a close. He said that the House committee felt that he was chiefly responsible for opening up the whole educational investigation and that his testimony opened the door to that field. He spoke in friendly terms concerning Senator McCarthy but indicated he had little respect for Mr. Velde's mind, saying that McCarthy was really very clever, that Velde was stupid. I told him to drop me a letter indicating when we might get together and that I would be glad to talk to him at length.

EXHIBIT No. 99-B

EXCERPT FROM DIARY OF BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM, MAY 31, 1954

I drove back from Westminster so that I might keep an appointment Harvey M. Matusow. I had met Matusow the night that I broadcasted on the Tex and Jinx show at the Waldorf during the sessions of the Council of Bishops. He has written once or twice, and the other evening phoned. He had expected to come in last week, but missed it. His telephone call stated he would be here any time I could arrange today and we set the hour at 3:30. I waited from 3:30 until 4:15 for him. He didn't show up. Then a telephone call came indicating that he had been in a taxicab tieup and had taken 45 minutes for a 5-minute trip. I went downstairs and we were in the office, I think, from about 4:25 until a quarter to 6. I do not know how to estimate this man. He may be a genius; he may be a charlatan. He is at least in part what he says he is. He may be a poet of unusual ability; he may be a panhandler. What he said to me is interesting enough to try to put down. He is a man of perhaps 5 feet 6 inches in height, dark complexioned; in conversation told me he is 28 years of age. He was born in New York City. His parents are Russians. They were Jews. His mother came from the Ukraine, his father from some other part of Russia, and he made reference to the fact that they had been in Lapland. I said, "Do you mean Latvia?" "No; way up north." Of course, this is out of Russia. He wanted to know if he could take his coat off. The room was air-conditioned. By the way, he wore sports clothes; a brown sports coat, sport trousers. The briefcase was imitation leather, I think, but a good one. The material he had in his notebooks was well gotten up, one of which was illustrated by himself. He went to the public schools in New York, I think. He never matriculated for college. He became a Communist at 18 years of age. Didn't tell me too much about his activities in the party. He did say that he had been one of the chief figures in the Puerto Rican setup, that he was most active in the youth movement. He insisted that he joined the party because he was convinced that it would in the long run be good for human beings and good for his own country even though it might involve being disloyal to the so-called government at a particular time. It was hard to get him to keep to a consistent story. I had to interject questions all the while. He was most interested in talking about himself, about his poetry. He had one book in which he had listed all of his qualifications for radio, television, and the stage. There were several pages of photographs of him in different roles. That's hardly it. I rather think he was posing for some photographer rather than recording actual roles. I'm not sure how much he has really done. He had a column by Cameron Swazey in which he has mentioned some little skit he works with little pieces of pipe cleaner. One of them was excellently done which he recited to me as his nimble fingers took this pipe cleaner wire and fashioned it into a little poodle dog. It was about a poodle dog, I think, who was born in France, but unfortunately couldn't speak French. He could only speak German and Italian, so he was a very lonely little poodle dog. The people he loved he couldn't talk to. He became the dog of the wife, I think, of the Premier of France, but he couldn't talk to her even though he loved her because he was just a poor little poodle dog who could only speak German and Italian and not French. He went on and on. It was screamingly funny. When he finished he had actually modeled a first-rate little animal. Then he told me one about a kangaroo. Most kangaroos are not attractive. They are all supposed to have a pouch and be carrying a little kangaroo around, but that's because you don't know there is a man kangaroo. So he fashions a kangaroo without a pouch, and it was superbly done.

I was less interested in his stage skits, however, than in his Communist background. He was in the Second World War, so he states—in the Infantry, I think. His only brother, in the Air Force, was shot down and killed. He told me that his regiment was in charge of 100,000 Germans who were imprisoned on the west bank of the Rhine. There is much mystery in what the man says. Whether it's the mystery that leaps from his fertile imagination or from the mystery of life itself, I don't know. He, because he could get along somewhat in German and Russian and so on, was to do some interpreting, but didn't volunteer for it. That night he was troubled because he hadn't. He then went out to volunteer and got in touch with some German who had kept a diary. This German was from Nuremberg, from an antiaircraft battery, and there was a record there of an American bomber that had been shot down that night and the record of burying the crew. I think he said his brother's name was in that. He went down to the

place which he described as Firth and he, himself, discovered his brother's grave. There were some discrepancies here, but he had a picture of his brother. He had a picture also of his kneeling over the grave.

I didn't get it quite clear when he left the Communist Party. It seems that he did so. I suppose it must have been after the war. He went to the FBI and told them that he was ready to be an undercover agent for them. I am not sure that he was ever in this capacity. (I had to get this and couldn't get it in sequence.) He did work for the Ohio Un-American Activities Committee and I think testified some 25 times or so, relative to Communists before that committee. He was actually on the payroll of the McCarthy group. When I pressed the matter, I don't think he knows McCarthy as well as he would have us believe. He did, he said, give 21 speeches in Wisconsin during McCarthy's campaign. McCarthy gave but one and the former Ambassador to Poland another. He, I think, regards himself as the best advised man concerning the literature of the Communist Party and states that he made available his technical ability to the McCarthy committee concerning all the books, the productions in a literary way, of the Communist Party. He said he was better advised in this field than Schine could be, and this was his particular contribution. He did testify before the House committee and I have before me as I dictate the hearings of the committee entitled "Communist Activities Among Youth Groups Based on Testimony of Harry M. Matusow." The testimony was given February 6 and 7, 1952. He said that Velde gave him credit for opening up the whole investigation of the educational system.

He would be back at his poetry and religious experience which, when I came to analyze it, was not what he told me on the evening we met at the Waldorf. At that time he indicated that he had had a vital religious change. I think he stated he had joined the church and what he was trying to do was to get right with all the people he had wronged in false testimony. At that time he told me he had delivered a false testimony and had lied. This time he said he had told partial truth and allowed the partial truth to carry inferences that were false and were just as damaging. He apparently does not belong to any church. He talks about a deep faith in God. He wants to keep all of his Jewish heritage. He has faith in Christ. He talks about Christian charity and all, but down underneath I think he is more interested now in getting his poems published than in anything else. He is writing a book which he thinks he needs \$1,500 for. He must get someone to do the necessary checking of all his sources, the photographing, and the rest of it. He seems to have 2 or 3 girls working for him at the present time. How he supports the whole matter I do not know. He is going to entitle his book, "In McCarthy's World" with a subtitle "Blacklisting was My Business." This man, for a time, was editor of Counter Attack. He tells me that Ted Kirkpatrick, who was the head of it and the man I met, got disgusted with the activities of the group now running it and left. He also says the former editor left. I have forgotten that man's name. He seemed to be less interested in telling me about the Velde committee and the McCarthy committee than the evening I met him. He was somewhat reticent; wants to have an evening when we can talk for 4 or 5 hours.

I was astounded when he told us that he had been the husband of Orvila, I think that is the way he pronounced it, Bentley. She was the millionairess and the wife of the Congressman who was shot when the Puerto Ricans were there. He married her—he but 28 years of age, she many years older. He tells me that in the realm of love years mean absolutely nothing. He was rushing off into philosophical and religious speculation in his conversation, which I don't mean to discount because he did indicate at times these deep thoughts. It seems he was married to her for a short time, then divorced, then he married her again, divorced her again. He told me he was not at all a promiscuous type of person though he had had many experiences. He was married to a Communist girl. I think they never had a wedding ceremony. He said, "We lived together and for me that was just as much as though I had gone to a justice of the peace or a church at that time. It was a little easier when we broke up not to have to have a divorce, but were really man and wife." He then spoke of several other experiences which he had had. These were passing but not promiscuous. I don't know just what he means by the term.

He thinks that McCarthy is stronger, but that also McCarthy is a very lonely, fearful man. I had hoped he might give me more indication of false testimony and how he was used. He tells me that he, of course has been paid when he has been giving testimony, so much per day. Said he wasn't in it for the money that was in it at all. He was constantly referring to the fact that he has hatred for nobody, not even for the Communist philosophy. There is no hate in his soul.

He has to cooperate in putting down this threat, which really is a threat to overthrow the Government of the country he loves. He told about being a veteran of the Korean war. I couldn't quite get this because he said they wouldn't let him go overseas. There were Army regulations, knowing that he had been a former Communist, and FBI regulations. For one minute he seemed to be on the inside and the next minute on the outside, but he was in the service during the Second World War. He said he was down to cooperate today with the Internal Security Committee, then it was the Department of Justice. I don't think any committees were meeting today, which happens to be Memorial Day. There were moments when I questioned his veracity and then he would talk and the facts would seem to be so clear that you felt you had misunderstood. He did refer to Mr. Lohman, or knew who Lohman was, of our so-called Circuit Riders. He referred to him as "a mean little man who seemed to hate himself and the world." He said he, Matusow, had given a speech made at Libertyville, Ill., which was full of falsehood.

I asked him what he meant by blacklisting. He said, "When I talked about you, if there were people there who believed me, you were really blacklisted. And when I was working for Counter Attack I was really blacklisting." He told me that his name appears in the House report, I think, for 1953, as the identifying witness in a number of cases. I looked through it and couldn't find his name there, but I went through it too fast. It may be so and it may not be so.

He then gave me a carbon copy of most of the poems, I think, that are in the proposed volume of poetry. I must say the first one was a striking creation of mood, and, I think, of considerable value. I read several of them. He wanted me to spend the rest of the week on it. In fact, he was willing to stay over if I would only do it. He couldn't get through his head that I had anything else to do and an annual conference was a term that meant nothing to him. His primary interest, I think, was finding \$1,500 for his book of poems. For some reason he feels he has got to get the poems out first rather than to get the other book, which would sell and make possible the production of his poems. But he thinks that his poems have to stand on their own merit and not get by because he has written another book which is supposed to be capitalizing upon his past. He showed me a letter he had written to the Russian Ambassador in which he demands the privilege of going to Russia to see the country. If they really think it is free, here's one man who would like to go over and look things over. It was written in dramatic fashion. He told what he had done, having been a Communist, then with the FBI, and so on. He seems to think he will get a visa and really go. Some of this sounds utterly absurd. He suggested that if there were any one of the publishers who would like to give him an anonymous phone call or anyone who would like to phone anonymously as to where he could get the \$1,500 so that he could go ahead with the publication of the book, he would some day return it all. He expects to make a large sum of money if he can go to Russia and come back for the purpose of enlisting a large number of people to make scholarships available with which our people could go there and they here. I wonder what he thinks the Russians would be doing about all of this. He tells me he has worked out some little toy trinkets with which he expects to make fifteen or twenty thousand dollars some of these days.

During his conversation he said that one of his friends had said that he, the friend would pay for a psychiatrist if Matusow would go to one. (He didn't know that Faye Emerson had told me that he was something of this kind of problem.) He has talked to Morris Ernst. I really can't fathom the fellow, but whatever the facts are, here is an individual whose testimony has been published by the House Committee. He now wishes to tell the truth about all of these investigations and to put the material into his book, "Blacklisting Was My Job." I wonder if it was.

When he left, I got the idea that he didn't know how he was going to get back to New York. He finally told me he had come down on a bus. I didn't want to send the man away hungry. I asked if he had had dinner. He was going over to be with some of his artist friends and read poetry through the evening. I gave him \$5 and told him I thought that might help to get supper somewhere.

What does it all add up to? I don't know. In his testimony I notice on the first page here that he says he went to City College in New York for about a year and a half after the war. I understood him to say that he had only taken matriculation examinations and hadn't gotten in. The testimony indicates he joined the Communist Party in October 1947, which would be in accordance with what he told me, namely after the war, but not when he was 18 as he told me. Eighteen years from 1926 would have gotten him in in 1944. Perhaps the

differences is in the fact that he was with the American Youth for Democracy organization before he became a member of the Communist Party.

It is interesting to note that most all this stuff is told previously in executive session and then they have the public sessions. I suppose to get the matter into the record and also for public consumption. Maybe this man is all he says he is. Maybe he's a psychiatric case. Maybe he is still working for McCarthy. In any case, it's all jumbled up and this is as I remember it, dictating almost immediately after.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, in your book did you state:

"I knew that the union leaders would deny my accusations and probably invoke the fifth amendment."

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. How could they possibly do both?

Mr. MATUSOW. Deny my accusations in the press, and invoke the fifth amendment before the committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is common practice by Communist witnesses; is it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know if they are Communist witnesses. Some of them have been Communists, yes, and some non-Communist witnesses.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, have you testified that you bought a gun in 1951?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you carry it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; in violation of the Sullivan law, too, in New York State.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have a permit to carry it?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you buy it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I bought it in Dayton, Ohio. The gun is now in New York City with the property clerk, Police Department, New York.

When I returned to New York City in 1952, within a few days I turned the gun in to the Police Department and was brought up before a judge and acquitted on the Sullivan law because I turned in the gun and did not carry it.

In Ohio I did not carry the gun—I think I did, yes, I'm sorry, on 2 or 3 occasions, and after that date I kept it in a footlocker in my home, never used the gun and don't ever intend to use one again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, in your book, speaking of your appearance before a grand jury, did you say you had painted a picture to the grand jury, that you had reminded them of the boys in Korea who were dying on that very day?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I stated that, and when I wrote it, to my recollection, that is what I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you do that before the grand jury?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you in your book say:

I boarded the plane for my return to New York on election day, 1952.

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE (reading):

I was dead tired, having traveled all night. I threw myself across the bed of my village apartment, but I had too much on my mind and I couldn't sleep.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I said that.

Mr. SOURWINE (reading):

At 6 o'clock I picked up the phone and called Dr. J. B. Matthews.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe that should have been changed to, "I picked up the phone at 3 o'clock." If that was not changed in the final edition of the book, it's wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, travel all night, that night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. Want the chronology?

Mr. SOURWINE. What night was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I left Las Vegas, Nev.—

Mr. SOURWINE. Just what night was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I want to give you the exact night.

Mr. SOURWINE. We want to get it in response to questions.

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is it was after midnight on Monday, or, in other words, early Tuesday morning I boarded a plane in Las Vegas, Nev., traveled all night, that is, after midnight. I had dinner at the Thunderbird Club that evening, that Monday, boarded a plane at or about midnight, I believe it was shortly after midnight. I believe it was Transworld Airlines.

Mr. SOURWINE. Arriving in New York on election day, Tuesday?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right early in the morning, presuming it took 10 hours to fly to New York at that time, or 8 hours—2 hours' difference in time—it would be 10 hours. Say I got there at midnight, 10 hours would have made it 10 in the morning or, say, 11 in the morning. I was met at the airport by a Mr. Jim Sheehan, to be exact. You can corroborate that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have no more questions of this witness. I do have some documentary material I would like to put in the record, but Mr. Matusow could be excused, if the committee desires, before I do so.

Mr. MATUSOW. Mr. Sourwine—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute.

Mr. MATUSOW. Mr. Sourwine, were you going to return that material for me to bring to Mr. Faulkner?

Mr. SOURWINE. Not here and now, but I will see you about it after the committee has adjourned.

Mr. MATUSOW. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I offer for the record at this time the following documents:

First, a letter from the Subversive Activities Control Board with respect to that Board's experience with Mr. Matusow.

The CHAIRMAN. We will admit all of these documents.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 100" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 100

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES CONTROL BOARD,
Washington D. C., March 14, 1955

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee,
Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate,

Washington D. C.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: This morning I received your letter of March 11th requesting a statement summarizing the experience of this Board in connection with past testimony of Harvey M. Matusow.

His first appearance was before the Board on March 10 and 11, 1952, in a proceeding initiated against the Communist Party of the United States on November 22, 1950, by the then Attorney General. He was 1 of 22 witnesses for the Government in that proceeding. The Board, on April 20, 1953, issued its report and order in that proceeding, finding the Communist Party to be a Communist-action organization, from which order an appeal was taken to the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. While that appeal was pending, the Communist Party moved that court for leave to adduce additional evidence before the Board on the basis that Mr. Matusow and two other witnesses "committed perjury, are completely untrustworthy and should be accorded no credence." On December 23, 1945, the Court of Appeals affirmed the Board's order and on the same date denied the motion for leave to adduce additional evidence. The Communist Party is now preparing to petition the Supreme Court of the United States for a writ of certiorari.

On April 22, 1953, Attorney General Brownell filed 12 cases against alleged Communist-front organizations, in a number of which testimony has since been concluded. Mr. Matusow testified in three of these cases.

On December 9 and 10, 1953, he was a witness in the proceeding entitled *Brownell v. Labor Youth League*, which hearing was conducted by my colleague, former Senator Harry P. Cain. Board Member Cain issued his report and recommended decision to the Board on July 30, 1954.

On November 22, 1954, the Labor Youth League moved the Board for leave to adduce additional evidence to show that Mr. Matusow is a "self-confessed perjurer," relying primarily on the testimony of 2 witnesses in 2 other Board proceedings, namely, *Brownell v. Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, and *Brownell v. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.* (in both of which Matusow testified).

In the Labor Youth League case, the Board ruled that it would not reopen the hearing as requested by the respondent but would consider the testimony of those two witnesses in the other proceedings when it came to evaluating Mr. Matusow's testimony in the Labor Youth League proceeding.

On February 15, 1955, the Board issued its order finding the Labor Youth League to be a Communist-front organization and requiring it to register as such. Your attention is called to page 4 of that report (a copy of which was sent to every Member of the House and Senate on February 15) as follows:

"In the recommended decision the examiner, upon the record before him, partially accepted and partially rejected the testimony of Matusow.¹ The witnesses in the later proceedings (*Brownell v. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.* and *Brownell v. Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade*) who are considered credible, testified in essence that Matusow admitted having lied in investigations concerning communism, and termed himself untrustworthy. For instance, Matusow told attorney Brown that he might have information bearing upon a matter in which Brown was inquiring, but warned Brown 'I am not to be trusted' and stated 'I have betrayed everyone who ever trusted me.' Further, Matusow sought out Bishop Oxnam claiming that he had gone through 'a religious experience' and believed it his duty to ask forgiveness of those about whom he had 'borne false testimony.' He told the bishop that he had 'lied again and again' in statements to congressional committees. He also told the bishop of a book he was going to write and indicated he would like the bishop to put up money for the book. Thus, the Board is confronted with a witness whose cross-examination in some instances cast such doubt upon part of his direct testimony that it was not credited by the examiner; a witness who by his own statements has lied in matters falling generally within the subject of his testimony in this proceeding; and, a witness who by his own declarations, is not to be trusted.

"The Board is, therefore, not inclined under these circumstances to attempt to determine when Matusow may have been lying in this proceeding and when he was telling the truth. Accordingly, the testimony of Matusow is disregarded in toto."

As noted, Mr. Matusow has also testified in two other proceedings. On June 3, 1954, he was a witness for the Government in the proceeding entitled *Brownell v. National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.*, heard by Board Member David J. Coddaira.

¹ See *N. L. R. B. v. Universal Camera Corporation* (179 F. 2d 749, 754 (C. A. 2), reversed on other grounds, 340 U. S. 474).

On June 7 and 8, 1954, he appeared as a witness for the Government in the case of *Brownell v. Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade*, heard by Board Member Kathryn McHale.

Both of these records have been completed and the respective Board members are each in the process of preparing a finding and recommended decision. There are no motions pending in either case to reopen the record. It will be noted that Bishop Oxnam's testimony was incorporated into the record in the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade proceeding and Russell Morton Brown's testimony is in the record in the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., case. Until the full Board is in a position to consider the recommended decisions in these two cases, I will not be in a position to furnish any further information in regard to the testimony of Mr. Matusow in those proceedings.

The foregoing is a full review of the appearances by Mr. Matusow before the Board to date, and contains the only material reference yet made in Board decisions in regard to his credibility.

With best personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS J. HERBERT, *Chairman.*

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

Second, a telegram from Mr. Kahn to Senator Eastland, the chairman of this committee, and the Chairman's reply.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits No. 101 and 101A" and appears below :)

EXHIBIT No. 101

NEW YORK, N. Y., *February 10.*

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,

Senate Judiciary Committee, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

As publishers of the forthcoming book *False Witness* by Harvey Matusow, we wish to place at the disposal of the Senate Judiciary Committee all of the material in our possession relating to the writing and publication of this book. We believe that this material will aid in the conduct of a public investigation of the facts this book reveals regarding Matusow's testimony as a paid Government witness and concerning his fraudulent operations as an aid to Senator McCarthy.

The material to which we refer consists of tape recordings and transcripts of discussions between the publisher and author prior to and during the writing of this book, the contract between the publisher and the author, documents detailing Matusow's activities while a Government witness, the manuscript of the book, galley proofs of the book, documents to be printed in the book and similar data.

The Department of Justice made efforts through a grand jury to obtain all of this material. At one point we were in fact ordered to turn over all manuscripts, drafts, and galley proofs of the book to a Federal grand jury whose proceedings were instigated by the Justice Department. We regarded this demand as tantamount to an attempt of seizure of the book to suppress publication of the book and a flagrant effort to subvert freedom of the press. We declined to make any of this data exclusively available to a secret proceeding initiated by the Justice Department since members of the Justice Department are seriously implicated in some of the charges and admissions made in Matusow's book.

We as publishers are seeking to make all of these facts available to the American public. We want to conceal nothing but we do not wish to turn over material to any secret proceedings of the Justice Department prior to placing this material in the hands of the public. Therefore, we respectfully request the opportunity to put at your disposal and to place in your hands for investigatory purposes all of the data to which we have referred.

ANGUS CAMERON,
ALBERT E. KAHN.

EXHIBIT No. 101-A

FEBRUARY 11, 1955.

Mr. ANGUS CAMERON,

Cameron and Kahn,

New York, N. Y.

Reurtel signed also by Albert E. Kahn purporting to be voluntary offer to furnish committee material in your possession relating to writing and publica-

tion of Matusow book, it will be sufficient if you produce this material in accordance with internal security subcommittee subpoena served on you last Tuesday. Committee does not desire to interfere with grand jury proceedings or furnish refuge from grand jury subpoena.

JAMES O. EASTLAND, U. S. S.,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a memorandum identifying Jacob Golos, who has been mentioned in this hearing.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibits Nos. 102 and 102-B" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 102

JACOB GOLOS

(Source: *Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments—Report of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, July 30, 1953, pp. 1, 2*)

The subcommittee has made public for the first time a section of a secret memorandum on espionage in our Government, one paragraph of which had been quoted by Vice President Richard Nixon, then a Congressman, in a 1950 speech. He had known at that time that the document, dated November 25, 1945, was prepared by an intelligence agency of this Government, and was circulated among several key Government agencies and made available to the President of the United States. * * * It read in part:

"She (Elizabeth Bentley) stated that prior to 1938 she had been an official in various capacities of the Communist Party in New York City. In 1938 she began making contacts with Jacob Golos, the head of World Tourists, Inc., which organization was being used as a cover for the Soviet espionage activity. Golos later organized United Service and Shipping, Inc. for the same purpose in 1941.

"Under Golos' direction and until his death in 1943, Bentley stated that she was used as a courier and liaison between individuals engaged in espionage for the Soviet and Golos."

EXHIBIT No. 102-A

JACOB GOLOS

(Hearings regarding Communist espionage in the United States Government (HUAC—July 31, 1948)—Testimony of Elizabeth Bentley, pp. 506-507)

Mr. STRIPLING. Did Mr. Golos ever ask you to perform any special duties for him in connection with any work that he was doing for the Communist Party in behalf of the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. Later on, yes; but do you mean in this period?

Mr. STRIPLING. Any period.

Miss BENTLEY. Later on; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was that?

Miss BENTLEY. At about the start of the Russian-German war which would be around June or July of 1941.

Mr. STRIPLING. What did he ask you to do?

Miss BENTLEY. He asked me to take charge of individuals and groups. This was a gradual process, not all at once. It was to take charge of individuals and groups who were employed in the United States Government and in positions to furnish information.

Mr. STRIPLING. What kind of information?

Miss BENTLEY. All sorts of information—political, military, whatever they could lay their hands on.

Mr. STRIPLING. Was he operating or had he set up a so-called espionage organization to obtain information from Government employees and Government officials to be transmitted to the Soviet Union?

Miss BENTLEY. I think that he set it up. I rather doubt that he had operated it before that. Of course, I can't state definitely.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was in operation, however, when you knew him?

Miss BENTLEY. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next the memorandum to which I referred earlier from the American Law Division on the Salsedo case. I asked the indulgence of the chairman for not offering that at the time I read from the book, and ask the indulgence of the chairman to insert it in the same place as my reading from book. (The document appears at p. 1872.)

Next, a brief memorandum identifying the New Times, which has been mentioned here.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 103" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 103

[Source : Back cover of New Times No. 1, 1955]

New Times : A weekly journal, published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Polish, Czech, Rumanian, and Swedish language editions. Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

To be obtained from :

* * * * *
 Canada—Progress Publishing Co., 740, Bathurst Street, Toronto, Ontario.

* * * * *
 Great Britain—Collet's 44 and 45, Museum Street, London, W. C. 1.

* * * * *

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a letter to the chairman of this committee from Dr. J. B. Matthews under date of March 1, 1955.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 104" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 104

NEW YORK, N. Y., March 1, 1955.

SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND,

*Chairman, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: The New York Times this morning has the following paragraph in its report of yesterday's testimony by Harvey Matusow: "Matusow said he took her to Nassau in the Bahamas on Thanksgiving Day, 1952. The trip was arranged, he declared, by J. B. Matthews, who had a brief career on the McCarthy staff."

If Matusow testified as reported, his statement that I "arranged" the trip to Nassau is wholly false. I had nothing whatever to do with the trip or its arrangements, and knew nothing about it prior to its being made. The first knowledge I had of such a trip came when Mrs. Arvilla Bentley called our apartment by long-distance telephone from Nassau and said that Harvey was with her. To this day, I do not know whether or not the Hennings committee had a subpoena out for Mrs. Bentley.

If the airline has preserved its records, they will show that I had no part in making an airplane reservation for Matusow or Mrs. Bentley.

The only information which I possess on this Nassau trip has been supplied to me by my wife, who acted quite independently and without consulting me on a request which she received by long-distance telephone call from Mrs. Bentley. In accordance with Mrs. Bentley's request, Mrs. Matthews says that she called the airline and made a reservation for Matusow from New York to Miami and one for Mrs. Bentley from New York to Nassau. She says that Mrs. Bentley suggested that Matusow accompany her part way on a vacation trip to Nassau in order to assist her with her baggage at transfer points.

I have never at any time, before or since, discussed any arrangements for Matusow's trip with him, with Mrs. Bentley, or with any transportation company.

I will be glad to appear before your committee and testify under oath to the facts in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

J. B. MATTHEWS.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, the text of the list of 244 persons identified by Mr. Matusow, which has been mentioned earlier in this hearing but which has not actually been put into our record before this time.

(The list referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 105," and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 105

PEOPLE IDENTIFIED WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY BY HARVEY MATUSOW IN HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

KEY TO SOURCES

- A. Communist Tactics in Controlling Youth Organizations (March 5, 1952), Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
- B. IPR (March 13, 1952), Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
- C. Communist Activities Among Youth Groups (Feb. 6, 7, 1952), HUAC
- D. Mine, Mill and Smelter Union Hearings (Oct. 8, 1952), Senate Internal Security Subcommittee
- E. State Dept. Information Programs-Information Centers (May 6, 1953), Permanent Subcommittee On Investigations
- F. Subversive Control of Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee (Feb. 13, 1952).

KEY TO TYPE OF IDENTIFICATIONS

- 1. Direct personal knowledge
- 2. Hearsay from CP
- 3. Indirect knowledge from CP publications, etc.
- 4. Affiliations, fronts, etc.
- 5. Belief

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<i>A</i>						
Abrams, Carl			1, 4-p3279			
Allen, James		3, 2, 5-p3843				
Aptheker, Herbert			1, 3, 5-p3304		1, 4-p368-9	
Aronson, Norma	1-p3840	1-p3282 p3309				1-p156; 2-p157.
<i>B</i>						
Ballinger, Sidney			1, 4-p3309			
Baron, Rose			1-p3309			
Bassett, Ted	1-p204	3-p3826	1-p3290			
			p3295, 3309			
Beech (Beach), Ethel		1-p3841	1, 4-p3309			1-p158.
Bernardi, "Hesh"			1-p3279			
Bernardi, Betty			1-p3279			
Bernstein, Elmer			1-p3279, 3296			
Berstein, Pearl			1-p3279, 3296			
Bernz, Harold			1, 4-p3310			
Berry, Abner W	1, 3-p205		1-p3280			
			p3302			
Berry, Rosalie			1, 4-p3304			
Black, Henry			1, 2-p3304			
Blake, George (also known as George Blake Charney).	1-p204					1-p156, 1-p158, 1-p162.
Bonofsky, Phillip			1-p3305			
Bordofsky, Ben	1-p201	3-p3828	1-p3300			
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Bradford William "Bill".			1, 4-p3310			
Brown, Mel			1-p3303			
Bucholt, Joe	1-p202 p218 p222 p224	1-p3846	1, 4-p3284 p3310 p3329			
Buckingham, Sue			1, 4-p3310			
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			p3315			
Callen, Monnie	2, 4-p224		1, 4-p3311			
Campbell, Rosalin	2, 4-p224					
Carlson, Evans		3, 5-p3836				
Cantor, Ester						1-p162.
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Charney, George Blake (See Blake, George).						
Claiborne, Adrian			4-p3311			
Claiborne, Robert			4-p3311			
Collins, Charles			4, 5-p3308			
Coleman, James			1-p3279 p3311			
Colon, Jesus (Puerto Rico).			1, 4-p3311			
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Daniels, Roger			1-p3311			
Darr, Rev. John W., Jr			1, 4-p3280			
			p3306			
Davis, Benjamin J., Jr			2, 3, 4-p3278			1-p157.
Davis, Herman						
DeCormier, Betty			1-p3279			
DeCormier, Robert			1-p3279			
DeLarco, Fran			1, 4-p3286			
Diskin, Bernice			1, 4-p3311			
Diskin, Lou	1-p202		1, 4-p3284			
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Dorfman, Carl			1-p3305			
Drueker, Louis			1, 4-p3312			
Duncan, Laura			1, 4-p3279			
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Durkin, James			1-p3307			1-p156.
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Emerine, Robert	1-p219					
Engler, Sam	1, 4-p224		1, 4-p3312 p3329			
Epstein, Israel		1, 3, 4-p3829				

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Finkel, Seymour			1, 4-p3312			
Finkelstein, Sidney			1, 4-p3303 p3280			
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Fogel, Robert	1-p219		1, 4-p3312			
Foner, Henry			1, 4-p3335			
Foner, Jack			1, 2-p3305 p3335			
Foner, Philip			1, 4-p3335			
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Foye, Hope	1-p206		1-p3296			
Frankfield, Jean	1-p205					
Frankfield, Phil	1-p205		1-p3280			
Freeman, Mort			1, 2-p3312			
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Garvin, Victoria						
Gates, Lillian			1, 2-p3312			
Gay, Harry	2, 4-p224		1, 4-p3285 p3312			
Gibson, Jackie			1, 4-p3312			
Gilbert, Ronnie			1, 4-p3286 p3297			
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Goldberg, Quincey						
Goldway, Dave			1, 4-p3298 p3335			
Goldway, Tillie			2-p3302 p3335			
Goodelman, Aaron J.			1, 4-p3305			
Gordon, Hallie Wood			1, 4-p3319			
Gottlieb, Vicki			1-p3279 p3312			
Green, Adolph			1, 4-p3286 p3312			
Greenberg, Marion (Wife of Paul Robe- son, Jr.)	1-p219		1, 4-p3317			
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Kramer, Aaron		1, 3-p3841	1-p3280			1-p158.
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Kramer, Terry			1, 4-p3314			
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Krushenick, Johnny (alias J. Rush).			1, 4-p3317			
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Landauer, Sam			1, 4-p3314			
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Lefkowitz (Leftkowitz), Laura.			1, 4-p3315			
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Smith, Ferdinand C.			1, 4-p3308			
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Snow, Edgar		5-p3829				
Speed, Jane			1-p3291, 3318			
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Steek, Bob			1-p3278			
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Mr. SOURWINE. Next, an exchange of correspondence between Mr. Edgar Snow, one of the 244 persons, and the chairman of the committee, and I may state Mr. Snow is the only one of the 244 who has contacted the committee since all of those listed were invited to appear if they desired to raise any objection or controversies about Mr. Matusow's testimony concerning them.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits 106, 106-A and 106-B" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 106

PALISADES, N. Y., March 18, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND.

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: My attention has been drawn to the fact that I was one of 244 persons identified as Communists by Harvey Matusow during Senator Pat McCarran's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations several years ago. I did not know that until now.

As at least some members of McCarran's committee must have known, or could easily have ascertained from the FBI, I have never been a Communist. I was earlier smeared in a similar way in privileged testimony by Louis Budenz. At that time my name was publicly reported and thus I had a chance to give the lie to Budenz in the press and challenge him to repeat his allegations outside immunity. He never did so.

Mr. Matusow also is a wholesale liar, as is now obvious to all. I don't know whether the McCarran committee knew that at the time he was their witness, but it is anyway responsible for disseminating Matusow's slanders concerning me and others. In view of that fact I should appreciate receiving a complete complimentary set of the full published reports of the IPR hearings, which now have some personal significance for me. Heretofore I had looked upon them merely as an item of historical curiosity but too expensive for me to afford to purchase. May I respectfully suggest that it would be fair practice for your committee hereafter to notify their fellow citizens whenever witnesses and informers testify against them? Ordinary citizens like myself lack the means to engage private intelligence agents to follow informers from place to place to keep up with their allegations or inventions.

Sincerely,

EDGAR SNOW.

EXHIBIT No. 106A

MARCH 29, 1955.

Mr. EDGAR SNOW,
Palisades, N. Y.

DEAR MR. SNOW: This will acknowledge your letter of March 18, indicating your desire to deny Harvey Matusow's testimony about you. The committee will be glad to give you an opportunity to do this. Let me know when you want to come down and I will arrange a hearing for this purpose.

Since the testimony against you was given under oath and in public session, I assume you will wish to make your denial the same way.

You ask for a set of the IPR hearings. The committee has no more full sets, as certain volumes are out of print. However, I am instructing that in your case a full set be assembled if possible, even though doing so may entail purchasing certain volumes from the Government Printing Office: and that this set then be mailed to you.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Internal Security Subcommittee.

EXHIBIT No. 106B

PALISADES, N. Y., April 14, 1955.

Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND,

*Chairman, Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,**Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Thank you for your recent letter and for copies of the IPR hearings and the Senate subcommittee's report, which reached me last week.

Meanwhile I had read Harvey Matusow's book, *False Witness*, in which he boasts of having lied or distorted the truth in his voluminous testimony before various Government investigating committees. For example, he says that during his appearance for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee he testified in a manner which he now describes as "complete untruth" and "complete falsehood." He asserts that he cared nothing about what was true but only whether he "made the front pages across the United States" and was accepted as an "expert among experts."

In view of these and other sensational revelations in a book doubtless also well known to you by now it can scarcely be contended that Matusow's past inventions any longer have weight or value as testimony. It would seem logical to assume that your subcommittee on internal security will soon recall Matusow to permit him to make suitable retractions and amends of some kind for having lied to injure people such as myself, in the testimony to which your letter refers. If during such an appearance before you he should again make such charges concerning me I should appreciate this time being notified and given the right to confront him with the challenge to repeat such statements outside of the privilege and immunity as a congressional witness which heretofore has surrounded him.

Sworn affidavits by me stating that I am not and have at no time been a Communist have long been on file with both Army intelligence and the State Department. Under separate cover I am mailing a similar affidavit for your files.

Sincerely,

EDGAR SNOW.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, to summarize, I have here a number of additional documentary exhibits. If it please the Chair, may they be placed in the record in the order in which I have them here?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is so ordered.

Mr. SOURWINE. Finally, before the committee adjourns, I would like to ask if Mr. Angus Cameron or Mrs. Mary Kaufman or Mr. David Ratner are in the room. All of these persons we have been trying to reach: Angus Cameron, Mary Kaufman, David Ratner.

(No response.)

Mr. SOURWINE. I have nothing else, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 o'clock p. m. the subcommittee adjourned.)

(The additional documentary exhibits offered by Mr. Sourwine and ordered into the record by Chairman Eastland will be found in part 12 following the testimony of Angus Cameron.)

X

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATUSOW CASE

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-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 58

MAY 9, 1955

PART 12

Printed for the use of the Committee on the Judiciary



UNITED STATES
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1955

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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

(The Significance of the Matusow Case)

MONDAY, MAY 9, 1955

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

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 12:15 p. m. in room 155 Senate Office Building, Senator John L. McClellan presiding.

Present: Senators McClellan and Watkins.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel, Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, professional staff member.

Senator McCLELLAN. The committee is now at order.

Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Angus Cameron is here under subpena. The situation is that Mr. Cameron was here before, as you know, and testified under oath, was sworn and testified. He subsequently failed to bring in or make available to us certain documentary information and a new subpena was issued.

I don't know whether the situation would require that Mr. Cameron be sworn again but I would respectfully suggest that that be done to be sure.

Senator McCLELLAN. Do you solemnly swear that the evidence you shall give before this investigating subcommittee shall be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth so help you God?

Mr. CAMERON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF D. ANGUS CAMERON, UPPER JAY, N. Y

Mr. SOURWINE. You are Angus Cameron?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the same Angus Cameron who has heretofore testified in this proceeding?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Cameron, you are here in response to a subpena duces tecum?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. And may this subpena, Mr. Chairman, go into the record at this point?

Senator McCLELLAN. All right. It may be placed in the record.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
 CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

To Mr. D. Angus Cameron, Upper Jay, N. Y., Tele. Upper Jay 21, Greeting:

Pursuant to lawful authority, you are hereby commanded to appear before the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States, on Monday, May 9, 1955, at 2:00 o'clock p. m., at their committee room 135-A, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., then and there to testify what you may know relative to the subject matters under consideration by said committee, and produce then and there, before said subcommittee, any and all books, ledgers, papers, documents, memoranda, notes, correspondence, or other records of any kind in your possession or under your control, respecting receipts and disbursements by or on behalf of Cameron & Kahn Inc., between November 1, 1954, and April 15, 1955.

Hereof fail not, as you will answer your default under the pains and penalties in such cases made and provided.

To JOSEPH C. DUKE, Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States, to serve and return

Given under my hand, by order of the committee, this 4th day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

JAMES O. EASTLAND,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Internal Security.

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OFFICE OF THE SERGEANT AT ARMS

I do appoint and hereby empower any United States Marshal to serve this subpoena and to exercise all the authority in relation thereto with which I am vested by the within order.

JOSEPH C. DUKE,
Sergeant at Arms of the Senate of the United States.

MR. SOURWINE. Have you produced the documents and other material called for by that subpoena?

MR. CAMERON. I believe I have, Mr. Sourwine. It is a pretty inclusive thing. If the material I produced before was satisfactory, then I have produced satisfactory material for the additional period. I believe that this committee has had the record of expenditures and income from Cameron & Kahn up to November 1, 1954, is that correct?

MR. SOURWINE. This committee was given access to certain records at your attorney's office.

MR. CAMERON. This subpoena asks that these records be brought up to date to April 15, 1955. I have done that. In addition—

MR. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

MR. CAMERON. In addition I brought the ledger on the book False Witness, that is the accounts ledger. Those two documents, whatever you want to call them, will give you, to the best of my knowledge, although they have not been audited—my books have not been audited—will give you, to the best of my knowledge, all receipts and disbursements called for in this subpoena.

MR. SOURWINE. May I have the subpoena for just a moment?

What is the material that you have, Mr. Cameron?

MR. CAMERON. You remember this book.

This book is now up to date from the dates you requested in the subpoena through April 15.

MR. SOURWINE. Just for the record. What is that book?

MR. CAMERON. That is the cash book of receipts and expenditures.

Mr. SOURWINE. Of Cameron & Kahn, Inc.?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who keeps this?

Mr. CAMERON. The records are kept by two people, by Mrs. Athene Ryan, who is a secretary and part-time bookkeeper, but the entries in this book are made by me.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is a regular book of account normally kept by you in the conduct of your business?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct. That book is the book from which both the balance sheet and the profit and loss statement would be made.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is one of the basic records you keep?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. Is that the only record you keep of those accounts?

Mr. CAMERON. That is the only final record we keep of the accounts.

Senator WATKINS. What do you mean by final record?

Mr. CAMERON. This ledger shows the invoices.

Senator WATKINS. The book you now have in your hand?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes. I don't know long you expect to keep this, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think less than a week, if that would not inconvenience you, sir.

Mr. CAMERON. That would seem reasonable.

When I left this morning I thought that this ledger contained not only the sales of the book *False Witness*, but also the few sales in the period, which was between November 1 and April 15, of the other books.

During that period we published one other book. That book was called *The Ecstasy of Owen Muir*, a novel by Ring Lardner.

I find that this ledger is only for the Matusow book; that was an oversight on my part which can be rectified by giving you the additional ledger if you want it.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think this time the committee would like to have exactly what is called for in the subpoena to be sure we have everything.

Mr. CAMERON. All right. That thing that is called for in the subpoena is, after all, rather—it refers to categories that do not necessarily correspond to our books.

Mr. SOURWINE. It may refer to categories that don't exist because it is obviously drawn broad enough to cover everything. We want to be sure that we have all your financial books and records.

Mr. CAMERON. Let me say you do not have the customer ledger for other books sold during the period; that is, books other than the Matusow book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you undertake to furnish that to the committee?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, I will furnish it. This ledger contains, to the best of my knowledge, all the sales, records of all sales, all invoices of *False Witness*.

Mr. SOURWINE. By this ledger you mean the one you are handing me now?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes.

Senator McCLELLAN. Identified as the large one compared to the small one?

Mr. CAMERON. You can identify it as the account ledger if you wish.

Mr. SOURWINE. It will be noted that the larger, as you call it, is alphabetically indexed.

Senator WATKINS. Does the subpoena, Mr. Sourwine, call for letters or correspondence in relation to the Matusow book?

Mr. SOURWINE. No, sir; it does not call for letters and correspondence.

Senator WATKINS. Have you had that heretofore?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. It does call for correspondence.

Mr. SOURWINE. He asked me with respect to the Matusow book. I was saying this is directed to financial transactions solely and would not cover any correspondence with regard to the writing of the book, or corrections of the book, or even sales correspondence of the book, unless it directly involved a financial transaction.

Senator WATKINS. I ask specifically about correspondence because it is in there.

Senator McCLELLAN. But that is correspondence respecting receipts and disbursements.

Senator WATKINS. For certain dates.

Senator McCLELLAN. That is right.

Senator WATKINS. If they have any, they ought to produce it. You did not bring any correspondence?

Mr. CAMERON. I wasn't sure what that meant. Would that mean the entire correspondence with all the bookstores? I doubt if you want that. I doubt if you want it.

Senator WATKINS. It says "receipts and disbursements."

Mr. CAMERON. That would have to do with receipts.

Mr. SOURWINE. The committee, sir, was mainly concerned with getting back to the original record on all of your financial transactions.

Mr. CAMERON. That is what I thought.

Mr. SOURWINE. These books appeared to cover the matter of receipts. What have you to cover disbursements?

Mr. CAMERON. This book here.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean the first book, the cashbook as you described it?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the only record you have of disbursements?

Mr. CAMERON. No, it is not. But it is a complete record. The daily cash record we have—and as I have said, to the very best of my knowledge and ability, that contains every item—

Mr. SOURWINE. This is not a daily cash record?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, it is a daily cash record.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you refer to as the daily cash sheets?

Mr. CAMERON. The worksheets.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words this is not an original record?

Mr. CAMERON. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the form in which the original record is kept, sir?

Mr. CAMERON. As far as receipts are concerned, the ledger, which covers the other books than the Matusow book, would cover those completely, and as far as disbursements are concerned, this book—I refer to the one at the bottom—will cover every item, the name of the

person, the date of the check, the amount of the check and the extensions, wherever I was able to make the extension at a time, that is a matter of our bookkeeping.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you paid that money in cash, what record would you have made of it at the time?

Mr. CAMERON. We don't pay money out in cash.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never have?

Mr. CAMERON. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you return some money to Mr. Starobin in cash?

Mr. CAMERON. I don't believe so. If we did I don't remember we did. I think you will find the cashbook, the red book, will show every bit of money that Mr. Starobin received.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you bring with you your check stubs?

Mr. CAMERON. No. You can have those, too. You did not call for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. I think the subpoena is broad enough to cover them.

Senator WATKINS. Canceled checks?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. CAMERON. You can have it. No reason why you should not. I did not bring them because I thought the record that was provided for the previous period, since they did cover all receipts and disbursements, would be satisfactory to you now.

But the stubs and the canceled checks are, of course, available.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you receive, Mr. Cameron, some money as a loan, where would the record of that receipt be made?

Mr. CAMERON. Right there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Again you are pointing to the cashbook.

Mr. CAMERON. Correct. May I show you, Mr. Sourwine; it will save some time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am trying to let the record speak as to what is in these two books.

Mr. CAMERON. You will remember, from the other one, that these receipts are in three categories: Sales, loans, and exchange. Every one is there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. That leads up to my next question which is: does this red book, the smaller of the two books, which you call the cashbook, include a record of all moneys that have come to the firm, whether by loan or gift or some commercial transaction, during the period purported to be covered here?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct, best of my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. This larger book covers all moneys received from sales of the Matusow book?

Mr. CAMERON. And all records of shipment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Showing to whom the book was sent?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct—shipments and receipts. Those are taken from invoices.

Mr. SOURWINE. So in a sense this larger book also answers a question we asked previously, which was not covered by this subpoena, and that is the persons who received books, to whom copies of the book were shipped?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, with the assurance of the witness that he will furnish that other book, and that he will furnish us with the check stubs and canceled checks which I think we would like to see—

Senator McCLELLAN. What other book are you referring to?

MR. SOURWINE. He has another ledger on sales of the books, other than the Matusow book, by his firm during this period.

Senator McCLELLAN. You want him to furnish one other ledger, check stubs, and canceled checks?

MR. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Senator McCLELLAN. I am trying to make it clear so there will be no misunderstanding.

MR. SOURWINE. I would like to ask also that Mr. Cameron, if it be the pleasure of the committee, Mr. Cameron not be released during—not be released from the subpoena during the week we are examining these, so if we do need anything else, we can operate under the subpoena.

Senator McCLELLAN. He can continue under the subpoena if you wish.

MR. SOURWINE. That is right.

Senator WATKINS. You spoke of the worksheets from which you made up your ledger, your cash book. As I understand it, those worksheets would be somewhat in the nature of an old-time daybook, events as they happened?

MR. CAMERON. Yes, sir.

Senator WATKINS. In what form did you keep the worksheets?

MR. CAMERON. The record of receipts, Senator, is kept either in an envelope, which Mrs. Ryan keeps as a record of deposits. That shows the receipts from sales, from loans, if there were any from loans, and from all other sources.

Those records are transferred to this book by me.

Senator WATKINS. This ledger or cashbook as you mentioned?

MR. CAMERON. This book. All items of sales are contained in the ledger, in the customers' ledger. All items of loan are contained in there.

Senator WATKINS. You have a customers' ledger with you?

MR. CAMERON. That is it.

Senator WATKINS. Right there?

MR. CAMERON. Right there. It is the other one I thought was in there that I will supply. This is just on the Matusow book.

Senator WATKINS. But these two books, both the cashbook and the other, are, in effect, recapitulation taken from the records and put in these books. These records have been made up entirely by you from the original records?

MR. CAMERON. No; that is not the case. This record, the ledger has been made up by Mrs. Ryan from the invoices. And from the checks received in payment for those invoices. May I show you this? Take this account here. On this day this number of books was shipped.

Senator WATKINS. This is the handiwork of the lady in your office?

MR. CAMERON. Or her assistant. So, when the invoice is made up to this account for so many books, whatever it is, 10 copies of a book in cloth and 25 in paper, and the billing is made, and then when the receipt comes in, when the check comes in from the account, it is carried over there.

If there is nothing there, it means they have not paid anything. Here is one, R. H. Macy & Co. You can find every invoice for every shipment that was made and whatever receipts have come in on each of these invoices.

Senator WATKINS. That is assuming, of course, that everything has been posted.

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct. That is posted up to the 15th, I am sure.

Senator WATKINS. If there were any sales made that were overlooked, whether by design or by intent, of course they would not be in here.

Mr. CAMERON. If there were any overlooked it would be accident.

Senator WATKINS. You keep a complete written record of all sales?

Mr. CAMERON. That is right.

Senator WATKINS. In the first instance, when you make these up?

Mr. CAMERON. That is right.

Senator WATKINS. As I understand, this is not the original entry. They are made up from other records.

Mr. CAMERON. That is made up from an invoice.

Senator WATKINS. Do you have invoices for each of these, and these cover all of your invoices?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. None were omitted?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. Those were the instructions?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Senator WATKINS. This work you don't do yourself?

Mr. CAMERON. No.

Senator WATKINS. But in the cashbook you did it yourself?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

On a certain day this check comes in and 3 or 4 other checks come in. That day's deposit is recorded in there. If you want to find out what it stood for, each one stood for, you would have to look in there, but the details would be there, the summary of the day's deposits would be there.

If they are sales, they are listed as sales. If they are loans they are listed as loans.

Mr. SOURWINE. You used the words "days' deposits" in the cashbook. Do the entries represent the receipts actually received that day or the amounts deposited?

Mr. CAMERON. The amounts deposited.

Mr. SOURWINE. They might have been received on another day.

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where would you have the records which show the days on which you received various amounts?

Mr. CAMERON. We don't have a record of the days on which they were received. With such a small and simple operation, the suggestion was made that this be done this way. She makes deposits maybe every day or 2 days. It depends on how much has come in in the meantime.

Mr. SOURWINE. If cash should be received would that be entered only when it was deposited?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. And if it did not get deposited, it would not get entered?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct. But if it did not get deposited it would be an oversight. I don't believe there are any oversights.

Senator WATKINS. Who takes care of the deposits?

Mr. CAMERON. Mrs. Ryan.

Senator WATKINS. You don't believe there are any oversights.

Mr. CAMERON. No, sir.

Senator WATKINS. You don't take the money to the bank?

Mr. CAMERON. No.

Senator WATKINS. I noticed you mentioned one other book that you have printed. The sale of these 2 books and the printing of those 2 books comprise your entire business?

Mr. CAMERON. No. I just said we published one other book in the period that the records were requested for.

Senator WATKINS. How long have you been operating?

Mr. CAMERON. Since May 1953.

Senator WATKINS. What other books do you publish?

Mr. CAMERON. We published 8 books.

Senator WATKINS. Eight books all together?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes. And we have others contracted for, that we are going to publish in the next period.

Senator WATKINS. Who does the printing?

Mr. CAMERON. Various people.

Senator WATKINS. Who did it on the Matusow book?

Mr. CAMERON. The Book Craftsmen Associates.

Senator WATKINS. New York?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes. Printing and binding.

Senator WATKINS. Has the address been furnished to the committee?

Mr. CAMERON. I think so. It is in the New York book. I haven't the address here.

Senator WATKINS. Have you ever submitted a copy of the contract with them to the committee?

Mr. CAMERON. No, I don't believe I have been asked to do it.

Senator WATKINS. I see.

Mr. CAMERON. But there is such a contract.

Senator WATKINS. Do they do most of your printing?

Mr. CAMERON. No. They only printed this book. They will probably print the next book. I guess we probably had three printed altogether, three different binders.

Senator WATKINS. Have you put on a sales campaign for this Matusow book?

Mr. CAMERON. As far as our limited resources enabled us to. We haven't had too much to spend. We have run 1 ad in the Sunday New York Times, 4 ads in the daily New York Times, and 1 ad in Publisher's Weekly. There are bills that we have not paid. They are outstanding bills. There are outstanding bills that we have not paid that are not recorded here. Do you want accounts payable as well?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. CAMERON. It is neither a receipt nor——

Senator WATKINS. It relates to disbursement.

Mr. CAMERON. I don't know whether Mr. Kahn, when he was in the executive session, explained the nature of the publication of this Matusow book and, since it involved the information that you wish, it ought to be made quite clear to the committee.

Mr. KAHN, in June of last year, decided to leave and move to the west coast. Did he testify to this?

Mr. SOURWINE. I don't recall his testifying anything about moving to the west coast.

Mr. CAMERON. He did decide to leave. As a result an agreement was worked out which has never been signed but the details of which had been discussed and put in a memorandum form prepared by which, since the corporation would then be broken up, I was going to Liberty Book Club and since Mr. Kahn was going to organize another corporation, which was to be called Liberty, as you know, the agreement was made for the new corporation to take over—the details were worked out satisfactorily to take over the liabilities and assets of Cameron & Kahn Associates.

These discussions went on when he came back from the coast in June.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say Cameron's Associates?

Mr. CAMERON. To take over the assets of Cameron & Kahn, Inc.

Mr. SOURWINE. In other words Cameron Associates will take over the assets of Cameron & Kahn, Inc.

Mr. CAMERON. That is right. That is what I meant to say.

I became the director of Liberty Book Club on the 1st of October and shortly after that Cameron Associates was organized—I can't remember now.

It was while this agreement was being made and discussed that the question of doing this book, False Witness, came up. There was some discussion on Mr. Kahn's part with me, since he wanted to keep that separate from Cameron & Kahn because he wanted to participate directly in the possible profits from it, the proposal was made that the book be published jointly by him as an individual and by Cameron & Kahn. There was a gentlemen's agreement on that which provides that half the receipts after, that is half the profits after all expenses are paid, should go to Mr. Kahn personally, because he was in fact separated from the operation, and one-half to Cameron & Kahn, which would then be taken over by Cameron Associates, the intention being to use that money, if there were any profits, to pay some of the deficits of Cameron & Kahn.

Now, in the process of doing this, Mr. Kahn made certain advances on his own, to the operation of the publication.

Cameron & Kahn and Cameron Associates as a distributor carried on certain operations. Mr. Kahn has submitted, on the 21st of April, an unitemized bill of his advances. That bill has not been itemized and also, after the April 15 period, but it is a part of this operation.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Mr. CAMERON. I don't have the itemized list but I can get it itemized and put in it.

Mr. SOURWINE. We would like to have your unitemized bill and your itemization of it.

Mr. CAMERON. He would have to itemize it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kahn was quite positive in his testimony that this book was being financed by Cameron & Kahn, that as an individual he had nothing to do with it. The facts of the matter and the facts of what he testified to of course the record will stand on.

Mr. CAMERON. It ought to be made quite clear and it is a little difficult to do it because the actual agreement which has been reached between Albert Kahn and Angus Cameron had not been, you know—lawyers had not put it in final form, so in fact Cameron & Kahn continued to exist as a corporation and the moneys that Mr. Kahn advanced will indeed go through, will be submitted as a bill to Cameron & Kahn, so that actually the transaction goes through Cameron & Kahn but there will be a contract with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the amount he is billing for?

Mr. CAMERON. I suppose counting it—\$3,200 I suppose, something like that, maybe more.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does that represent sums advanced by him in cash?

Mr. CAMERON. It represents sums advanced by him in cash. It represents sums paid to suppliers, printer, platemakers, you will see the itemization.

Mr. SOURWINE. You say you will be able to itemize that.

Mr. CAMERON. No, I say he will. It is in categories but it is not itemized in detail.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is there anything included there for the cost of Mr. Tank's services as companion for Mr. Matusow?

Mr. CAMERON. I think there is probably an item in there for proof-reading that Mr. Tank did. I can't be sure, as a matter of fact, but it will show if it were.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the agreement between Mr. Kahn and the firm of Cameron & Kahn, which will result in Mr. Kahn receiving reimbursement for these funds and which, I take it, will also result in his receiving certain other moneys representing half of the profits, if any?

Mr. CAMERON. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. In that agreement did it imply that he would be responsible for any share of the losses if any?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that agreement wholly between you and Mr. Kahn?

Mr. CAMERON. Yes, it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are the only two stockholders of Cameron & Kahn?

Mr. CAMERON. No, the other directors, my wife as you may remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. CAMERON. But the agreement will be between the corporation and Albert E. Kahn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. CAMERON. Also at the same time that that agreement is made, the other agreement, which is in general terms known to us, will also be formalized. That is the agreement in which Cameron Associates takes over the assets and liabilities of Cameron & Kahn. One of the assets, I hope, will be half the profits, which will be used to pay some of the deficits.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that these two books be made a part of our record by incorporation by reference and that it also be ordered that pertinent excerpts from these books or summaries thereof may be printed in our record as appears indicated.

SENATOR McCLELLAN. That will be done. Of course the original books will be returned to the witness.

MR. SOURWINE. Yes, sir. We will endeavor to return them to Mr. Cameron within a week.

MR. CAMERON. The cashbook, I won't necessarily need within a week. That one is a difficult one, that is a day-to-day book. This will merely mean we cannot post any sales during this period.

What about the other material?

MR. SOURWINE. The other material that you promised to send us, you can send it by any convenient means that will assure you that they come. You can send them registered if you wish.

MR. CAMERON. O. K. I would like to make one little point straight, Mr. Sourwine.

You began these proceedings by saying I believe that I—I think you used the word "refused" to supply these materials. Is that correct?

MR. SOURWINE. I am not sure. I might have said "refused."

MR. CAMERON. That is not the case. Your emissaries to Mr. Faulkner asked for certain material, which I took to be this book, substantially this book, and I said that the material was not available in forms which would make any sense to you.

MR. SOURWINE. Just so the record may speak on the basis of the word, I talked personally to Mr. Faulkner several times on this and, on one occasion, he said he had spoken to you and he said you had said you would not make it available at that time.

To me that is a refusal and that is the sense in which I used the word.

MR. CAMERON. At that time it was not available. This is Mr. Faulkner's interpretation of my statement.

MR. SOURWINE. He is your counsel.

MR. CAMERON. Based on his incomplete knowledge of the nature and the state of the book.

MR. SOURWINE. Let's leave it, in the legal sense failed and refused, and you have now furnished them in response to the subpoena.

MR. CAMERON. I would not like to leave it in the sense of refusal because I don't believe I refused to supply the material.

MR. SOURWINE. You did not supply them hitherto.

MR. CAMERON. That is correct. I was not asked to except—let me just make one other statement.

At the time, since I said I would undertake to supply the material within 10 days to 2 weeks, I don't believe that much more time than 10 days to 2 weeks has gone by since then.

Perhaps a little bit more.

SENATOR McCLELLAN. All right, is that all?

MR. SOURWINE. That is all I have.

SENATOR McCLELLAN. The committee is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 2:45 p. m., the hearing in the above-entitled matter was adjourned.)

(Certain exhibits, which were ordered into the record by Chairman Eastland at the hearing of April 20, follow here.)

MR. SOURWINE. The next is a memorandum giving a brief thumbnail sketch on certain authors whose books have been published by

the firm of Cameron & Kahn. This was prepared by the director of research of the committee, under my direction.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 107," and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 107

RICHARD O. BOYER

Identified in the Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, April 19, 1949, as one "who spoke openly as a member of the Communist Party." The Review mentions "his outright advocacy of civil disobedience."

Richard O. Boyer has been a frequent writer for the Daily Worker.

Listed as Communist writer in Daily Worker of March 29, 1949, page 2.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Heard in a deportation proceeding on August 10, 1954. Editor of the National Guardian. Charged with being a member of, or affiliated with, the Communist Party of the United States. Belfrage refused to answer questions as to his membership in the Communist Party now; as to the party name of George Oakden; as to whether closed Communist Party meetings were held in his home; as to whether he was engaged in espionage activities against the United States and Britain (New York Times, Aug. 11, 1954).

Martin Berkeley testified that he knew Cedric Belfrage as a member of the Communist Party (Washington Post, Sept. 8, 1954, p. 17).

The Justice Department said today that an Immigration Service inquiry officer had ordered Cedric Belfrage, a New York writer, deported "on grounds of Communist Party membership" (New York Times, Dec. 11, 1954, p. 6).

JOHN WEXLEY ALSO KNOWN AS JACOB WEXLER

A writer for Cameron & Kahn.

Signer of open letter to the President urging a declaration of war on Finland sponsored by the American Council on Soviet Relations (official ACSR folder, undated).

Sponsor of American Peace Mobilization, a Communist-front organization, in connection with its meeting on April 5, 1941, in New York City (official program of meeting).

Sponsor of Artists Front To Win the War, a Communist-front organization (official program of meeting October 16, 1942).

Member of Advisory Council of Book Union, Inc., a Communist front (undated letterhead).

Sponsor of movie ball arranged by Film and Photo League, April 27, 1934 (New Theater, April 1934, p. 23).

Speaker, Hollywood Writers Mobilization, October 2, 1943 (official program).

Teacher, staff of League of American Writers in Hollywood, a Communist front organization (Daily Peoples World, Feb. 11, 1943, p. 5).

RING LARDNER, JR.

Testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 30, 1947. Has been a screenwriter in the motion-picture industry.

Refused to answer questions regarding his past and present membership in the Communist Party.

Information was placed in the record of the House committee regarding the Communist Party registration card of Ring Lardner, Jr., bearing the number 47180. Also in the record is a notation as to his 1944 card No. 46806. Also in the record is an allegation as to his holding party book No. 25109.

Cited for contempt of Congress and convicted, on June 29, 1950, before a United States district court (report of HUAC, 1950, p. 33).

ALVAH BESSIE

Employed as a scriptwriter in the motion-picture industry since January 1943.

Testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 28, 1947.

Refused to answer questions regarding his past and present membership in the Communist Party.

Cited for contempt of Congress and convicted, on June 29, 1950, before a district court (report of HUAC, 1950, p. 33).

HERBERT MORAIS

Subject of testimony before the subcommittee of the joint legislative committee to investigate procedures and methods of allocating State moneys for public school purposes and subversive activities—State of New York. Identified as a member of the Communist Party under the party name of Richard Eumale (p. 270). The name Eumale has been identified as a combination of Engels, Marx, and Lenin, including the first two letters of each name (p. 271). Identified as an editor for International Publishers, a Communist publishing house (p. 303).

Identified as a professor of the history department of Brooklyn College. Declined to give testimony at private hearings of the above committee (p. 304).

Cited as a source of reference by Albert E. Kahn in High Treason as follows:

"Morais, Herbert M., and Cahn, William, 'Gene Debs, the Story of a Fighting American,' International Publishers, 1948."

WILLIAM CAHN—BILL CAHN

Guest lecturer, Jefferson School of Social Science. This school has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General (catalog, fall term, 1944).

Member of veterans committee of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America (a Communist-controlled union) (catalog, *ibid.*).

Signer of a statement, as editor of the News of Connecticut, New Haven, Conn., opposing the renewal of the Dies committee in January 1943.

In his book, Mill Town (Cameron & Kahn), eulogizes Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the convicted Communist leaders.

Publicity man for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America.

Writer for International Publishers, a Communist publishing house.

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

Writer for Cameron & Kahn.

Speaker at Fifth Amendment Forum (Daily Worker, Dec. 3, 1953, p. 6).

Writer of pamphlet, McCarthy Enemy of the Negro People (Daily People's World, Oct. 30, 1953, p. 3).

Writer of article in the February 1954 issue of March of Labor (a Communist magazine) (Daily People's World, Feb. 4, 1954, p. 8).

Writer of article in Jewish Life, a Communist magazine, condemning McCarthy as an anti-Semite (Daily People's World, July 7, 1953, p. 7).

Author of a forthcoming book entitled "McCarthy & Co." (Daily Worker, Dec. 3, 1953, p. 6).

Edward Dmytryk, film producer and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on April 25, 1951, that John Wexley was a member of the Communist Party (HUAC hearings, p. 417).

Leo Townsend, screenwriter and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on September 18, 1951, that John Wexley was a member of the Communist Party. (HUAC hearings, p. 1511). He identified John Wexley as the author of the plays *The Last Mile* and *They Shall Not Die*.

Martin Berkeley, screen writer and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on September 19, 1951, that John Wexley was a member of the Communist Party (HUAC hearings, p. 1597).

George Beck, filmwriter and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on September 25, 1951, that a Communist Party meeting had been held at the home of John Wexley which Beck attended (HUAC hearings, p. 1827).

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a series of memoranda on books published by the firm of Cameron & Kahn.

(The memoranda referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 108" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 108

THE GAME OF DEATH: EFFECTS OF THE COLD WAR ON OUR CHILDREN

(By Albert E. Kahn, author of the best seller, *High Treason*, Cameron & Kahn, New York 1953)

STAFF COMMENT

To judge by the contents, the book has two objectives: (1) Persuade parents to obstruct preparations for civil defense (ch. 1); (2) induce hostility to American ways and institutions by rehashing the stock accusations that have been current among "progressives" for the last 10 or 20 years.

The 10 chapters of the book are devoted to the following propositions:

Chapter 1: Civil defense preparations make children neurotic.

Chapter 2: School buildings are bad because materials and money needed to improve them are used for military preparation.

Chapter 3: Freedom of thought and expression is being suppressed as part of the preparation for war.

Chapter 4: The Nation is opposed to military service and universal military training.

Chapter 5: Comic books and TV are brutalizing the children.

Chapter 6: Narcotics, race propaganda, and prisons are brutalizing the children.

Chapter 7: The FBI is harassing and intimidating the families and especially the children of fugitive Communists and Smith Act violators by shadowing them.

Chapter 8: The courts do not permit families to take their children to Iron Curtain countries and refuse custody of children to parents suspect of Communist leanings.

Chapter 9: Segregation and discrimination are practiced against Negroes; they can be murdered with impunity and cannot expect to obtain justice in the courts.

Chapter 10: Many children are underfed and badly housed while money is being spent on armaments.

(Facing title page, other books by Albert E. Kahn:)

Sabotage!—The Secret War Against America*

The Plot Against the Peace*

The Great Conspiracy: The Secret War Against Soviet Russia*

High Treason: The Plot Against the People

The Game of Death

Pamphlets:

Treason in Congress

Dangerous Americans

Agents of Peace

Vengeance on the Young

The Crime Against Jean Field

The People's Case

(Pp. 5, 6:)

CONTENTS

I. The shadow of the bomb.

1. Strange lessons.
2. Climate of horror.
3. The matter of fear.
4. Duck and cover.
5. The threat of peace.

II. Scandal of the schools.

1. In the richest city.
2. Havoc for the young.
3. "The most important business."

III. War on the mind.

1. Shape of things to come.
2. Process of indoctrination.
3. Freedom to conform.

*With Michael Sayers.

- IV. Need for killers.
 1. Warning to the Nation.
 2. "Raise your boy to be a soldier."
- V. Niagara of horror.
 1. "Kill, kill, kill, kill!"
 2. Blood and thunder.
 3. The lore of Hollywood.
- VI. Crime and punishment.
 1. "The Nation's nightmare."
 2. Ways of the jungle.
 3. Jungvok in America.
 4. "How to mangle a soul."
- VII. Vengeance on the young.
 1. Grim fact.
 2. Ways of the FBI.
 3. Operation nursery school.
 4. Strategy of sadism.
- VIII. Loyalty program for parents.
 1. At home and abroad.
 2. Sins of a mother.
- IX. Infamy of the Nation.
 1. The way in Washington.
 2. Shadow over the land.
 3. Justice in Americus.
 4. Words versus deeds.
- X. Way of life.
 1. Peak prosperity.
 2. "Get healthier by eating less."
 3. The forgotten children.
 4. Scales of values.
 5. Issues at stake.

To the reader

Index

Photo credits

EXCERPTS

(Pp. 31, 32:)

"You have to train a child to keep from running in the path of an automobile," Dr. Edwin Van Kleeck, assistant education commissioner of New York Civil Defense, complacently observes. "Is it not logical to explain to him what to do if an atom bomb strikes?"

But large numbers of mothers and fathers remain far from impressed by this "logic," which casually assumes that A-bomb raids are as likely to occur as automobile accidents. Unwilling to resign themselves to the inevitability of an atomic war, and fearful that the air raid drills may cause grave emotional disturbances in their children, more and more parents have urged that these measures be abandoned in the schools.

In Philadelphia, a delegation of mothers representing the Committee of Women for Peace presented the board of education with a statement which declared that to use the civilian defense program as a method to condition children for living in a world at war; to use children as messengers of propaganda; to send them home hysterical to their parents in order to get parents to act * * *; this is not preparedness but insanity which we do not wish to see reflected in our children * * *. We propose a program of education toward peace and a friendship with the peoples of all countries.

(P. 32:)

In the 1951 school board elections in Cleveland, Mrs. Marie Reed Haug, an official of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, campaigned on a platform including the demand that atomic bomb drills be abolished in the schools. She received 44,000 votes.

(The United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America has been ousted as Communist by the Congress of Industrial Organizations.)

(P. 40:)

"As the ominous features of the cold war took shape, more and more attention was paid to the grim business of rearmament and less and less to meeting the crucial educational needs of the Nation's young. By the time the Truman doctrine was enunciated in the name of defending world democracy one of the most precious attainments of American democracy—its system of free and universal education—was gravely imperiled in every section of the land."

(P. 45:)

"* * * the needs of the schools were being deliberately neglected in order that the requirements of the armament industries might be met."

(Pp. 52, 53:)

With the inception of the cold war, American national policy had come to be dominated by two basic concepts, both of which were identified with the name of President Truman. In the field of foreign affairs, the Truman doctrine—characterized by the Chicago Daily News as "an open invitation to war with Russia"—proclaimed a policy of aiding reaction and counterrevolution abroad in the name of halting "world Communist expansion." On the home front, the Truman loyalty order promulgated a program of thought control and repression in the name of combating an internal "Communist menace." One act complemented the other. Both bore witness to the words of the Wall Street Journal: "The crusading days of the New Deal * * * are over."

Within an incredibly short time after the death of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the last vestiges of the New Deal were swept away before a mounting wave of stringent antilabor laws, inquisitorial investigations and trials, and unprecedentedly fierce attacks on traditional American freedoms.

(Pp. 53, 54:)

"American schools have gone far toward indoctrinating children with the dictums of the Cold War. 'Controversial issues' have virtually disappeared from public-school curricula. Liberal or independent views are rarely to be heard expressed by faculty members or pupils. Intensified nationalism, jingoistic glorification of 'the American way of life' and an indiscriminate sanction of the Government's domestic and foreign policies have become commonplace in the classrooms of the land."

(P. 55:)

"Here in part is a typical memorandum which was distributed among the teachers at the Samuel J. Tilden High School in New York City by the office of the principal following the outbreak of the Korean war:

"The unprovoked attack upon the Republic of Korea by the Communist inspired North Korean invasion constitutes a signal challenge to the forces of freedom * * *

"Is it to be wondered at that Korea has been transformed into the bastion of democracy for Asia and the world? * * *

"Believers in peace and democracy must cheerfully and unequivocally make every possible sacrifice that democratic civilization may survive."

"There were of course many persons in the United States who would have given a somewhat different appraisal of the Korean war. Nevertheless, a memorandum of this sort was tantamount to a command; and any teacher having the temerity to question its categorical assertions or failing, for that matter, to propagate its contents among his pupils, was liable to find himself the object of a loyalty investigation and, before very long, out of a teaching job * * *

(P. 62:)

"But there are teachers with stubborn consciences who are unwilling to convert education into 'an instrument of national policy' and to regiment the thinking of children into the rigid patterns of the Cold War. The treatment of such teachers today is ominously reminiscent of the policy expressed in the early 1930's by Hans Schwemm, Bavarian Minister of Education in Nazi Germany: 'A pacifist teacher is a clown or a criminal. He must be eliminated.'"

(P. 64:)

"Since the advent of the Cold War, investigations of 'communism,' denunciations of 'left-wingers' and 'Reds,' frenzied witch hunts and purges have swept like a contagious psychosis through educational institutions in every part of the country. One State after another has enacted laws requiring special loyalty oaths of public-school teachers or stipulating the dismissal of teachers suspected of 'disloyalty' or 'subversive affiliations.' * * * Everywhere, teachers have been called upon to give an accounting of their social and political beliefs; and everywhere, in the name of defending democracy and freedom, teachers whose views seem at variance with Cold War dogma have been systematically driven from the schools."

(P. 65:)

"From institutions of learning and enlightenment, the schools of the land are being converted into hotbeds of bigotry, fear, and frantic inquisition. This ugly metamorphosis was epitomized in the trial and dismissal of eight New York City school teachers in 1950. * * * All were active members of the teachers union, an organization known for its militant progressive policies."

(Pp. 67, 68:)

Public trials of the teachers commenced on September 18, 1950, in the hall of the board of education in Brooklyn, N. Y. The presiding trial examiner, who

had been appointed by the board of education, was an affluent corporation lawyer named Theodore Kiendl.*

The handful of prosecution witnesses who appeared at the trials during the ensuing weeks were a motley lot. There was not a single principal, teacher, or parent among them. Almost without exception, the witnesses against the eight distinguished teachers were notorious labor spies, professional informers, renegade Communists, or police agents. They included such individuals as Louis Budenz, the renegade Communist and periodic Government witness who at a previous court proceedings had refused, on the grounds that his testimony might incriminate him, to answer 22 questions relating to the practice of white slavery and the violation of the Mann Act; Joseph Kornfeder, a renegade Communist and FBI informer; Stephanie Horvath, a professional spy for the New York City police department who had joined the Communist Political Association in 1944 and was later expelled from the organization; Leonard Patterson, a renegade Communist with a police record, whose memory was such that he could describe in minute detail incidents which allegedly occurred 20 years before in the Communist movement but could not recall the exact circumstances of a hit-and-run accident court proceeding in which he had been involved in 1949.

Only two of these witnesses claimed ever to have been acquainted with the teachers on trial. All had much the same to say on the witness stand. Testifying as "experts" on communism, they told hair-raising tales of "Red plots" to subvert American democracy, "Moscow-directed plans" to infiltrate the schools, and alleged discussions held in past years with Joseph Stalin himself.

Soberly citing the testimony of these witnesses, New York City Corporation Counsel John P. McGrath, who was acting as prosecutor for Superintendent Jansen, charged that the teachers were "fifth columnists" in the schools, whose secret aim was to foment "a spirit of rebelliousness" in their pupils.

The only school official to testify was Superintendent Jansen. Questioned by defense counsel, Jansen admitted he had conducted no inquiry into the classroom records of the teachers. To the best of his knowledge, he conceded, their teaching records were unblemished. The sole "offense" of which he accused them was their refusal to answer questions regarding their private political beliefs and affiliations.

(P. 69:)

On the trials of teachers which commenced on September 18, 1950, in the hall of the board of education in Brooklyn, N. Y., with Theodore Kiendl as presiding trial examiner:

"The board of education had accomplished the prime purpose for which it had staged the trials. A precedent had been established for dismissing teachers whose principles and beliefs failed to conform to cold-war standards."

(P. 100:)

*Not all of the comic books deal with crime, sex, corruption, war. A handful feature stories taken from the Bible and other literary classics; and the narratives of some comics are built around animals. Almost invariably, however, the animal comics are replete with instances of sadism and violence. Many of the classic comics stress grim and brutal episodes.

There are also some comic books of a progressive nature, which stress the importance of combating discrimination and feature other such democratic concepts. The number of these comic books, however, is infinitesimal in comparison with the quantity of the horror, crime, and war comics.

An example of the constructive educational use of the comic book technique is a children's pamphlet entitled "Chug-Chug," which was published by the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers Union. The story, told in pictures accompanied by written text, depicts in terminology adapted to children's understanding the benefits brought through trade unionism to individual families as well as to the community at large. It is symptomatic of the temper of the times that early in 1953, Representative Edmond J. Donlan, of the Massachusetts State Legislature, denounced the pamphlet "Chug-Chug" as "pro-Communist" and urged that the union which published it be investigated for spreading "class-hatred propaganda."

*Theodore Kiendl is a partner in the law firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl, which numbers among its clients such concerns as J. P. Morgan & Co., Mutual Life Insurance Co., American Telephone & Telegraph Co., United States Rubber Co. During the Roosevelt era, the firm played a leading role in combating New Deal labor legislation and in defending large corporations against charges of unfair labor practices.

Senior partner in the firm is John W. Davis, millionaire director of several Morgan companies, who in 1934 was one of the founders of the bitterly reactionary American Liberty League. After the advent of the Truman administration, Davis gave personal advice on the drafting of such repressive Federal legislation as the McCarran Act.

(P. 128, footnote:)

"It is a revealing sidelight of the state of affairs in the Nation that while men and women are being sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment under the Smith Act because of their political beliefs, criminals who profit from ruining the lives of children with drugs are treated with such leniency, such as Anslinger indicates * * * of course the millionaire gangsters who direct the narcotics traffic from behind the scenes are rarely punished at all.

"Also significant is the fact that while Congress grants vast sums to the FBI to investigate 'subversive activities,' the funds made available to the Narcotics Bureau represent only a small fraction of its actual needs. Similarly, with prodigious amounts being spent on war production, not a single State or city in the land provides anywhere near adequate funds for the care and treatment of child drug addicts."

(Pp. 160-163:)

"The sedulous efforts of the FBI to harass and intimidate the wives and children of James Jackson, Gilbert Green, and Frederick Fine, have been duplicated in the cases of the other Communist leaders being sought for arrest under the Smith Act * * *" [Book gives abstracts of statements by families of following: Henry Winston, Sidney Stein, William Norman. Others are listed as being harassed: Robert Thompson, Gus Hall, Albert Lima, Rose Chernin, Loretta Stack.]

"The systematic brutality of FBI operations under the Smith Act has by no means been restricted to the wives and children of the missing Communist Party leaders. In city after city, when men and women have been arrested for alleged violation of this law, their families have been treated with calculated malevolence and sadism by FBI agents.

"I saw the pattern of the German Gestapo reenacted in my home," declared Mrs. Albert Lima * * * "Three FBI agents forced their way in * * *"

(P. 194:)

"Far more of a national disgrace is the fact that discrimination against Negro men, women, and children in Washington is not only condoned but actually fostered by the Federal Government itself."

(P. 244:)

"Instead of measures to lessen international tensions and end the war in Korea, the new administration promptly projected plans for extending hostilities in the Far East, speeding up the rearmament of Western Germany and intensifying subversive operations in Eastern European countries to help 'liberate' them * * * In less than a month after Eisenhower's inauguration, according to press reports, the White House was being flooded with mail bitterly charging President Eisenhower with 'failing to keep his promise to end the Korean war' and 'to bring the boys home.'

"With the influence of the red-baiting mountebank, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, growing daily in Washington frenetic witch hunts and inquisitorial investigations were multiplying throughout the country as part of an intensified drive to drill conformity into children's minds. A mood of fear and pessimism increasingly vitiated the morale of American youth."

(P. 245:)

"In the Far East, the North Korean and Chinese Governments not only agreed to an immediate exchange of sick and wounded prisoners of war by the opposing forces in Korea, but also offered to make major concessions toward the achievement of a full armistice. Simultaneously, the Government of the Soviet Union began making one conciliatory move after another, aimed at opening up negotiations in the United States on a variety of long-deadlocked issues and the settlement of outstanding differences between East and West * * * As every day brought fresh developments * * * certain circles in the United States made manifest the fact that they regarded not war but peace as the immediate menace.

SEEDS OF DESTRUCTION: THE TRUTH ABOUT THE UNITED STATES OCCUPATION OF GERMANY

By Cedric Belfrage, Cameron & Kahn, New York, 1954

STAFF COMMENT

This is a piece of fiction presented as a factual account of the failure of denazification of the German press. The author's attitude is shown in the attached quoted passages from pages VII, X, XI, XV and 37.

Information on the author is to be found on the inside of the cover and on pages 2187-2190 of part 27 of the Senate hearings on interlocking subversion in Govern-

ment departments. According to the New York Times of December 11, 1954, Mr. Belfrage was ordered to be deported on grounds of Communist Party membership on December 10, and intended to appeal against the order.

Mr. Belfrage was a Hollywood writer and research director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, an organization listed as subversive by the Attorney General. He is currently editor of the National Guardian, a periodical advertised in the China Monthly Review and using material supplied by that paper.

Seeds of Destruction is dedicated to Jim Aronson who collaborated in preparing it and who is associated with the author in editing the National Guardian.

On the back of the cover the publishers advertise books by authors which include Richard O. Boyer who was described as a Communist by the Daily Worker on March 29, 1949 (p. 2).

Cedric Belfrage invoked the fifth amendment regarding his Communist Party membership when he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 5, 1953.

James Aronson (Allan James Aronson) invoked the fifth amendment regarding his Communist Party membership when he appeared before the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, Committee on Government Operations, on May 14, 1953.

EXCERPTS

(P. vii:)

* * * the author of this book was one of thousands of specialists sent by the western allies into their occupation zones with orders to restore democracy.

On May 14 of last year I was summoned before Joseph McCarthy's Senate Permanent Committee on Investigations, after a preliminary auto-da-fe by Velde's House Un-American Activities Committee, to be exposed as a Communist for having carried out those orders. On May 15 I was arrested for deportation and placed on Ellis Island, to be held without bail as one who would violently overthrow the Government of the United States.

As I write this in August of 1954, a hearing has just begun to pronounce upon me the formal sentence of excommunication from the country where I have wanted and chosen to live most of my adult years. Unless something unusual happens, my body—but not my soul—will shortly be kicked back where it came from after a proceeding which mocks not only the United States Constitution but the most primitive principles of Anglo-Saxon justice established centuries ago.

* * * the truncated territory known as West Germany is the nearest thing post-Roosevelt Washington has to a reliable ally to help destroy the Socialist half of the world.

(Pp. x, xi:)

The American public has been hoodwinked into believing that the tension with the Soviet Union over Germany today is due to Russian behavior since the Potsdam Treaty, in which both countries agreed to de-Nazify Germany and treat it as an economic whole with a view to unifying the country, orienting it toward peace, and ending the occupation as soon as possible. The Russians, we are expected to chorus on pain of trial for heresy, again and again broke their word and acted "aggressively"—thereby compelling Washington to consider the treaty a scrap of paper as it has now done for several years.

But the extent and strength of the forces in Germany—both German and American—working day and night to sour relations between the wartime allies were clear long before the war ended, as I have here tried to show. The total humbug of the nation that "the Russians started it" after Potsdam is shown in Carl Marzani's brilliant book, *We Can Be Friends* (Topical Publishers, New York, 1952).

(P. xv:)

With the German charge ready to explode again—if it were not for the Russians' extraordinary patience in face of all our provocations—the task of those who would smash democracy in America is to rewrite history so that the people may continue rocking while they do the smashing. The absurdity—directly contradicting the assertions of our own military and political leaders 9 years ago—that communism is merely fascism in another dress has already been put over.

(P. 37:)

As one tries to appraise "the Americans" as a single entity and force, the workings of the democratic conscience we take about with us are interesting to observe. We assign reactionaries to run our first experiment in German military government. At the same time we send a group of politically literate men—the leader of which was almost barred from the service as a "Communist"

because he worked for Interior Secretary Ickes—to “investigate” what they do. It is reminiscent of the mysterious operations of our Congress and its committees. (Back cover:)

OTHER CAMERON & KAHN BOOKS, CURRENT AND FORTHCOMING

The McCarthy Conspiracy, by Charles R. Allen, Jr.

If Joseph McCarthy were whisked off on a witch's broom tomorrow, the conspiracy which preceded him would still survive him. This is a book about the real nature of the conspiracy, the plot to reverse the direction of their lives which the American people chose for themselves under the New Deal. Full length, thoroughly documented, crammed with new revelations about the man and his machinations and the plans of those who lurk behind him. \$3.

The Ecstasy of Owen Muir, by Ring Lardner, Jr.

An unorthodox novel about orthodoxy, a witty candid-like satire about the conversion of an upper-class young man who tries to reconcile religious dogma with the realities of present-day America when he falls under the influence of a talented and successful Monsignor who weaves a spell of argument over the young man's midcentury confusions. \$3.

Labor's Untold Story, by Richard O. Boyer, and Herbert Morais

A big, readable, documented adventure story of the titanic struggle of labor and capital from the beginnings of the great industrial empires after the Civil War to 1954. It reveals the familiar methods of conspiracy trials and frameup which have been used against organized labor from Haymarket to Taft-Hartley—an exciting book of class history with the teeth of struggle left in. \$3.

The Un-Americans, by Alvah Bessie

A passionate novel of intense force and narrative excitement about an informer and another who refused to be his victim; a novel of a group of men and women whose pasts meet the present in that murky, half-world of fear, intimidation, and treachery which so characterize our times. By a writer who went to prison rather than capitulate to the witch hunt. \$3.

The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, by John Wexley

The first, full-length, fully documented study of the case—a moving, astonishing, and brilliant work of detection and criticism of the evidence, in the most celebrated case since the Dreyfus. A profoundly revealing book which sets the case within its true historic framework, by the author of *They Shall Not Die* and *The Last Mile*. \$3.

Cameron & Kahn, 109 Greenwich Avenue, New York 14, N. Y.

EYEWITNESS IN INDOCHINA

By Joseph R. Starobin—Cameron & Kahn, New York, 1954

STAFF COMMENT

This is straight Communist propaganda. It recalls the IPR writings on the Chinese Communists. It makes the point that Ho Chi Minh is supported by all kinds of non-Communist Nationalists. But since the method used is the omission or misinterpretation of facts, there is nothing in it that could be quoted to convince the ordinary reader without lengthy explanations.

Joseph Starobin was cited as leading Communist writer for the *Daily Worker* by Louis F. Budenz. He is their foreign news editor and was the mouthpiece of Gerhard Eisler.

The publisher's circular (Cameron & Kahn) describes him as “an American Marxist correspondent and commentator on world affairs since 1939. A member of the U. N. press corps and U. N. Correspondents Association since the inception of the world body at San Francisco. * * * Former foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*.”

He was listed in the Jefferson School catalogue, fall term 1944 as “member of the *Daily Worker* Editorial Board. Foreign editor of the *New Masses* from 1939 to 1943, now a contributing editor. Has written for *Science and Society*.” All these publications have been cited as Communist.

From the review by Kumar Goshal in the July 1954 issue of *Masses and Mainstream*:

"With rare exception, this magnificent struggle for national liberation has been presented to the American people in an incredibly distorted form, in which heroes have been transformed into villains and adventurers into crusaders" (p. 55).

"Eyewitness in China is a wise and exciting book. It is more than a timely book, for it helps illuminate the hopes and aspirations of all the colonial, exploited peoples of the world. Written in the spirit of the best anticolonial tradition of the United States * * * (p. 61).

THE ECSTASY OF OWEN MUIR

By Ring Lardner, Jr., published 1954 by Cameron & Kahn

STAFF COMMENT

The Ecstasy of Owen Muir is a novel of destruction. It blasts Catholicism, big business, private ownership, advertising, the prison system, judicial procedure, racial intolerance, and the United States Government.

Through the thoughts and words of the characters involved, certain facets of communism are extolled. An episode around the testimony of a FBI plant in the Communist Party is ably used to show the unreliability of such informers. The informer was naturally a former party member. It purports to depict the subversive hearings and trials as put-up jobs of the United States Government. It is charged that the Government has simply resorted to a frameup in order to keep the truth about its warmongering from the American people, and that United States citizens "are being railroaded to jail by J. Edgar Hoover's 'Gestapo' because they dare to speak their minds."

The most vicious part of this slime is its attack on the Catholic Church. Through the mouth of a prominent monsignor, we are told that the church is against civil rights and civil liberties for all, that these belong only to the enlightened; that lasting peace cannot be had unless we take the offensive. The rituals and beliefs of the church are sneered at. An attempt is made to show the church guilty of hypocrisy in its marriage laws, baptism, indulgences, confession, and in fact in all its dealings.

MILL TOWN

By Bill Calm, published 1954 by Cameron & Kahn

STAFF COMMENT

This is a pictorial narrative dealing with the town of Lawrence, Mass. The start of the mills circa 1850 is brought out with their growth and abuses of labor. Then it goes on to the strike of 1912. The events are emphasized and reemphasized with all the stress possible against capital and government in their part in the affair. Though the facts presented did take place, in view of the complete change of conditions regarding labor, it is plain that the book is published as an attempt to rouse the worker of today by an exposé of an event in 1912.

The struggle for labor organizations is depicted, the Palmer raids, the Sacco-Vanzetti case, the Mooney case, the Bonus March on Washington and the La-Follette investigation.

The Taft-Hartley law and McCarthyism are blasted. And it ends up by stating that the New England mills which removed themselves to the South are repeating the Lawrence pattern of more than 100 years ago.

Mill Town is obviously published for the purpose of inflaming the worker. It follows the Communist line throughout.

MCCARTHY ON TRIAL

Edited by Albert E. Kahn, published by Cameron & Kahn, 1954, under union label 209, which has been used by the Prompt Press, which prints literature for the Communist Party and its subsidiaries

STAFF COMMENT

The pamphlet describes a mock hearing conducted December 16, 1953, by the Trade Union Veterans Committee of New York on a pretended indictment of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

So-called prosecuting attorneys in the proceedings were Frank Serri, who has been an attorney defending Communist cases, and Russ Nixon, who invoked the fifth amendment regarding his Communist Party membership when he appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on June 9, 1953 (p. 17).

The following witnesses have also invoked the fifth amendment regarding membership in the Communist Party: James Aronson, also known as Allen James Aronson; Lou Spindell, Howard Fast, Dr. Melba Phillips, Frank Coe, and Technical Director Herb Tank (pp. 17, 18).

Ben Gold has been a candidate on the Community Party ticket in 1931, 1933, and 1936 in New York City (p. 17).

Following is an advertisement of the affair published in the Daily Worker, New York, December 16, 1953:

THE TRIAL OF SEN. JOSEPH MCCARTHY

The People of the United States vs. Senator McCarthy

The Indictment of Senator Joseph McCarthy for Violation of U. S. Criminal Code, Title 18—Section 608; Section 202; Section 205; Section 241 and Section 953, Will Be Heard in the Court of Public Opinion Before the Honorable People of New York.

CHARGES TO BE PROVEN AT THE PUBLIC TRIAL

That the said defendant Senator Joseph McCarthy did:

Support and conspire with pro-Nazis, anti-Semites and racists.

Deposit in the bank \$172,623.18 in four years on a Senator's salary of \$15,000 annually which totals only \$60,000.

Violate and act to destroy the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Civil Rights Acts.

Refuse to explain his acceptance of payments from Big Business interests for services rendered while a member of the U. S. Senate.

Fake his war record to obtain medals from the Armed Service.

Conspire to revive the Korean War and instigate World War III.

Employ people charged with being moral degenerates and perverts.

Utilize his high office for the purpose of character assassination and to besmirch and discredit liberals, New Dealers, progressives, and trade unionists.

Employ stoolpigeons and professional informers and utilize the big lie tactics of the Nazis.

WITNESSES FOR THE PROSECUTION

DR. CORLISS LAMONT
DR. ALPHEUS HUNTON
JULIUS EMSPAK
REV. WILLIAM H. MELISH
ROCKWELL KENT
BEN GOLD
LESTER COLE
HOWARD FAST

ABRAHAM FLAXER
JAMES ARONSON
MRS. ESLANDE ROBESON
ALBERT KAHN
LOU SPINDELL
DR. MELBA PHILLIPS
CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

Chief Prosecution Counsel—Frank Serri,
Former President Brooklyn Bar Association

Associate Prosecution Counsel—Russ Nixon,
Former Director of Division for Investigation of Nazi Cartels

St. Nicholas Arena, 66 St., & B'way, NYC, Wed., January 6, 1954—7:30 p. m. No Reserved Sections. Admission 75¢ (tax included). Tickets Can Be Obtained from Union Offices. Sponsored by: Trade Union Veterans Committee, 175 Fifth Ave., New York.

EXCERPTS FROM THE PAMPHLET

(Pp. 5, 6—statement by Albert E. Kahn:)

"No sooner had the war against the Axis ended than a fierce new conflict began. The economic royalists had not been idle during the war years; they had multiplied their wealth and power while young Americans gave their lives on far-off battlefields. Now, from their high-placed positions, with the object of maintaining their vast war profits, they launched an all-out assault against the foreign policies of the Roosevelt administration and the hard-won gains achieved by the people during the New Deal. With startling swiftness, the concept of close friendly relations among the major powers in the postwar world was replaced

by that of the Truman Doctrine, which the Chicago News characterized as "an open invitation to war with Russia." International tension mounted on every side. Instead of peace, the cold war was declared."

(P. 6—statement by Albert E. Kahn:)

"Across the land during the ensuing years there spread a miasmatic pall of fear, seeping into every crevice of the national life, enveloping meek and mighty alike: fear of an atomic global war, fear of Soviet spies, fear of another depression, fear of being purged on charges of disloyalty, fear of being branded as a Red."

(P. 23—statement by Russ Nixon:)

"Senator Joseph McCarthy has conspired with oil and industrial millionaires, with the Hearst and McCormick press, and with other native Fascist groups to attempt to overthrow our established constitutional democratic form of Government.

"We will prove that Senator McCarthy and his backers have advanced this conspiracy against our democracy by acts of repression and suppression of all opposition, by dishonest and illegal destruction of free elections, by seeking to destroy freedom of press and set up an absolute control over all means of mass communication.

"We will prove that Senator McCarthy has in the past, and continues now to seek destruction of the free rights of the people, and especially working people, by their exercise of free speech and rights of political association to protect their wages and working conditions, to protect and advance their social welfare, to protect themselves from unemployment and the threat of atomic war. * * *

(Pp. 17, 18:)

PARTICIPANTS IN THE TRIAL

Prosecuting attorneys

Frank Serri, former president of Kings County Criminal Courts Bar Association and president of the New York City Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild.

Russ Nixon, legislative director for United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America. Former director of United States Division for Investigation of Nazi Cartels.

Witnesses

Charles R. Allen Jr., journalist.

Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, educator.

James Aronson, newspaperman.

Lou Spindell, teacher.

Abram Flaxer, trade unionist.

Reverend William Howard Melish, churchman.

Howard Fast, novelist.

Dr. Melba Phillips, scientist.

Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, author.

Julius Emspak, trade unionist.

Frank Coe, economist.

Ben Gold, trade unionist.

The jury

Herb Frank, veteran of 3 years in Africa, lost leg at St. Lo near Normandy, member, Distributive, Processing and Office Workers of America.

Tony Baratta, veteran of 31 months in Europe, member, Joint Board, Fur Dressers' and Dyers' Unions.

Bob Requa, veteran of Korean war, member, Furriers' Joint Council.

Herb Lerner, veteran of North Africa, Sicily, and Italy campaigns, World War II, member, Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union.

Walter Garcia, Navy veteran, member, Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union.

Arnold Olenick, former Air Force Major.

Larry Perkins, former lieutenant, served in Italy, member, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Mrs. Betty Waters, former Wave, World War II, Hospital Workers Union.

Robert Logan, Air Force veteran; member, Fur and Leather Workers Union.

Dr. Edward Barsky, former head of Sanitation Service of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in Spain, former chairman, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

William Siler, member, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Leon Straus, lieutenant in United States Army during World War II; Executive Secretary, Joint Board Fur Dressers' and Dyers' Union.

Commentators

Sam Freedman, organizer for the Furriers Joint Council.

Albert E. Kahn, author.

Technical director

Herb Tank, playwright.

Background information on the witnesses was provided preceding the testimony of each:

"Charles R. Allen, Jr.,* former assistant editor of *The Nation* and author of a forthcoming book entitled *The McCarthy Conspiracy*."

"Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, secretary of the Council on African Affairs and a former member of the faculty of Howard University."

"James Aronson, executive editor of *The National Guardian*, formerly a member of the editorial staffs of the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune* and *New York Post*."

Statement by James Aronson: "I invoked the fifth amendment, when I did, to protect my innocence under the Constitution."

"Abram Flaxer, former president of the United Public Workers of America, who when summoned before the McCarran committee had refused to turn over to it the names and addresses of all the members of his union."

"Julius Emspak, general secretary-treasurer of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America."

Statement by Mr. Emspak:

"Mr. EMSPAK: Because these witch-hunting committees are only the servants of the big corporations whose unbridled financial power and greed are the real threat to our democracy. As Roosevelt used to call them, the Economic Royalists.

"We must understand one thing: these witch-hunting committees are not just political circuses to build up this or that politician; they are part of a coldly calculated conspiracy by big business to destroy the democratic organizations of the American people—and in the first place, the labor movement. The job of these committees is to create the political atmosphere in the country where the corporations can step in and do what they have been trying to do for generations: cripple, destroy, set back the labor movement of America.

"Let me give you briefly a concrete example which is like a textbook on the use of the witch-hunting committees to the employers. Just a month ago, McCarthy came to Lynn. Why did McCarthy come into Lynn? Because UE was going into an election with a clear majority * * *"

"Frank Coe, secretary of the International Monetary Fund up until 1953, and Assistant Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration during World War II."

MR. SOURWINE. The next, in view of previous evidence about Cameron & Kahn books, an article from the *Daily Worker* about the new John Wexley book on the Rosenberg-Sobell cases.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 109" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 109

[*Daily Worker*, New York, April 14, 1955]

WEXLEY TO REPORT ON 3-YEAR PROBE OF ROSENBERG-SOBELL CASE

John Wexley, playwright and screenwriter, will reveal the results of some 3 years of investigation into the Rosenberg-Sobell case, when he speaks at the Greater New York conference and luncheon to secure justice for Morton Sobell.

*Information from subcommittee file: Speaker at Fifth Amendment Forum (*Daily Worker*, Dec. 3, 1953, p. 6). Writer of pamphlet, *McCarthy, Enemy of the Negro People* (*Daily People's World*, Oct. 30, 1953, p. 3). Writer of article in the February 1954 issue of *March of Labor*, a Communist magazine (*Daily People's World*, Feb. 4, 1954, p. 8). Writer of article in *Jewish Life*, a Communist magazine, condemning McCarthy as an anti-Semite (*Daily People's World*, July 7, 1953, p. 7). Author of a forthcoming book entitled *McCarthy & Co.* (*Daily Worker*, Dec. 3, 1953, p. 6). "Excerpt" in *Fight* magazine, official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later the American League for Peace and Democracy (fronts), October 1953, p. 7.

The gathering will take place on Saturday, April 23, Hotel Great Northern, 118 West 57th Street, 10:30 a. m. to 4 p. m. Registration fee is \$2.50 (including luncheon).

Wexley has just finished his book on the Rosenberg-Sobell case, which will soon be published by Cameron & Kahn.

He is the author of "They Shall Not Die," a play about the Scottsboro case, and "The Last Mile," a play on capital punishment.

He also wrote the screenplay for "Hangmen Also Die," "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," "The Long Night," "The Amazing Dr. Clitterhouse," and other Hollywood films.

A call to the conference issued by the Sobell committee said as follows:

"Can anyone be safe while the Justice Department is permitted to imprison people on the word of dishonest witnesses?"

"This has been the pattern in the cases recently exposed by Matusow and Mrs. Natvig.

"This is the pattern in the case of Morton Sobell, now in Alcatraz, serving the fifth year of a 30-year sentence. It was the word of a confessed perjurer that sent Morton Sobell to prison. It was the discredited Roy Cohn who coached the witness in his lies.

"It is time to stop these abuses by the Justice Department."

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a review from Masses and Mainstream, the issue of September 1953, of the book *The Game of Death*, by Albert E. Kahn.

(The review referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 110" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 110

TARGET: CHILDREN

The Game of Death, by Albert E. Kahn, Cameron & Kahn, Cloth, \$3: paper, \$1.

It is the peculiar virtue of some books that they illuminate and make clear what until their publication has been obscured by the current avalanche of prowar propaganda. Such a book is doubly precious now when all the media of public opinion produce narcotics to make us accept the horrible as natural and sane. So were the German people soothed into accepting the murder of 6 million Jews as simply an ordinary manifestation of normal statecraft. So the American people are being lulled into similar acceptance now when plots for world conquest are palmed off as merely virtuous efforts at liberation, and when American concentration camps, built and ready, go all unnoticed and unmentioned.

Punch drunk from repeated onslaughts against decency, dulled by incessant incitements to war, we involuntarily accept the brutal, inadvertently accommodate the cheap, and scarcely murmur when school, radio, television, books, courts, and FBI combine to transform our children from humans into automatons conditioned to favor and participate in world slaughter. Albert E. Kahn's new book concerns this cold war plot against our children. It is its virtue that, its documented indignation restores, at least momentarily, our dulled vision until we can perceive again the horror of systematically indoctrinating the children of America with visions of violent death as an intrinsic part of the school curriculum.

In pursuing its pages we feel with new urgency what we have almost passively accepted—the fact that the Nation's schools have been transformed into "instruments of national policy," into factories manufacturing the ideology of predatory war. As when America was sane, before the days of loyalty oaths and imprisonment for political belief, we feel the shame of discharging teachers for the sole crime of advocating peace while permitting the country's schools to become overcrowded, ramshackle firetraps because all public moneys are needed for wars, hot and cold.

The book's picture of little children trooping to school with white sheets, to be used to cover their bodies in atomic drills, might well stand as a symbol of the United States today. For that matter so might all of the book's content—the loyalty programs under which children are being ripped from their parents because the latter have announced themselves for peace; the brutalities of the reform schools; the deliberate and systematic persecution of Negro children; the use of the FBI to terrorize children because of the political opinions of their parents; the increasing use of narcotics among teen-agers and the rising

casualties of juvenile gang warfare; the use of the radio, motion pictures, television, and comic books, of which 100 million copies are sold monthly, to condition children to concepts of violence, war, crime, and sudden death. All of these things are, unfortunately, a fair enough representation of present day America.

Kahn's book is a valiant contribution to the fight for peace. There may be those uninterested in the high politics, in the charges and countercharges of the cold war, but surely there can be few uninterested in its effects upon their children. This subject is a powerful common denominator, a mighty maker for coalition. Already the volume, truly shocking in its revelations, has attracted wide attention. Such figures as Professor Henry J. Cadbury, of Harvard University, chairman of the American Friends Service Committee; Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, of Salt Lake City, and Bertha Capen Reynolds, former associate director of the Smith College School for Social Work, have urged its distribution in the fight for peace.

The Game of Death is the first selection of the Union Book Club and the first book to be issued by the new publishers, Cameron & Kahn, who are publishing for thousands of American trade unionists as well as the general public. Both are to be congratulated on a book which seeks to restore America to sanity while saving the world and its children from the destruction of atomic war.

RICHARD O. BOYER.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next is a press release issued February 8, 1955, by Cameron & Kahn. Mr. Kahn has been questioned about this, but the release itself was not heretofore placed in our record.

(The press release referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 111" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 111

CAMERON & KAHN, INC., PUBLISHERS, NEW YORK, N. Y.

For immediate release: February 8, 1955

Served with subpoenas to appear before a Federal grand jury in New York and turn over the manuscript of the forthcoming book, False Witness, by Harvey Matusow, the publishers, Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, issued the following statement:

Last week when the former Government witness, Harvey Matusow, was scheduled to meet newspapermen at a press conference in New York, he was summoned to appear immediately prior to the conference before a Federal grand jury. As the publishers of Matusow's forthcoming book, False Witness, we regarded this action by the Department of Justice as an effort to muzzle Matusow and prevent him from publicly answering questions relating to the vitally important charges and admissions made in his book. Through a ruling of Federal Judge Dimock, Matusow's appearance before the grand jury was postponed; and Matusow was able to appear at the press conference.

Now we ourselves have been served with subpoenas directing us to appear before a Federal grand jury on the morning of February 8 and to produce "all correspondence, records, memoranda, receipts, canceled checks, book accounts, contracts, memoranda of contracts, and other documents and writings, and all manuscripts and drafts thereof and galley proofs, prepared by or in any manner relating to one Harvey M. Matusow, or relating to a proposed book or other writing written by, or purportedly written by one Harvey M. Matusow, which is to be published by you, or the publication of which is being considered by you, or in the publication of which you may have any interest." We are informed by the subpoena that if we fail to produce these documents we will be "deemed guilty of contempt of court."

We regard the service upon us of these subpoenas as a flagrant attempt to subvert the freedom of the press, a right won through historic struggles and guaranteed to the American people in the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. One of the manifest purposes of the first amendment is to permit the American people to judge for themselves the truth of such facts as are contained in Matusow's forthcoming book. We believe that by hailing us before a Federal grand jury, the Justice Department is continuing its attempt to keep from the public the book's disclosures, some of which implicate the Department itself.

As publishers and as American citizens, we feel that it is our solemn duty to see that the right of freedom of the press is not abridged in this case.

Therefore we do not intend to comply with the brazen dictates of the subpoenas which have been served upon us. We will not submit to the Justice Department for its scrutiny or would-be censorship the text of Matusow's book prior to its publication; we will not permit the seizure of it, nor will we allow ourselves to be intimidated into not publishing the book. The book will shortly be available to the public as a whole, and at that time to the Justice Department as well.

We have said before, and we repeat now, that we welcome a public investigation of all the revelations in Matusow's book. We are, however, opposed to any in camera proceedings such as the Department of Justice is attempting to conduct, and we strongly believe that the investigation of the book's disclosures should be conducted by some Government body less prejudiced in this matter than the Justice Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a staff memorandum with respect to certain articles by Albert E. Kahn, appearing in *Masses* and *Mainstream*, and in the *New Masses*.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 112" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 112

ARTICLES IN MASSES AND MAINSTREAM

January 1952, pages 15-21, *The Case of O. John Rogge*. Attacks Rogge for testimony against Peace Information Center. Attended Stockholm Peace Conference with Rogge.

July 1950, reviews book *Must We Perish?* by Hershel D. Meyer, pages 89, 90, 91. Kahn says the book describes "the growing strength of the Soviet Union, the accomplishments of the peoples' democracies of Eastern Europe, the historic victory of the Chinese Communists * * * *Must We Perish?* is a book to keep close at hand, a trenchant weapon in the battle for peace and a better life."

June 1953, *Comics, TV, and Your Child*, pages 36-43. "The airwaves teem with such programs as *Counterspy*, * * * *This Is Your FBI*, and *American Agent*, in which the heroes zealously track down and exterminate Communist fifth columnists in the United States or conduct audacious espionage and sabotage operations behind the Iron Curtain."

August 1954, *School for Crime*, pages 46-51. "But the growth of delinquency, of course, is only one of the multiple sinister effects of the cold-war program upon our children."

ARTICLES IN NEW MASSES

May 28, 1946, pages 19-21, *He Chose Treason*. Article attacks Kravchenko, charging his book with anti-Soviet falsehood.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a memorandum prepared by the committee staff at my direction, under the supervision of the Director of Research, being a tabulation of the complete Communist and Communist-front record of Albert E. Kahn, showing sources.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 113" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 113

Albert E. Kahn

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Abraham Lincoln School ^{1,2}	Notice appearing in school catalog states that "prominent citizens participating in our efforts" include Albert E. Kahn.	Testimony of Walter S. Steele, July 21, 1947, p. 52.
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief. ³	Speaker at farewell greetings "to Yugoslavia's U. N. delegation."	Worker, Dec. 8, 1946, p. 13 (clipping in original file).
American Youth for Democracy. ^{1,2}	Speaker, Salute to Young America dinner on first anniversary. Attended Salute to Young America dinner.....	Program of dinner Oct. 16, 1944. National board report to 2d national convention, June 13-17, 1946, p. 12. Dinner program "A Tribute to Jewish Youth" (Filed: Organization American Youth for Democracy).
American Labor Party ¹	Candidate.....	N. Y. Post Home News, June 25, 1948, p. 3.
	Candidate for 25th Congressional District, Bronx.	Daily Worker, July 21, 1948, p. 2; New York Star, July 28, 1948, p. 4 (lead card only) Daily Worker, Aug. 16, 1948, p. 15.
	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, Apr. 11, 1950, p. 8.
	Candidate: photo.....	New York Star, Nov. 1, 1948, p. 16.
American Labor Party ¹	Speaker at "Free Lieutenant Gilbert and Peace on Earth" rally.	Daily Worker, Dec. 13, 1950, p. 4.
American Council for a Democratic Greece. ³	Speaker at mass meeting.....	PM, Nov. 16, 1947, p. 25
	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, Nov. 19, 1947, p. 7.
California Labor School ² ..	Discusses his new book, The Game of Death....	Daily People's World, July 31, 1953, p. 2.
	To speak Aug. 12 under auspices Harold Sawyer lecture fund.	Daily People's World, Aug. 7, 1953, p. 3.
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. ²	Sponsor.....	Letterheads 1946 and 1947; July 11, 1947; May 23, 1948.
	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, June 9, 1949, p. 7; Worker, June 17, 1949.
	Signed open letter to President Truman, released Oct. 7, 1946.	Pamphlet, What Price Philippine Independence, by George Phillips, pp. 30-32.
	Sent greetings to pro-Communist Mme. Sun Yat-sen.	Far East Spotlight, November 1948, p. 14.
American Peace Crusade ^{1,2}	Initial sponsor.....	Committee hearings, Communist Methods of Infiltration (Education, pt. 4), p. 1121.
	do.....	Letterhead, Feb. 25, 1953.
	Sponsor of contest . . . advancing the theme of world peace.	Daily Worker, May 1, 1951, p. 11.
	Sponsor.....	Daily Worker, Feb. 1, 1951.
	Sponsor, American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace.	Leaflet, American People's Congress . . . invites you to participate in National Peace Competition . . . June 29, 1951, Chicago, Ill.
	Sponsor, American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, Chicago, Ill. June 29, 30 and July 1, 1951.	The Call to the American People's Congress.
	Spoke in Chicago on Mar. 8 at a banquet in honor of Prof. Robert Morss Lovett and Rev. Joseph M. Evans, State cochairmen.	Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1952, p. 2.
	To speak at 84th birthday dinner for W. E. B. Dubois on June 11 at Hotel Riverside Plaza, New York City.	Daily Worker, June 11, 1952, p. 8 (advertisement).
American Committee for Spanish Freedom. ²	Sponsor.....	Letterhead, Jan. 21, 1946.
American Women for Peace. ^{1,2}	Speaker or reporter at Conference to Safeguard the Welfare of Our Children and Our Homes, held Mar. 22 at Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. New York City.	The Worker, Apr. 6, 1952, p. 8 magazine section.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Civil Rights Congress ^{1, 2}	Sponsor, National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, Jan. 17-18, 1949, Washington, D. C. Speaker on Gerhard Eisler case..... Speaker for W. Bronx Chapter..... Speaker at meeting in behalf of Communist leaders. Signed statement in defense of Gerhard Eisler... Received payment from CRC for travel expenses.	Leaflet, Freedom Crusade, program of conference Jan. 17-18, 1949. Leaflet, Mar. 20, 1947. Worker, May 4, 1947, p. 12. Daily Worker, June 8, 1949, p. 3. Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1947, p. 2. Statement filed Oct. 10, 1947, with Clerk of House, under Lobbying Act.
Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. ¹ Conference for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact. ¹ Communist Party (1) and (3).	Member delegation protesting attack on Robert Thompson. Signed open letter to Congress urging defeat of Mundt bill. Signed statement against jailing of Communist leaders. Signer of statement calling for international agreement to ban use of atomic weapons.	Daily Worker, Sept. 24, 1948, p. 11. Letterhead, May 7, 1948. Daily Worker, June 6, 1949 p. 2. Statement attached to Press Release of Dec. 14, 1949, p. 12.
Communist Political Association. ^{1, 2} Daily People's World ¹ Daily Worker ¹	Signer of open letter to Senators and Congressmen urging defeat of President Truman's arms program. Member..... Convention speaker, New York State.....	Letterhead, Aug. 21, 1949. Committee on Un-American Activities report, Apr. 19, 1949, p. 36. New Leader, Sept. 15, 1945, p. 7. New Masses Jan. 21, 1947, p. 31.
Hellenic-American Brotherhood ² (IWO). International Workers Order. ^{1, 2}	Delegate, New York State special convention, Aug. 10, 11, 12, 1945. Biography..... Host for benefit party..... Writer of article attacking Committee on Un-American Activities. Speaker.....	New York Police Department report, p. 18. Daily People's World, May 10, 1948, p. 5. Daily Worker, Dec. 5, 1936, p. 5. Daily Worker, May 10, 1948, p. 5. Daily Worker, Mar. 26, 1948, p. 4.
Jefferson School of Social Science. ^{1, 2}	Organization endorses him..... Speaker in criticism of United States policy..... To speak at Save the IWO Conference on Jan 26, 1952 at Hotel Capitol, New York City. Supporter.....	Daily Worker, Oct. 4, 1948, p. 5. Daily Worker, May 22, 1950, p. 8. Daily Worker, Jan. 25, 1952, p. 6. Daily Worker, Apr. 12, 1951, p. 5.
Jewish People's Fraternal Order ² IWO.	Author of The People's Case, re the International Workers Order. Participant in forum June 8, on subject of V. J. Jerome's novel A Lantern for Jeremy. On Faculty: to teach "Problems of Parents, Children and the School." To speak at a conference to plan a children's program at the school, from 2 to 5 p. m. June 13, 1953. Speaker.....	The Worker, June 8, 1952, p. 6. Worker, Oct. 4, 1953, p. 10 Daily Worker, June 11, 1953, p. 8 (What's On, column). Daily Worker, Dec. 12, 1947, p. 7.
Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. ^{1, 2} Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee. ^{1, 2}	President; participated in meeting in behalf of Gerhard Eisler. President (speaker for 17th anniversary, June 15, 1947). President..... Affiliate..... President.....	New Leader, Apr. 26, 1947, p. 4. Fraternal Outlook June-July 1947, p. 3. Booklet, Fall Term, 1947, School of Jewish Studies, N. Y. World Telegram Jan. 21, 1948, p. 11. The New Leader, May 31, 1947, p. 15. List of nationality group societies of the IWO on p. 8, booklet issued by IWO.
May Day parade ¹ United May Day Committee. ²	Speaker on "The great conspiracy against civil liberties" (Spanish Refugee Appeal). Signer of petition of the Spanish Refugee Appeal to President Truman to "bar military aid to or alliance with Fascist Spain." Participant..... Member.....	Daily Worker, Nov. 13, 1947, p. 7. Mimeographed petition attached to letterhead of May 18, 1951. Daily Worker, May 2, 1951, p. 1 Pamphlet, May Day 1947, by Howard Fast, p. 14.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Committee for May Day, 1948.	Member.....	Pamphlet, March for Peace, May 1948, p. 15.
	Committee member.....	Letterhead May 1, 1948—May Day file.
Provisional United Labor and People's Committee for May Day.	Sponsor of conference at St. Nicholas Sport Center, New York City, Mar. 24, 1951.	Call to a United Labor and People's Conference for May Day 1951, p. 4.
May Day parade in New York City.	Participant.....	Daily Worker, May 2, 1952, p. 1.
May Day demonstration, Union Square.	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, May 4, 1953, pp. 3 and 6.
Provisional Committee for United Labor and People's May Day.	Sponsor.....	Daily Worker Mar. 14, 1949, p. 4.
Provisional Committee for the 69th Anniversary of May Day.	Spoke at Union Square demonstration, May 1..	Daily Worker, May 3, 1954, pp. 1 and 8.
National Committee to Win the Peace. ²	Writer of article in New Masses, Win-the-Peace issue.	Leaflet dated Apr. 16, 1946.
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship—Committee on Education. ^{1 2}	Lists the Great Conspiracy coauthored by Albert E. Kahn, in the bibliography on the Soviet Union for Teachers and Students.	Committee hearings, July 21, 1953, p. 3789 (Bishop Oxnam exhibit).
Arts, Sciences, and Professions for May Day.	Member, board of directors.....	Letterhead, Mar. 25, 1954.
	Sponsor.....	Daily Worker, Apr. 30, 1948, p. 5.
National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. ^{1 2}	Moderator (conference for peace, called by committee of women for Feb. 5, 1949).	Daily Worker, Jan. 31, 1949, p. 5.
	Speaker at rally, Nov. 13 at Rockland Palace, New York City on United States of America-U. S. S. R. cooperation for peace.	Daily Worker, Nov. 6, 1952, p. 8 (adv.). Daily Worker, Nov. 17, 1952, p. 8.
Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.	Sponsor of the Congress of American-Soviet Friendship.	Soviet Russia Today, Dec. 1942, p. 42.
	To speak at memorial meeting to Premier Joseph V. Stalin, Mar. 26, 7:30 p. m. at Rockland Palace, New York City.	Daily Worker, Mar. 19, 1953, p. 3 and adv. on p. 8.
National Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions. ¹	Heads list of speakers at Forum on The Myth of Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union, to be held Feb. 18, 1953, in People's Auditorium, Chicago.	Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1953, p. 8. Filed: Organized National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Committee of Women).
	Member, Writers for Wallace, auspices NCASP.	Daily Worker, Sept. 21, 1948, p. 7.
National Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions ¹ (and the National Guardian).	Sponsor, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, Mar. 25-27, 1949.	New Leader, Feb. 5, 1949, p. 4. Conference "call"; Conference program, p. 12.
	Signed statement.....	Congressional Record, July 14, 1949, p. 9620.
National Council of Arts, Sciences & Professions ¹ (and the National Guardian).	To speak at Guardians of Liberty (joint) rally, June 5, 1953, at Palm Gardens, New York City.	Mimeographed handbill: Free Cedric Belfrage.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. ^{1 2}	Signed statement supporting the War Department's order on granting commissions to members of the Armed Forces who have been members of, or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party.	Undated leaflet, The Only Sound Policy for a Democracy (list also in Daily Worker, Mar. 18, 1945).
National Maritime Union of America. ¹	To dedicate new bookshelves at merchant marine bookstore at National Maritime Union headquarters Jan. 13, 346 West 17th St., New York City.	Daily Worker, Jan. 12, 1943, p. 7.
New Masses ^{1 2}	Associate editor.....	New Masses, Apr. 30, 1946, p. 2; Steele testimony, July 21, 1947, p. 34.
	Contributing editor.....	New Masses, July 22, 1947, p. 2.
Peoples Radio Foundation, Inc. ³	Individual endorser and/or stockholder (Report on Investigation, July 1946, exhibit A).	Photostat of Leaflet FM Peoples Radio Foundation, Inc.
School of Jewish Studies ²	Sponsor.....	New York World Telegram Jan. 21, 1948, p. 11; booklet Fall Term 1947.
Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade ^{1 2} and Civil Rights Congress. ^{1 2}	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, Mar. 23, 1951, p. 8.
Win-the-Peace Conference. ²	Sponsor.....	Report of Committee on Un-American Activities, Apr. 19, 1949, p. 8..

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
World Congress for Peace ¹	American delegate..... Sponsor (American sponsoring committee).....	Daily Worker, Aug. 27, 1948, p. 4. Leaflet, World Congress for Peace, Paris, Apr. 20, 21, 22, 23, 1949.
The Worker ¹	Writer of article The Plot in Pittsburgh dealing with Steve Nelson et al. trial in Pittsburgh under Smith Act.	The Worker, May 3, 1953, p. 7; Michigan Edition.
New Masses ^{1,2} and Mainstream. ¹	Meeting, joint auspices of New Masses and Mainstream (speaker). Speaker, protest meeting for Howard Fast under auspices New Masses and Mainstream. Sponsor, protest meeting for Howard Fast, New York City, Oct. 16, 1947. Sponsor of meeting on "Culture against the Warmakers". Masses—Mainstream demonstration against Mundt anti-Communist bill. (Participant). Writer of The Case of O. John Rogge..... Writer of article School for Crime.....	Daily Worker, Oct. 6, 1947, p. 11. The Worker, Oct. 12, 1947, p. 9 (southern edition). PM, Oct. 16, 1947, p. 5 (advertisement). Daily Worker, Apr. 29, 1948, p. 6. Daily Worker, May 25, 1948, p. 13. Masses and Mainstream, January 1952, pp. 15-21. Masses and Mainstream, August 1954, pp. 46-51.
African Aid Committee.....	Sponsor.....	Letterhead, May 28, 1949; undated leaflet We Americans Are sending Friendship Trains.
American Committee for Indonesian Independence.	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, Aug. 20, 1947, p. 9.
American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists—New York.do.....	Daily Worker, May 14, 1948, p. 3.
American Relief for Greek Democracy, Inc.do.....	PM, May 27, 1947, p. 22.
Book Find Club.....	Writer.....	Plain Talk, May 1947, p. 27.
Camp Unity.....	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, July 24, 1947, p. 11; Daily Worker, Aug. 4, 1947 p. 4.
Cameron & Kahn, Inc.....	Forms new book publishing firm with Angus Cameron which will publish what other companies shy away from because of "intellectual intimidation."	Daily Worker, May 5, 1953, p. 7.
Citizens Committee to Secure Bail for Martin Young.	Signer of letter to Attorney General, requesting bail for Young, held on Ellis Island.	Daily Worker, Sept. 29, 1952, p. 2.
Committee for Academic Freedom in Schools.	Speaker in behalf of suspended teachers.....	Daily Worker, June 13, 1950, p. 3.
Committee for Democratic Rights.	Signed statement attacking the Mundt bill.....	Daily Worker, May 5, 1948, p. 5.
Committee for Free Political Advocacy (defending 12 Communist leaders).	Signer of statement.....	Daily Worker, Feb. 28, 1949, p. 9; Naroda-Volya, Mar. 29, 1949, p. 4.
Committee for Freedom of Sam Milgrom.	Cochairman..... To speak at mass meeting for bail and for freedom of Sam Milgrom, Feb. 24, 8 p. m., Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave., New York City.	New York Herald Tribune, Dec. 14, 1952, p. 3. Daily Worker, Feb. 23, 1953, p. 7 and ad on p. 8. Filed: Ind. Milgrom, Sam.
Committee for a United Labor Party.	Candidate, 2d Assembly District, Westchester County, N. Y.	Daily Worker, Mar. 26, 1944, p. 3.
Conference on Jewish Culture.	Sponsor.....	Daily Worker, May 17, 1948, p. 13.
Continental Cultural Congress, Santiago, Chile.	United States delegate Betty Sanders tells opening session of Congress that Kahn would have attended if he had not been denied a passport.	Daily Worker, May 4, 1953, p. 2.
Council of Greek Americans.	Speaks at mass protest memorial meeting, Apr. 17, Hotel Capitol, New York City.	Daily Worker, Apr. 2, 1952, p. 8 (ad) and handbill: "4 Greek patriots murdered, memorial protest meeting."
French Fighters for Peace and Freedom.	Speaker in Paris.....	Daily Worker, Mar. 16, 1950, p. 3.
The Hour.....	Former editor..... Editor.....	Booklet, fall term 1947, School of Jewish Studies. Investigator's report f-301.63, p. 8.
Independent Progressive Party, New Jersey.	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, June 7, 1948, p. 4.
Independent Organization of Journalists.	Defended by organization.....	Daily Compass, Aug. 24, 1950, p. 21.

See footnotes, p. 1193.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Jewish Life.....	Member editorial board.....	Jewish Life, September 1947, p. 2; Jewish Life, November 1947 (1st anniversary issue), p. 2.
	Editorial board (member).....	New Leader, Apr. 26, 1947, p. 4. Jewish Life, May 1947, p. 2.
	To speak at meeting, Apr. 16, 1952, Hotel Diplomat, New York City.	Handbill: "A Tribute to the Warsaw Ghetto Fighters presented by Jewish Life" Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1952, p. 8 (ad).
	To speak at concert meeting on Apr. 16, at Hotel Diplomat, (Grand Ballroom) New York City.	Daily Worker, Mar. 5, 1952, p. 8 (ad).
National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.	Member.....	Letterhead, May 25, 1951.
National Committee to Defend Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Associates in the Peace Information Center.do.....	Undated letterhead announcing Dr. DuBois trial Nov. 1, (1951) (photostat).
Committee to End the Jim Crow "Silver-Gold" System in the Panama Canal Zone.do.....	Back of letterhead, dated Mar. 16, 1949.
National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.	Speaker at public meeting on Mar. 12, Pythian Hall, New York City.	Daily Worker, Mar. 11, 1952, p. 8 (ad).
	Speaker at meeting, June 17, Biltmore, Brooklyn, N. Y.	Daily Worker, June 19, 1952, p. 3.
	To speak at "Truth in the Rosenberg Case" meeting, Mar. 12, Pythian Hall, 135 West 70th St., New York City.	Daily Worker, Mar. 10, 1952, p. 3.
Bronx Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.	To speak at clemency rally Nov. 30, New Terrace Gardens, Bronx.	Daily Worker, Nov. 17, 1952, p. 8.
Los Angeles Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.	Speaker at a memorial meeting for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, Embassy Auditorium.	Daily People's World, June 22, 1954, p. 3.
	Urges clemency for Rosenbergs.....	Daily Worker, Jan. 21, 1953, p. 7. (Filed: Ind. Rosenberg, Julius).
	Spoke at Union Square rally in behalf of the Rosenbergs, June 19.	Daily Worker, June 22, 1953, p. 5. Filed: Ind./Rosenberg, Julius.
	Writer of article, A Jury of Tens of Millions, concerning Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.	Daily Worker, June 30, 1953, p. 7. Filed: Ind./Kahn, Albert E.
National Wallace for President Committee.	Member.....	Membership list of committee, dated Mar. 26, 1948.
New Currents.....	Editor.....	New Currents, March 1944, p. 2.
	Member, editorial board; contributor.....	New Currents, March 1943, p. 5 and p. 7, respectively.
New Jersey Conference on Jobs, Trade and Peace.	To speak at panel on The Youth at above conference, May 15, Wideway Hall, Newark, N. J.	Daily Worker, May 12, 1954, p. 8.
New World Review (formerly, "Soviet Russia Today": cited). ¹	Attended banquet in New York, Oct. 14, held in special tribute to Mr. and Mrs. Paul Robeson.	Daily Worker, Oct. 20, 1954, p. 7.
Peace Information Center. ^{1,2}	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, July 10, 1950, p. 8.
Political Affairs ¹	Coauthor of The Great Conspiracy.....	Political Affairs, June 1947 (inside front cover).
Progressive Citizens of America.	Received \$9.82 for travel expenses, Mar. 8, 1948..	Report to Clerk of the House of Representatives, June 10, 1948.
Rally for Greece.....	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, May 27, 1947, p. 2.
Reichstag Fire Trial Anniversary Committee. ¹	Signer of declaration honoring Dimitrov.....	New York Times, Dec. 22, 1943, p. 40 (ad).
Stalin Memorial Meeting..	Speaker, meeting held in New York City, Mar. 26, 1953.	Evening Star, Mar. 27, 1953, p. A-15.
Teachers Union ¹	Guest at Manhattan Center, building dedication night on Feb. 20, 1948.	New York Teacher News, Feb. 7, 1948, p. 2.
Trade Union Veterans Committee.	One of a group of "witnesses" for the prosecution in a mock public trial of Senator Joseph McCarthy to be held Jan. 6, 1954, at St. Nicholas Arena, New York City.	Daily Worker, Dec. 9, 1953, p. 3.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
United Committee to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.	To speak at rally, Apr. 19, 1:30 p. m. in Manhattan Center, New York City.	Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1953, p. 3, and Daily Worker, Apr. 17, 1953, p. 3 for sponsorship.
United Committee to Save the Jewish State and the United Nations.	Speaker.....	Daily Worker, Apr. 16, 1948, p. 1.
United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America. ¹	Union's cooperative book club has sold 30,000 copies of Kahn's book, High Treason.	Daily Worker, Mar. 3, 1953, p. 7.
	Recommended book High Treason—The Plot Against the People by Albert E. Khan, in campaign to introduce their members to the book.	Photostat of UERMWA letterhead, dated Aug. 15, 1951, and enclosure of reprint from March of Labor August 1951, pp. 21-22, entitled "Union Best Seller". (Filed: Unions/Indep.—UERMWA.)
United Electrical Union.....	Has sold more than 25,000 copies of Kahn's book High Treason. UE, in cooperation with the new publishing house (Cameron & Kahn), will offer UE book club members Kahn's book, The Game of Death—the Plot Against Our Children.	The Worker, May 24, 1953, p. 8. Filed Unions/Ind. United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.
UE District Four.....	Speaker at Freedom Festival, Sept. 20, at Manhattan Center, New York City.	Daily Worker, Sept. 25, 1951, p. 7.
United States Committee for Participation in the Conference.	Delegate to Vienna at international conference in defense of children; speaker at meeting to be held June 5 at Pythian Hall, New York City.	Daily Worker, June 4, 1952, p. 8 (ad).
United States Sponsoring Committee.	Sponsor of American intercontinental peace conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro from Jan. 22-27.	Daily Worker, Dec. 28, 1951, p. 2.
United Summer Appeal for Children.	Treasurer.....	Daily Worker, July 23, 1953, p. 7; folder, "700 children need your help" (undated).
Voice of Freedom Committee. ²	Sponsor.....	Letterhead, June 16, 1947.
World Jewish Congress.....	Attacks the "so-called Truman doctrine." "This doctrine has not only repeatedly betrayed the interest of the Jewish people * * *. It gives aid to the forces of reaction."	New York Times, June 30, 1948, p. 10.
World Peace Appeal ¹	Signer.....	Daily Worker, June 20, 1950, p. 2.
	Endorser.....	Undated leaflet "Prominent Americans Call For * * *" (received Sept. 11, 1950).
Workers Book Shop.....	Advertised his books, "The Plot Against the Peace," "The Great Conspiracy Against Russia," and "Sabotage."	Circular, "Annual Clearance Sale." April 30-May 15, 1948.
Writers for Wallace.....	Member.....	New York Star, Oct. 21, 1948, p. 20 (political advertisement).
	Record given.....	Alert, June 1950
	Photo.....	People's World, Aug. 30, 1947, p. 5.
	Short biography.....	Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1949, p. 3.
	Announces United States congress of intellectuals.	Daily Worker, Sept. 14, 1948, p. 7.
	Charged with being "either party liner or sympathetic to the Communist Party."	The New Leader, May 31, 1947, p. 15.
	Denied passport.....	Daily Worker, Aug. 22, 1950, p. 3.
	Renews fight for passport in order to attend the American Intercontinental Peace Conference in Rio de Janeiro.	Daily Worker, Jan. 18, 1952, p. 8.
	Books on sale in Czechoslovakia.....	The Worker, Sept. 3, 1950, p. 6, sec. 2.
	Defense witness in behalf of Communist weekly, Les Lettres Francaises.	Washington Post, Feb. 3, 1949, p. 3.
	Defends Harry Bridges.....	Daily People's World, Aug. 10, 1950, p. 2.
	Testified on H. R. 5852, control of subversive activities.	Hearings before Senate Judiciary Committee, May 27-29, 1948, p. 202.
	Protests indictment of Communist leaders.....	Daily Worker, Oct. 8, 1948, p. 2.

¹ Cited by Special Committee and/or Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities.² Cited by Attorney General.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Writers for Wallace—con..	<p>Statement in support of world peace conference..</p> <p>Reveals secret information on Kravchenko.....</p> <p>Author of pamphlet "Agents of Peace" (The Hour Publishers) favorably reviewed.</p> <p>Agents of Peace favorably reviewed by Doxey E. Wilkerson.</p> <p>Agents of Peace, published by The Hour Publishers (no place or date shown) Author: Albert E. Kahn.</p> <p>Author of High Treason—Plot against the People (Lear publishers).</p> <p>Author of High Treason—The Plot Against the People.</p> <p>Author of High Treason, offered as premium with National Guardian subscription.</p> <p>Photo; author of High Treason, favorably reviewed by Johannes Steele.</p> <p>Author of High Treason; book praised by Dean of Canterbury.</p> <p>Author of High Treason reviewed in The Bolshevik, theoretical and political journal of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.</p> <p>His book High Treason advertised.....</p> <p>Author of High Treason.....</p> <p>Author of High Treason—The Plot Against the People (Lear Publishers); recommended.</p> <p>Author of High Treason; reviewed favorably by Moscow press.</p> <p>Statement: "The greatest treason is not treason against governments but against human beings;" biography and photo.</p> <p>Magazine, Bolshevik, theoretical and political Journal of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, praises book The Great Conspiracy Against Russia. (Albert E. Kahn, author).</p> <p>Coauthor The Great Conspiracy, Little, Brown & Co., publishers; claim statements in book not checked and untrue.</p> <p>Authors of The Great Conspiracy advertised for sale (Albert Kahn-Michael Sayers, co-authors).</p> <p>Coauthor of The Great Conspiracy Against Russia, translated into five languages.</p> <p>Coauthor of The Great Conspiracy; reprints in foreign languages shown.</p> <p>Frontier Bookstore offered for sale The Great Conspiracy. (Coauthors, Albert Kahn and Michael Sayers).</p> <p>Author of The Crime Against Jean Field.....</p> <p>Coauthor of The Great Conspiracy; published in the Soviet Zone of Germany.</p> <p>Author of Hollywood on Trial; photo.....</p> <p>Author of The Plot Against the Peace, offered for sale.</p> <p>Book, The Plot Against the Peace, offered as premium.</p> <p>Author of The Game of Death, one of the first 2 books by "authors who aren't afraid," offered by Union Book Club.</p> <p>New publishing firm of Cameron & Kahn has published a new book by Albert E. Kahn, entitled "The Game of Death"; book summarized in Daily Worker.</p> <p>Author of new book, The Game of Death: Effects of the Cold War on Our Children, published by Cameron & Kahn.</p> <p>Author of The Game of Death, reviewed by Richard O. Boyer, published by Cameron & Kahn.</p>	<p>Daily Worker, May 5, 1949, p. 10.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Feb. 10, 1949, p. 3.</p> <p>Daily People's World, Oct. 22, 1951, p. 7.</p> <p>Daily Worker, June 27, 1951, p. 11.</p> <p>Pamphlet, Agents of Peace.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Mar. 7, 1950, p. 11.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Mar. 15, 1950, p. 6.</p> <p>National Guardian, April 5, 1950, p. 15.</p> <p>Daily Compass, May 28, 1950, p. 5, section 2.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Sept. 15, 1950, p. 11.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Oct. 20, 1950, p. 11.</p> <p>The Worker, Dec. 10, 1950, p. 6.</p> <p>The Worker, Dec. 10, 1950, p. 6; advertising circular, and order blank addressed to A. Kahn, 160 First Ave., New York 3, N. Y.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Jan. 8, 1951, p. 11.</p> <p>Daily People's World, March 21, 1951, p. 8.</p> <p>High Treason, p. xi and back cover.</p> <p>Daily Worker, March 4, 1947, p. 11.</p> <p>New Leader, Nov. 15, 1947, p. 10.</p> <p>Workers Book Shop sale list, Nov. 5, 1949.</p> <p>Daily People's World, Sept. 26, 1950, p. 9.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Jan. 17, 1951, p. 11.</p> <p>Frontier Bookstore circular, 602 3d Avenue, Seattle, Wash.</p> <p>Daily People's World, Apr. 3, 1952, p. 7.</p> <p>Daily Worker, Mar. 24, 1949, p. 13.</p> <p>Daily People's World, Apr. 19, 1948, p. 5.</p> <p>Circular, Frontier Bookstore, 602 3d Ave., Seattle, Wash.</p> <p>Soviet Russia Today, June 1947, p. 2.</p> <p>UE News, July 13, 1950, p. 9 (ad).</p> <p>Daily Worker, July 20, 1953, p. 7.</p> <p>Daily People's World, July 27, 1953, p. 7.</p> <p>Masses and Mainstream, September 1953, p. 58.</p>

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Writers for Wallace—con.	Author of a new book entitled "The Game of Death."	Daily People's World, Oct. 13, 1953, p. 7.
	Author of <i>The Game of Death</i> , published by Cameron & Kahn, reviewed by Claudia Jones.	The Worker, Oct. 25, 1953, p. 8.
	Author of <i>The Game of Death: Effects of the Cold War on Our Children</i> , published by Cameron & Kahn (reviewed).	New World Review, May 1954, pp. 45-46.
	Author of the book <i>The Game of Death: Effects of the Cold War on Our Children</i> , which has been reviewed in <i>For a Lasting Peace</i> , for a <i>People's Democracy</i> , and which has been reprinted in part by the publication <i>Soviet Women</i> and also by a publication of the World Federation of Teachers' Union.	Daily Worker, Sept. 16, 1954, p. 7.
	Contributed article, "Comics, TV and Your Child" (a section of Mr. Kahn's new book, <i>The Game of Death</i> , which analyzes the impact of the cold war on the youth of this country. Author of <i>High Treason</i> , <i>The Great Conspiracy</i> , and other works, Mr. Kahn is a member of the new publishing firm of Cameron & Kahn, which is issuing the new book.)	Masses and Mainstream, June 1953, p. 36.
	Praises <i>A Lantern for Jeremy</i> , novel by V. J. Jerome.	Daily Worker, Aug. 10, 1952, p. 7 (ad).
	Writer of letter to editor praising film <i>Peace Will Win</i> now being shown at Stanley Theater.	Daily Worker, Feb. 7, 1952, p. 7.
	Gives enthusiastic comment on Martha Millet's poem <i>Thine Alabaster Cities: A Poem for Our Times</i> ; described by Anita Whitney, veteran Communist, as giving a "graphic picture of our decayed capitalist system * * *."	Daily People's World, Sept. 24, 1952, p. 7.
	Subject of article "Kahn—Author With a Message for Mothers," written by Margery Canright.	Daily People's World, Aug. 14, 1953, p. 2.
	Read tribute from artist Rockwell Kent to Norman Tallentire a Communist Party member at funeral services held in Yugoslav Hall.	Daily Worker, Nov. 12, 1953, p. 3.
	Signer of statement to the press on the death of the German anti-Fascist writer Friedrich Wolf.	Daily Worker, Oct. 14, 1953, p. 7.
	Notes of his interview with Rev. Martin Niemoller, reprinted.	The Worker, Michigan Edition, Apr. 20, 1952, p. 7.
	Speaker, with Alexander Bittelman (Communist) at meeting to protest arms embargo on Palestine.	Daily Worker, Jan. 30, 1948, p. 4.
	Main speaker at reception in his honor at the Embassy Auditorium, Los Angeles, Mar. 2, 1946.	Photostatic copy of announcement from Daily (Peoples) World, Feb. 25, 1946, p. 5.
	Speaker at Bill of Rights rally in Reynolds Hall, Philadelphia in weekend bill of rights celebration.	Daily Worker, Dec. 21, 1951, p. 8.
	To speak on "Violence and Sex in American Culture" at 8:30 p. m. Feb. 22 at ASP Center, 35 West 64th St., New York City.	Daily Worker, Feb. 20, 1953, p. 8 (What's On column).
	Spoke at memorial meeting to Joseph Stalin, held last week at Rockland Palace, New York City.	Daily Worker, Mar. 30, 1953, p. 8.
	To speak at a public hearing on Are Families of Smith Act Victims Subversive? June 4, 8:30 p. m. at Palm Garden, 306 West 52d St.	Daily Worker, May 27, 1953, p. 4; June 1, 1953, p. 8, and June 4, 1953, p. 8.
	To speak at Guardians of Liberty Rally, under auspices of ASP and National Guardian, advertised under the slogan, "Free Cedric Belfrage, Fight McCarthyism—Protect the Bill of Rights," June 5, at Palm Garden, 306 West 62d St.	Daily Worker, June 3, 1953, p. 8.
	Spoke at Cedric Belfrage fightback meeting June 5, Palm Gardens.	Daily Worker, June 10, 1953, p. 3.
	Speaker—German American.....	Daily Worker, Mar. 8, 1947, p. 8.
	Appeal to President Truman in behalf of Leon Josephson, Communist (signer).	Daily Worker, Mar. 26, 1948, p. 7.

Albert E. Kahn—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Writers for Wallace—con.	Sends letter to President Truman.....	Daily Compass, June 25, 1950, p. 5, sec. 2. (Letter dated June 22, 1950, reprinted in advertisement of his book, High Treason.
	Signer of appeal to President Truman requesting amnesty for leaders of Communist Party convicted under the Smith Act.	Daily Worker, Dec. 10, 1952, p. 4.
	Signer of appeal to the White House for amnesty for 11 Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act.	Daily Worker, Jan. 27, 1953, p. 3.
	One of the 175 signers of an open letter sponsored by 7 individuals to President Eisenhower "urging him to grant amnesty to the political prisoners convicted under the Smith Act."	Daily Worker, Oct. 20, 1954, pp. 2 and 6.
	Speaker, New York State Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions and Writers for Wallace.	New York Star, Oct. 5, 1948, p. 6 (political ad)

Mr. SOURWINE. Next is a covering memorandum and certain subsidiary memorandums respecting *The Hour*, and excerpts therefrom. *The Hour* was a magazine in the management of which Mr. Albert E. Kahn at one time had a hand.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 114" and appear below.)

EXHIBIT No. 114

MEMORANDUM, MARCH 7, 1955

To: Mr. Sourwine.

From: Mr. Mandel.

Following are cases in which *The Hour* attacked reputable anti-Soviet individuals as Fascists:

(January 10, 1942, p. 4:) Prof. Clarence Manning, of Columbia University, George Vernadsky, of Yale University.

(February 21, 1942, p. 4:) Victor Chernov. As a result of a legal suit this accusation was retracted.

The Hour was responsible for efforts to secure legal action by the United States Government against the following anti-Soviet individual:

(May 2, 1941, p. 4:) Msgr. Ivan Buchko.

(December 24, 1942, p. 2:) *The Hour* attacked the following Senators for defamation against American anti-Fascist groups and individuals: Gerald P. Nye, Burton K. Wheeler, Robert A. Taft, and Robert R. Reynolds.

(December 13, 1941, p. 3:) *The Hour* attacked Fedor Mansvetov, former president of the Soviet Maritime Province. He resides at 1610 16th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

FBI RAIDS SVOBODA

(Excerpt from *The Hour*, January 10, 1942, p. 4.)

On September 14, 1940, *The Hour* carried its first report on Svoboda, official publication of the Fascist-controlled Ukrainian Nationalist Association. In this and later issues of our newsletter we disclosed that Luke Myshuha, editor of Svoboda, was working in intimate collaboration with agents of the Third Reich, and that he was using his paper for disseminating Nazi propaganda. We also revealed that Svoboda was carrying actual instructions on the making of bombs and other explosives (see *The Hour* for February 8, 1941).

Last Monday 5 FBI agents raided the Svoboda offices at 83 Grand Street, Jersey City, N. J. All papers and documents on the premises were seized, and the individuals in the office were subjected to a 3- or 4-hour questioning. Every member of the Svoboda staff was served with a subpoena ordering him to appear at the Federal Building in Newark. Among those receiving subpoenas were:

Certain professors at leading American universities have recently been vigorously spreading favorable publicity about Luke Myshuha and his Nazi-Ukrainian cohorts. These scholarly Myshuha fans include Prof. Clarence Manning, of

Columbia University, Prof. George Vernadsky, of Yale University, Prof. Alexander Granovsky, of the University of Minnesota, and Prof. Stephan Timoshenko, of Stanford University. It might be worthwhile for FBI agents to question these gentlemen about their interest in Luke Myshuha and his work.

NOTE

(Excerpt from The Hour, February 21, 1942, p. 4.)

In the December 13, 1941, issue of the Hour, we stated: "Victor Chernov * * * is said to be a German agent of long standing. During the First World War he published a Russian-language paper in Switzerland, which was subsidized by the Kaiser's government. At that time he was on the blacklist of the British Intelligence. * * *"

From data we have subsequently received, we have reached the conclusion that this statement about Chernov was not true and was based upon information which was incorrect. The Hour, therefore, recommends that a correction be carried by any publication which reprinted our original statement. We regret any embarrassment which may have been caused Victor Chernov.

THE HOUR URGES INVESTIGATION OF COMMITTEE FOR THE PROMOTION OF DEMOCRACY

(Excerpt from The Hour, December 13, 1941, pp. 1, 2, and 3.)

The Hour urges that Federal authorities conduct an immediate investigation of the so-called Committee for the Promotion of Democracy. The committee, which has headquarters at 103 Park Avenue, was "American Citizens of Eastern European Birth or Descent" around a program of prodemocratic activity. Facts, however, indicate that the committee is actually serving as a front for the Nazis.

* * * * *

SECRETARY NIKIFOR GRIGORIEFF

The executive secretary of the Committee for the Promotion of Democracy is a gentleman by the name of Nikifor Grigorieff. Grigorieff came from Czechoslovakia to the United States about 2 years ago. His wife and son remained in Czechoslovakia, where they are said to be very active in the Nazi movement. After his arrival in the United States, Grigorieff joined the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association; he was expelled from this organization when its members decided he was maintaining connections with the Nazis.

Grigorieff's political tendencies are indicated in the following excerpt from an article by him which appeared in the July 17 issue of the Detroit pro-Fascist publication, Fatherland.

(Excerpt from the Fatherland article:)

On November 17 a newspaper in Cuba published an article describing Nazi espionage activities in that country. The article contained this significant passage:

(Excerpt from the Cuban article:)

COMMITTEE MEMBERS

* * * We have investigated the records of other prominent members of the organization and we can report the following facts about them—

Victor Chernov came from Paris to the United States about 4 months ago. He is said to be a German agent of long standing. During the First World War he published a Russian-language paper in Switzerland, which was subsidized by the Kaiser's government. At that time he was on the blacklist of the British Intelligence. His present address is 222 Riverside Drive, New York City.

Fedor Mansvetov has had a somewhat checkered career. A native of Russia, he was at one time active in the Russian Social Revolutionary Party, and he is reported to have been ousted from this organization for alleged misappropriation of funds. He has been connected with questionable financial projects in Mexico. At present he is employed as a translator for the War Department in the New York office at South Ferry, New York City. His home address is 514 West 153d Street, New York City. (Nazi Grigorieff is sharing Mansvetov's apartment with him.)

VICTOR MIKHAILOVICH CHERNOV

Date of birth, 1873; date of death, 1952. Died in New York on April 15, 1952.

He was an outstanding leader of the Social Revolutionary Party. He emigrated from Russia in 1899 and went back to Russia in 1905. He again went abroad shortly after the revolution and lived in France up to 1917.

During the war, he participated in the conferences of Zimmerwald and Kienthal in Switzerland.

He was minister of agriculture in the provisional government from May 5 to August 26, 1917, under Kerensky.

He became the chairman of the Constituent Assembly in January 1918 which was dispersed by the Bolsheviks.

In 1918-19, he was in Siberia taking a stand against the Bolsheviks and the reactionary whites.

He came to western Europe and lived in France up to the outbreak of the Second World War and then came to the United States where he has written in anti-Communist publications.

(Sources: Chernov's book, *The Great Russian Revolution* translated by Philip E. Mosely, Yale University Press, 1936; *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. 5, 1955, p. 416; the *Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-18*, Hoover Library publication No. 3, 1934.)

NEWS OF MSGR. IVAN BUCHKO

(Excerpt from *The Hour*, May 3, 1941, p. 4.)

On July 27, 1940, in the first article the *Hour* carried on the activities of Ukrainian Fascists in America, we revealed that a priest by the name of Msgr. Ivan Buchko was playing a significant role in this wing of the United States fifth column * * *.

Buchko to go

We are now reliably informed that a few weeks ago Monsignor Buchko applied to Washington for an extension of stay in this country. On April 1 he received from the United States Government a letter informing him that this extension had been denied and that he would have to leave the country shortly.

Since then he has traveled to Washington to plead with the authorities. He is very eager to remain in the United States, and the Nazi-Ukrainians here and abroad share this eagerness. His departure from the United States will be a keen loss to the Fascist-Ukrainian movement. It will be as great a gain to the United States.

BUCHKO LEAVES UNITED STATES

(Excerpt from *The Hour*, November 29, 1941, p. 3.)

We can report that Msgr. Ivan Buchko, first exposed as a Nazi-Ukrainian agent by the *Hour* on July 27, 1940, has been forced to leave this country. He was in cabin 62 on the *Marquis de Camillas*, when she sailed for Lisbon from New York City on Thursday, November 6.

AMERICA FIRST QUARTET

(Excerpt from *The Hour*, December 24, 1942, p. 2.)

The four political leaders of the America First Committee, Senators Gerald P. Nye, Burton K. Wheeler, Robert A. Taft, and Robert R. Reynolds, have never lost contact with their America First friends, have never given up hope of a rebirth of the committee, and have never abandoned their obstructionist attitude toward the administration's war program.

Today, these four Senators are providing the strategy for the campaign of defamation against American anti-Fascist groups and individuals.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is the text of an article entitled "Mightier Than the Sword," appearing in *Political Affairs* for December 1954 and after that an item from the *Daily Worker* of November 23, 1954, both dealing with Alexander Trachtenberg.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits 115 and 115-A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 115

MIGHTIER THAN THE SWORD

(ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS)

By Joseph Fields

A decade ago, addressing a national conference of literature workers, bookshop managers, and others interested in problems of literature and education, Alexander Trachtenberg, the founder and active head of International Publishers since its formation in 1924, reminded his listeners of the then more than 90-year-old history of Marxist thought in the United States of America.

A massive body of works by American Marxists, as well as classics of Marxist-Leninist theory, had already been published under his dynamic leadership, and a growing cadre of Marxist writers were creatively exploring and interpreting vital fields of history, philosophy, science, economics, and culture. Pointing to the impressive evidence of their contributions, Comrade Trachtenberg declared to the conference his earnest conviction that, "We have a right to feel that in our fight for Marxist thinking in our country, this growing arsenal of literature has been a very important factor indeed."

Today, 10 years later, Marxism as a current in American political life, thought, and activity has passed the century mark. International Publishers is celebrating its 30th anniversary of continuous production, and its tireless and indomitable helmsman, Alexander Trachtenberg, on November 23 reached his 70th birthday.

These anniversaries coincide at a point in history when the torch knocked from the hand of the incendiary Goebbels, has been seized by a new gang of book burners, headed by McCarthy, Brownell, and J. Edgar Hoover; when the writings not only of Marx and Engels, of William Z. Foster, and Eugene Dennis, but of Henry David Thoreau, and Mark Twain are removed from libraries by Government decree, and when the literature of a Mickey Spillane pushes from library shelves the poetry of Pablo Neruda and Nazim Hikmet.

These anniversary occasions coincide, too, with the shameful enactment into law, by a reaction-ridden Congress, of a bill to outlaw a political party, imprison its members, license trade unions, and rob the American people of the right to read, write, publish, buy, sell, give, or even discuss any book that does not have the official stamp of approval of McCarthyism.

It is under such conditions that Alexander Trachtenberg, revered by thousands as a leader, teacher, and guide, may have to leave his beloved labors of 30 years as people's publisher to serve 3 years in prison.

What is the evidence that the Government has marshaled with much effort and at great expense to establish beyond a doubt the crime perpetrated by this criminal? It will serve a useful purpose, on this 30th anniversary of a great American publishing organization, to survey this evidence.

At the time of the founding of International Publishers, in 1924, a rich tradition of Socialist literature had already taken root in the American working class. The ties established between the International Workingmen's Association (First International) founded in 1864 by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and the leaders of American labor, developed in a period of great upsurge in the labor movement. The half century of correspondence between Marx and Engels, on the one hand, and Friedrich Sorge, Joseph Weydemeyer, William Sylvius, Florence Kelley, and others in the United States of America,¹ served to strengthen interest in the concepts and theories of Marxism and in the study of the history and development of various utopian and Socialist movements, both in Europe and the United States. A small Chicago publishing firm, Charles H. Kerr, had begun to issue occasional Socialist studies and translations of some of Karl Marx' writings, thus helping to popularize Socialist ideas. The Appeal to Reason had, over the years, been circulating in millions of copies, not only in big industrial cities but among farmers in the countryside, and was a powerful influence in bringing about a degree of unity between workers and farmers on the basis of Socialist ideas.

Even before World War I, Yale, which Alexander Trachtenberg attended in his youth, found it necessary to institute a course on socialism to meet the persistent demands of the student body, and he, himself, became one of the foremost leaders of the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, founded by Jack London and others. Rich insights into this vital period of growth in the Socialist movement are to be found in William Z. Foster's comprehensive History of the Communist Party of the United States, published by International in 1953.

The great Socialist October Revolution of 1917 further spurred interest in Marxism, although at that time the already substantial body of Lenin's theoretical writings was almost completely unknown in American Socialist and labor circles, and the name of Stalin practically unknown. While works by Marx and Engels had been translated, these appeared for the most part in distorted versions and, in some cases, in translations deliberately falsified by leading Social-Democratic theoreticians.

¹ Published last year under the title "Letters to Americans: 1848-95."

By the end of its first decade of publishing activity, International Publishers had added a new dimension to American publishing history. The many important works by American Marxists that had been made available in the space of 10 years were harbingers of the rich arsenal that was to nourish a generation of working-class leaders. These works were already then helping to forge a vanguard for the American labor movement.

The 1929 crash, the great depression, and the deep ferment among the masses of unemployed profoundly influenced and helped shape the character of the constantly growing International list of publications.

For it was first and foremost in the labor movement, in the heart of the American working class, among the millions of workers, Negro and white, men and women, young and old, that Marxist-Leninist teachings took deepest root and made their greatest contribution. William Z. Foster's many pamphlets addressed to workers in steel, coal, and railroad, and dealing with the question of tactics and strategy of labor struggles were read, studied, and discussed by hundreds of thousands of workers in basic industry. These were later collected into a single volume, *American Trade Unionism*, which became for advanced workers and trade-union leaders a manual on organization and strategy in the class struggle.

The first Labor Facts Books had already begun to appear, and with them a series of studies prepared by Labor Research Association on the steel, coal, auto, textile, and other basic industries. Anna Rochester's *Rulers of America* was the first in a long chain of Marxist studies of finance capital, which led, eventually, in 1953-54, to Victor Perlo's *American Imperialism* and the newly published, basic Marxist analysis, *War Economy and Crisis*, by Hyman Lumer. Bill Haywood's book, with its epic account of labor's heroism in the bitterly fought struggles against the mine and mill bosses, foretold the new epic of the rise of the CIO that was then about to unfold. Advanced workers were studying the lessons of Bimba's *History of the American Working Class* and the Molly Maguires, which paved the way for Philip Foner's later *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, the second volume of which is scheduled for publication in 1955. Pamphlets like Alexander Trachtenberg's *History of May Day* and his *The Heritage of Gene Debs* helped keep alive the rich traditions of militant struggle in the Socialist and labor movements.

James S. Allen's *the Negro Question in the United States*, followed soon thereafter by his *Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy*, which appeared in the mid-1930's, opened a wide window on the field of Negro history. His writings were a bright portent of the major works soon to come by Marxist scholars and historians like Herbert Aptheker, Harry Haywood, author of the outstanding and basic volume, *Negro Liberation*, and several others, culminating in the publication earlier this year of William Z. Foster's monumental *The Negro People in American History*.

In 1934, International issued *Letters From Prison* by the world-renowned anti-Fascist hero, George Dimitrov. It also published Stella Blagoyeva's biographical study of the great anti-Fascist fighter. Following the seventh congress, it issued all of his speeches and writings on the United Front in a single volume. R. Palme Dutt's *Fascism and Social Revolution*, which went through several editions, was followed a few years later by Magil and Stevens' *the Peril of Fascism*, and a whole number of new works appeared dealing with key aspects of the struggle for the united and people's front against the world Fascist danger.

An especially notable role was played by International during its first decade in breaking through the officially inspired hostility to the U. S. S. R., particularly in popularizing the achievements of Socialist construction and the Soviet Union's consistent peace policy. These efforts to promote friendship and peaceful coexistence undoubtedly played a part in the recognition of the U. S. S. R. that came in 1933, during Roosevelt's first administration. Not only reports and speeches of Soviet leaders dealing with aspects of the 5-year plans, of Stakhanovism, of problems of education and child care, but, notably, the famous interviews of H. G. Wells and Roy W. Howard with Joseph Stalin, presenting the views of the head of the Soviet state on vital questions of international import, reached hundreds of thousands of Americans in all walks of life. Some of the earliest eyewitness reports, describing actual experiences of visitors to the Soviet Union, began making their appearance, the most popular of which proved to be the reports of trade-union delegations to the U. S. S. R. Dr. Harry F. Ward's *the Soviet Spirit*, dealing with the little-understood question of incentive to achievement under socialism, was also widely read and discussed. But the

high point in this field of literature was the Dean of Canterbury's the Soviet Power which, on the eve of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, in June 1941, was issued in an abridged, tabloid edition of 1¼ million copies. To hundreds of thousands of Americans, this intimate, human, and dramatic account, by so distinguished a churchman and scientist, came as a revelation and helped prepare public opinion for the powerful alliance soon to be forged between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in the war against the Fascist axis.

In the field of science, International pioneered in bringing to American students the discoveries of Pavlov in conditioned reflexes, and Speransky's conclusions in medical theory, followed in the ensuing years by a succession of important new works in biology, genetics, and other scientific fields.

In literature and belles lettres, too, International made important contributions. Proletarian Literature in the United States, containing stories, reportage, essays and poetry by 60 American writers, was a landmark in publishing history. Important, too, were Mike Gold's three volumes of writings, novels by Meridel Le Sueur and other American working-class writers, Soviet novels dealing with themes of labor heroism and critical studies by Maxim Gorky, Ralph Fox, and many others.

Notable, too, was the steady expansion of International's arsenal of books and pamphlets dealing with American history. The genuinely democratic and revolutionary heritage which had been either glossed over, ignored or distorted by bourgeois historians, was found replete with lessons for our time when approached by the compass of Marxist theory, and one of the most valuable accomplishments in that period was the development of a group of able historians who opened new insights into the most important epochs, conflicts, and personalities in American history.

Another vital contribution was in the sphere of literature on the land and agrarian questions in which important works were written by Anna Rochester and others.

Perhaps its most vital role was performed by International in the publication in our country for the first time, in correct translations and fully verified and authoritative texts, of many of the great classics of Marxist theory.

Steadily, year by year, new works by the titans of scientific socialism were added to International's list so that the worker, teacher, student, school, and library were eventually able to secure all the major works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin in carefully edited and annotated English editions.

The widespread interest in Marxist theory was reflected in the rapid growth of schools, classes, discussion groups, and self-study. William Z. Foster called on advanced workers to burn the midnight oil, not to succumb to practicalism but, on the contrary, to drink deep from the fountain of Marxism-Leninism as a source of strength for the entire working class.

In 1934, under the driving leadership of International's director, a hitherto undreamed-of goal was achieved for the first time with the successful publication and distribution of a 100,000 edition of a basic theoretical work—Stalin's Foundations of Leninism. This completely new departure in publishing was followed later by equally large mass editions of the Communist Manifesto and Socialism, Utopian and Scientific, and shortly thereafter by Lenin's Letter to American Workers and Imperialism. A few years later, Stalin's History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was published and successfully distributed in a first printing of 100,000 copies. It added a glorious new page to International's achievements in popularizing theory and bringing it to broad masses of workers.

As always, International has continued in the past decade to produce books that defend the economic welfare, peace, freedom, and culture of the people. To combat the sharpening reaction of the postwar years, the mounting inflation, heightened war danger, intensified attacks on civil liberties, International published important new works on aspects on American imperialism, on the liberation struggles of the Negro people, on monopoly capital, colonialism, the narrowing war economy and threatening economic crisis. Books on New China, Israel, the Philippines, Africa, and British Guiana, France, Great Britain, and Germany, rolled off its presses in a continuous stream.

For the occasion of its 30th anniversary, International has just published a unique volume containing writings from "works in progress" by 19 of its authors, with illustrations by 8 noted American artists. This sparkling volume, aptly titled "Looking Forward," gives a rewarding insight into the type of books Inter-

national plans to publish during the next 2 years. Each article, essay, and extract in *Looking Forward* represents part of a book which is on International's publishing schedule for 1955-56.

And what a treasury this unique and irreplaceable publishing house has in store for its readers for the next period—William Z. Foster's coming history of the world Socialist movement; a new people's history of the United States, by Herbert Aptheker; Victor Perlo's study of present-day finance capital; a second volume continuing Philip Foner's history of the American labor movement; biographies of Charles Ruthenberg, by Oakley Johnson; of Robert Minor, by Joseph North; of Peter V. Cacchione, by Michael Gold; and of veteran steel worker Pat Cush, by Art Shields; a book on the Revolution in Philosophy, by Howard Selsam; a survey by Doxey A. Wilkerson of Marxism in the universities; Samuel Sillen's new appraisal of Henry David Thoreau; a new critical work on music, by Sidney Finkelstein; a study of Pavlov and Freud, by Harry K. Wells; two economic studies by Labor Research Association, one on East-West trade and what this means in terms of jobs, the other on United States monopoly penetration of Latin America; a novel by Albert Maltz; a work of literary reportage by Meridel Le Sueur on her own family and its roots in America's far Northwest. This, of course, is but a partial tabulation of the rich, varied, meaningful list of books on International's publishing schedule for the next 2 years—a list which by any but McCarthyite standards would be regarded as a major contribution to the cultural and intellectual life of the Nation.

Yet, this is the program, this is the 30-year-old publishing house, this is the beloved 70-year-old dean of American publishers, which the Eisenhower-Dulles administration is set upon destroying. These are the books the McCarthyites are determined to bury, together with the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Rightfully, the publication of each one of these books is a significant event, warranting a promotional campaign on its own merits. Yet, such has been the fury of the Fascist-like onslaughts directed against democratic and peace forces—but aimed with special ferocity against the Communist Party—that serious reverses have been experienced in the past few years in the distribution of Marxist-Leninist literature. In turn, the study of that literature has suffered.

Illegal search, seizure and arrests, confiscation of Marxist libraries, raids on progressive bookshops, flagrantly unconstitutional "laws" that place the stamp of criminality on Marxist theory and literature, the use by Government prosecutors of books as "evidence" in the long series of Smith Act trials, the hounding, firing and imprisonment of educators, scientists, novelists, screenwriters, publishers, the banning of books from libraries and schools, and the issuance of lists of proscribed authors—all this has taken a severe toll in the serious decline of literature distribution.

These attacks must be rolled back. The battle must be mounted to establish the full citizenship of Marxist ideology and literature in the political, intellectual and cultural life of our country. The books must be defended, the book burners disarmed.

What the McCarthys and Brownells fail to comprehend is that these books cannot be destroyed. Their ideas have germinated, their seeds have taken root, they have thrown up powerful shoots.

That is the profound meaning of Comrade Trachtenberg's calm declaration to the court which imposed upon him a sentence of 3 years in a prison dungeon: "There are millions of these books abroad in the land today, and I am happy in the knowledge that they will continue to bring light and warmth and love and comradeship among the men and women, Negro and white, in whose homes they live. I salute them in the hope that there will be more books coming out to keep them company. Of this I am sure."

On the occasion of the 30th anniversary of International Publishers, scores of thousands join with Comrade Trachtenberg in saluting these books which have served as a powerful rampart against obscurantism, against the degradation of human values, against the despair of bourgeois culture.

And in doing this, we salute the wise, seasoned, exemplary leader who, more than any other, helped provide the indispensable weapon of Marxist literature which has armed the working class and its vanguard in the difficult, many-sided, continuing struggle for jobs, peace, equal rights, democracy and, eventually, for the highest form that democracy can achieve—socialism.

EXHIBIT No. 115-A

[Daily Worker, New York, November 23, 1954]

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG HAILED BY CP ON HIS 70TH BIRTHDAY

Greetings to Alexander Trachtenberg on his 70th birthday today were rendered yesterday by the national committee of the Communist Party. The committee's statement follows:

Hearty comradely greetings to our dear indomitable comrade, Alexander Trachtenberg, on his 70th birthday. Homage to him for a lifetime of devoted and tireless leading activity in the labor and Marxist movement, for the great confidence and unremitting energy with which he continues his lifework in the shadow of a 3-year prison sentence under the Fascist thought-control Smith Act, for his steadfast dedication to the Communist principles for which he has always stood.

Alexander Trachtenberg is a bright example to all lovers of peace and democracy. His work covers a half century of uninterrupted leadership as administrator, editor, publisher, lecturer, writer, teacher, organizer of labor education and research, and candidate for public office.

Arrested with 16 other Communist leaders, he was placed in the dock, together with the Marxist-Leninist books he has published and distributed for 30 years. He stanchly reaffirmed his identity with the triumphant theory of social progress, Marxism-Leninism, and its deep roots in the American labor movement and cultural life in general.

In his own work and person, Alexander Trachtenberg embodies and defends the vital American democratic tradition, of which Marxism is an integral part. The monopolists and their prosecutors now try to make this tradition appear alien and hostile to the American way of life.

The Smith Act trials of books and ideas jail Communists because of their convictions. These notorious frameups threaten to bring the darkness of Fascism upon all political and cultural life in the land. They aim to place the entire labor movement and the American people at the mercy of the warmakers. Defending his life-long activities, Alexander Trachtenberg defends the very cultural and political freedom for which the American people have fought since the founding of the Republic.

The publishing activities of Alexander Trachtenberg have enlarged and enriched the basic and vital literature available to the American people.

Under his direction many writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, previously unavailable in this country, have been published. He brought the great works of V. I. Lenin and J. V. Stalin to the American public.

Under his direction the writings of working class and peoples' leaders in many countries have been translated and published, helping us understand the world we live in.

With his unflagging energy, he has helped build up a significant body of literature by American Marxist and progressive writers on United States history, the labor movement, the Negro people, the economics of the imperialist monopoly era, world affairs, the Socialist policies and achievements of the Soviet Union, and numerous problems of current politics.

An outstanding contribution of Alexander Trachtenberg has been his indefatigable labors to bring the truth of the first Socialist state, the Soviet Union, to the workers and people of our country, and to promote friendship and lasting peace between the United States of America and the U. S. S. R.

Alexander Trachtenberg has helped develop writers in creative literature, criticism, philosophy, and science.

He has kept alive the old tradition of popular and Socialist movements in this country of mass literature distributions, of pamphleteering for the laboring man and the common folks.

He has provided for our country a vast body of literature, encompassing the greatest social theory of our time, the best world of thought, as well as the best products of Marxist and progressive thinking in America.

This literature lives on. It cannot be jailed. It cannot be legislated or witch-hunted out of existence. It has been read by millions of Americans and is to be found in their homes throughout the land. It continues to inspire masses of people, who will not be scared out of thinking by the anti-Communist hysteria.

The beloved democratic traditions of our people live on. They grow in struggle against the Fascist McCarthyites, the book-burners who would destroy the literature, in the face of its slanderous distortion and persecution by the enemies of democracy and peace, is in keeping with our best traditions.

Freedom for Alexander Trachtenberg, Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, all Smith Act victims, and all political prisoners, to carry forward the American way of life as it was always understood and fought for by the people.

Good health, Comrade Trachtenberg, and many more years of glorious activity in the service of the American working class and Nation, for the happiness and peace of all humanity.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a book list issued by New Century Publishers, being the catalog of that company for the year 1954. The portion to be inserted in the record is under section VI, "The Soviet Union," where the list under "Books" starts with "The Great Conspiracy," by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn, and under "Pamphlets" contains items by N. Khrushchev and J. Stalin and V. M. Molotov.

(The book list referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 116" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 116

VI. THE SOVIET UNION

BOOKS

- The Great Conspiracy, by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn—\$0.25. Efforts of the imperialist powers to destroy the Soviet Union.
- History of the Russian Revolution, by Joseph Stalin, V. M. Molotov, Maxim Gorky and others—\$2. Authoritative study of events leading in 1917 Revolution.
- The Red Army, by I. Minz—\$1.25. An authoritative history of the Red army from its founding up to Stalingrad.
- Russia's Fighting Forces, by Sergei N. Kournakoff—paper, \$0.50. Study of the origin, history and training of the Red army.
- People Come First, by Jessica Smith—\$2.50. Eyewitness account of postwar reconstruction in the Soviet Union.
- The Secret of Soviet Strength, by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury—cloth, \$1.50; paper, \$0.35. The source of Russian political, economic, and military might.
- A Soviet City and Its People, by Joseph Garelik—cloth, \$1.25; paper, \$0.50. A steel city in the U. S. S. R. and the role of the workers.
- Soviet Economic Development Since 1917, by Maurice Dobb—\$4. Soviet planning, financial system, wages, employment, etc.
- The Soviet Power, by Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury—cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$0.60. Dramatic study of how socialism operates in Soviet Union.
- The Soviet Spirit, by Harry F. Ward—cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$0.50. How incentives to achievement work under the Soviet system.
- Ten Days That Shook the World, by John Reed—\$2. The famous eyewitness account of the Russian Revolution.

PAMPHLETS

- An American Looks at Russia: Can We Live in Peace? by Claude Lightfoot—\$0.05.
- Educational System in the Soviet Union, by Elizabeth Moos—\$0.25.
- Epic of the Black Sea Revolt, by Andre Marty—\$0.10.
- The 50th Anniversary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute—\$0.15.
- From Socialism to Communism in the Soviet Union, by J. Stalin—\$0.05.
- Here's How We See It, Mr. Perkins, by I. Taigin—\$0.05.
- Intervention in Siberia, 1918-1922, by V. Parfenov—\$0.15.
- Jews in the Soviet Union, by Paul Novick and J. M. Budish—\$0.15.
- Napoleon in Russia, by Eugene Tarle—\$0.10.
- The Nature of Soviet Society, by P. F. Yudin—\$0.20.
- October Days in Moscow, by I. Minz—\$0.15.
- On Changes in the Rules of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by N. Khrushchev—\$0.25.
- Peace—And Price Cuts, Too! by Felix Baron—\$0.05.
- The Soviet Union and World Peace, by J. Stalin and V. M. Molotov—\$0.10.
- Thirty-one Years of the U. S. S. R., by V. M. Molotov—\$0.10.
- USA-USSR Cooperation for World Peace—\$0.20.
- What Russia Did for Victory, by Sergei Kournakoff—\$0.25.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a list of Communist bookstores, being an advertisement of the New Century Publishers, appearing in the Worker of November 7, 1954, page 16.

(The list referred to was marked exhibit No. 117 and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No 117

ANNOUNCING A NOVEMBER-DECEMBER SPECIAL ANNIVERSARY BOOK SALE

CELEBRATING THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF INT'L PUBLISHERS AND THE 70TH BIRTHDAY OF ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

500,000 Books on Sale at Discounts Up to 90%. Including: Art and Society, by Sidney Finkelstein—Reg. \$2.75, Sale 59c; Danielle, By Simone Thery—Reg. \$1.00, Sale 39c; Poems, By Nazim Hikmet—Reg. 50c, Sale 19c; Handbook of Philosophy, Ed. by Howard Selsam—Reg. \$1.50, Sale 39c; Essays in the History of the American Negro, by Herbert Aptheker—Reg. \$2.00, Sale 49c; A Lantern for Jeremy, by V. J. Jerome—Reg. \$2.50, Sale 89c; People Come First, by Jessica Smith—Reg. \$2.50, Sale 39c; World Monopoly and Peace, By James S. Allen—Reg. \$2.50, Sale 49c.

Looking forward: Special 30th anniversary book containing contributions from new "works in progress" by 19 international publishers, authors, and 7 leading artists. These essays cover history, philosophy, science, world affairs, literature, etc. Popular edition, Reg. \$1.50. Special \$1.00.

Visit or write to your nearest workers and progressive bookshop:

Berkley: 20th Century Bookshop, 2475 Bancroft Way
 Chicago: Modern Bookstore, 64 West Randolph St., Room 914
 Cleveland: Free Press & Publications, 5103 Euclid Ave., Room 7
 Denver: Labor Publications, P. O. Box 2691
 Detroit: I. Berenson, 2419 Grand River, Room 7
 Los Angeles: Progressive Bookshop, 1806 West 7th Street
 Los Angeles: Hugh Gordon Bookshop, 4310 S. Central Avenue
 Milwaukee: Workers Literature Agency, P. O. Box 1088
 Minneapolis: Meridel Le Sener, 1769 Colfax Avenue South
 New York: Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th Street
 New York: Jefferson Bookstore, 575 Avenue of the Americas
 New York: Book World, 714 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn
 Philadelphia: Literature Dept., 250 South Broad Street, Room 710
 Portland, Oreg.: New Era Bookshop, P. O. Box 185
 San Francisco: International Bookstore, 1408 Market Street
 Seattle: Frontier Bookstore, 106 Cherry Street

New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is the certificate of incorporation of the Library Book Club, including the front cover, showing it was apparently prepared in the law office of Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf, of New York City.

(The certificate of incorporation referred to was marked exhibit No. 118 and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 118

CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, INC., PURSUANT TO ARTICLE TWO OF THE STOCK CORPORATION LAW

State of New York, Department of State: Filed May 24, 1948. Tax \$10, filing fee \$40.

THOMAS J. CURRAIN.

Secretary of State.

By U. O. BORDEN.

(Law offices—Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf, 160 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.)

We, the undersigned, desiring to form a stock corporation pursuant to the provisions of Article Two of the Stock Corporation Law of the State of New York, do hereby certify as follows:

First: The name of the corporation is Liberty Book Club, Inc.

Second: The purposes for which it is to be formed are to do any and all of the things hereafter set forth, to the same extent as natural persons might or could do in any part of the world, namely:

(a) As principal, agent or otherwise, to buy, sell, edit, print, prepare for publication, publish, exchange, distribute, or otherwise deal and traffic in books and print literary publication embracing the various fields of literary endeavor including books of every description on all subjects and in various bindings, periodicals, pamphlets, and papers of all kinds, manufacture, buy, sell and deal in all materials and things which can be advantageously used or dealt in connection therewith.

(b) To gather, assemble, write, edit, prepare for publication, publish, print, photograph, electrotype, bind, reproduce, sell, resell, syndicate, distribute, own, acquire, lease, license and otherwise turn to account and generally deal in magazines, pamphlets, books and publications of all kinds and to engage generally in the business of publishers, printers, job and book printing, wholesale and retail, booksellers, bookbinders and stationers or any branch or branches of one or more of them.

(c) To acquire and take over as a going concern, and to carry on the business of any person, firm, association or corporation engaged in any business which this corporation is authorized to carry on, and in connection therewith to acquire the good will and all or any part of the assets, and to assume or otherwise provide for all or any of the liabilities of the owner or owners of such business.

(d) To apply for, purchase or in any manner to acquire and to hold, own, use and operate, and to sell or in any manner dispose of, and to grant, license other rights in respect of, and in any manner deal with, any and all rights, inventions, improvements and processes used in connection with or secured under letters patent or copyrights of the United States or other countries, or otherwise, and to work, operate or develop the same, and to carry on any similar business, manufacturing or otherwise, which may directly or indirectly effectuate these objects or any one of them.

(e) To obtain, lease, purchase or otherwise acquire, and to use, assign, sublet, grant licenses in respect of, or otherwise turn to account buying and selling licenses, rights and concessions from any person or persons, corporation, association, or governmental agency either in the United States or in any foreign country.

(f) To enter into, make, perform and carry out contracts of every kind, which may be necessary for or incidental to the business of the corporation, with any person, firm, corporation, private, public or municipal, body politic, under the government of the United States, or any territory, district, protectorate, dependence or insular or other possession or acquisition of the United States, or any foreign government, so far as, and to the extent that, the same may be done and performed by a corporation organized under the Stock Corporation Law.

(g) To purchase, lease, or otherwise acquire real and personal property of any and all kinds that may be lawfully acquired and held by a business corporation, and in particular lands, leaseholds, shares of stock, mortgages, bonds, debentures and other securities, merchandise, book debts and claims, copyrights, manuscripts, trademarks, tradenames, brands, labels, patents, caveats and patent rights, licenses, grants and concessions and any interest in real or personal property.

(h) The corporation may have offices, agencies, or branches, conduct its business or any part thereof, purchase, lease or otherwise acquire, hold mortgage and convey real and personal property, and do all or any of the acts and things herein set forth as purposes and such other acts and things as may be requisite for the corporation in the convenient transaction of its business, outside the state of New York, as well as within the state, and in any or all the other states of the United States, in the District of Columbia, in any of the territories, districts, protectorates, dependencies or insular or other possessions or acquisitions of the United States, and in any or all foreign countries.

(i) To borrow money for its corporate purposes, and to make, accept, endorse, execute and issue promissory notes, bill of exchange, bonds, debentures or other obligations from time to time, for the purchase of property, or for any purpose in or about the business of the company, and, if deemed proper, to secure the payment of any such obligations by mortgage, pledge, deed of trust or otherwise.

(j) To sell, improve, manage, develop, lease, mortgage, dispose of or otherwise turn to account or deal with all or any part of the property of the Company.

(k) To do all and everything necessary, suitable or proper for the accomplishment of any of the purposes, the attainment of any of the objects or the

furtherance of any of the powers hereinbefore set forth, either alone or in connection with other corporations, firms or individuals and either as principals, or agents, and to do every other act or acts, thing or things, incidental or appurtenant to or growing out of or connected with the aforesaid objects, purposes or powers or any of them.

(l) The foregoing enumeration of specific powers shall not be deemed to limit or restrict in any manner the general powers of the corporation, and the enjoyment and exercise thereof, as conferred by the laws of the State of New York upon corporations organized under the provisions of the Stock Corporation Law.

Third: The total number of shares that may be issued by the corporation is One Hundred (100) no par common stock. The said common shares shall be divided into two classes to be known as "Class A common" to consist of Fifty (50) shares and "Class B common" to consist of Fifty (50) shares. The designations, preferences, privileges and voting powers of the shares of each Class and the restrictions and qualifications thereof shall be as follows:

(a) The entire voting power for the election of directors and for all other purposes shall be vested exclusively in the holders of the no par common stock who shall be entitled to one (1) vote for each share of no par common stock held by them of record, provided however, that in all elections of directors of the corporation one-half of the directors of the corporation shall be elected by the class A common-stockholders voting as a class, and one-half of the directors of the corporation shall be elected by the class B common-stock holders voting as a class.

(b) At all meetings of stockholders, the majority number of shares entitled to vote at such meetings, present in person or represented by proxy, shall constitute a quorum.

Fourth: The capital of the corporation shall be at least equal to the sum of the aggregate par value of all issued shares having par value, plus the aggregate amount of consideration received by the corporation for the issuance of shares without par value, plus such amounts as from time to time, by resolution of the Board of Directors, may be transferred thereto.

The corporation may issue and may sell its authorized shares, without par value, from time to time, for such consideration as may be fixed, from time to time, by the Board of Directors, any and all shares so issued shall be deemed fully paid and nonassessable and the holders of such shares shall not be liable to the corporation or to its creditors in respect thereto.

Fifth: The Secretary of State of the State of New York is hereby designated as the agent of the corporation upon whom process in any action or proceeding against it may be served; that the office of the corporation shall be located in the City of New York, County of New York, State of New York, and that the address to which the Secretary of State shall mail a copy of process in any action or proceeding against the corporation which may be served upon him is: c/o Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf, 160 Broadway, City of New York, State of New York.

Sixth: Its duration is to be perpetual.

Seventh: The number of its directors is to be not less than three (3) nor more than ten (10). One-half of the directors of the corporation shall be elected by the class A common-stock holders voting as a class, and one-half of the directors of the corporation shall be elected by the class B stockholders voting as a class. Any vacancy among the directors elected by the class A common-stock holders shall be filled by the class A common-stock holders and any vacancy among the directors elected by the class B common-stock holders shall be filled by the class B common-stock holders. If the number of directors be increased pursuant to Stock Corporation Law, section 35, one-half of the additional directors shall be elected by the votes of a majority of the directors elected by the class A common-stock holders, and one-half of the additional directors shall be elected by the votes of a majority of the directors elected by the class B common-stock holders, such additional directors to serve until the following annual meeting of the stockholders. All shares of stock shall be alike except in regards to this provision relating to the election of directors.

Eighth: The name and post-office addresses of the directors until the first annual meeting of the stockholders are as follows:

Names, post-office addresses:

Henry H. Wolf, 160 Broadway, New York City
Lester M. Levin, 160 Broadway, New York City
Estelle Grossman, 160 Broadway, New York City

Ninth: The name and post-office address' of each subscriber of this certificate, and a statement of the number of shares which he agrees to take are as follows:

Names	Post office addresses	Number of shares
Henry H. Wolf.....	160 Broadway, New York City.....	1
Lester M. Levin.....	160 Boradway, New York City.....	1
Estelle Grossman.....	160 Broadway, New York City.....	1

Tenth: All of the subscribers of this certificate are of full age; at least two-thirds of them are citizens of the United States, and at least one of them is a resident of the State of New York. All of the persons named as directors are of full age, and at least one of them is a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of New York.

Eleventh: Directors are not required to be stockholders.

Twelfth: The following provisions are inserted for the regulation and conduct of the affairs of the corporation and it is expressly provided that they are intended to be in furtherance and not in limitation or exclusion of the powers conferred by statute:

(a) The Board of Directors shall have power to hold its meetings outside the State of New York, or within the State of New York, in either case at such place or places as from time to time may be designated by the bylaws of the corporation, or by resolution of the Board of Directors and shall be specified in the respective notices thereof, or shall be specified in the waiver of notice thereof, signed by all the Directors of the corporation then in office.

(b) The Board of Directors shall have power from time to time to fix and determine and vary the amount of the working capital of the corporation and to direct and determine the use and disposition of any surplus or net profits over and above the capital stock paid in.

(c) No contract or other transaction between the corporation and any other corporation shall be affected or invalidated by the fact that any one or more of the directors of the corporation is, or are, interested in, or is a director or officer, or are directors or officers, of such other corporation, and any director or directors, individually or jointly, may be a party or parties to or may be interested in any contract or transaction of the corporation or in which the corporation is interested; and no contract, act, or transaction of the corporation with any person, firm, association, or corporation, shall be affected or invalidated by the fact that any director or directors of the corporation is a party, or are parties to, or interested in such contract, act, or transaction, or any way connected with such person, firm, association, or corporation, and each and every person who may become a director of the corporation is hereby relieved from any liability that might otherwise exist, from contracting with the corporation for the benefit of himself or any firm, association, or corporation in which he may be in any way interested.

(d) Shares of stock in other corporations held by the corporation shall be voted by such officer or officers of the corporation as the Board of Directors by a majority vote shall designate for that purpose, or by a proxy thereunto duly authorized by like vote of said board, except as otherwise ordered by vote of the holders of a majority of the shares of stock outstanding and entitled to vote.

(e) Subject always to bylaws made by the stockholders, the Board of Directors may make bylaws and from time to time may alter, amend, or repeal any bylaws, but any bylaws made by the Board of Directors, may be altered, amended, or repealed by the stockholders.

In witness whereof we have made, subscribed, and acknowledged this certificate in duplicate, dated this 21st day of May 1948.

HENRY H. WOLF (L. S.).
LESTER M. LEVIN (L. S.).
ESTELLE GROSSMAN (L. S.).

STATE OF NEW YORK,
County of New York, ss:

On this 21st day of May 1948 before me personally came Henry H. Wolf, Lester M. Levin, and Estelle Grossman, to me known and known to me to be

the persons described in and to have executed the foregoing certificate, and severally duly acknowledged to me that they executed the same.

[SEAL]

IDA K. ELLENBOGEN,
Notary Public.

Commission expires March 30, 1950.

STATE OF NEW YORK,

Department of State, ss:

I certify that I have compared the preceding copy with the original certificate of incorporation of Liberty Book Club, Inc., filed in this department on the 24th day of May 1948, and that such copy is a correct transcript therefrom and of the whole of such original.

Witness my hand and the official seal of the Department of State at the City of Albany this eighteenth day of February one thousand nine hundred and fifty-five.

[SEAL]

CARMINE G. DESAPIO,
Secretary of State.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is an article appearing in the Daily Worker, Monday, May 29, 1950, under the heading "Letter From Liberty Book Club."

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 119" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 119

[Daily Worker, New York, May 29, 1950]

LETTER FROM LIBERTY BOOK CLUB

DEAR FRIEND: This is a report to you on Liberty Book Club's first 2 years. It is a report we are proud to make, for Liberty Club is today a fact, a secure fact. The first real people's book club this country has seen is here to stay because people like you believed in it and joined it. It has a secure future because thousands more progressives like you will join it and help build it.

Two years ago, the signs of nationwide repression were already plain. Among the first victims of the cold war was the once vital and living creative literature of America. Few outstanding books were being published, and systematic price increases were making those few prohibitive for the average industrial or white-collar worker.

A group of progressives met and discussed the problems of publishing and distributing those books which informed, inspired, and entertained without offending the mature and civilized mind. Out of this discussion there emerged two conclusions: First, the need for an organized audience for progressive books; second, a means whereby such books might be produced cheaply enough to fit the worker's budget. If these two needs could be met, then an inestimable service would be performed not only for the progressive movement, but for American literature in general.

Obviously, the answer was a book club. But it had to be a new kind of book club. It had to be a club dedicated clearly and unequivocally to the cause of progressive America. It had to be a consistent book club. It had to be a principled book club. It had to be immune from commercial pressures. It had to resist the temptations which lead to opportunism, easy profits, and compromise.

We have grown, not with big-money advertising and hoked-up pressure, but because we have kept faith with our members. We intend to keep faith with them.

In proof of this, we submit the following facts on books and prices and we ask you to consider them carefully. Here in chronological order is a list of Liberty Book Club selections to date:

The Dark Philosophers by Gwyn Thomas; The Jungle by Upton Sinclair; The Big Yankee, the life of Evans Carlson, by Michael Blankfort; The Good Yeoman by Jay Williams; The Great Midland by Alexander Saxton; The People from Heaven by John Sandford; My Glorious Brothers by Howard Fast; The Embers Still Burn by Ira Hirschmann; The Poetry of the Negro by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps; The Unfinished Revolution in China by Israel Epstein; Temptation by John Pen; The Train by Vera Panova.

Also, Without Magnolias, by Bucklin Moon; The Journey of Simon McKeever, by Albert Maltz; I Knock at the Door, by Sean O'Casey; Leaves in the Wind, by

Gwyn Thomas; Your Most Humble Servant, the Life of Benjamin Banneker, by Shirley Graham; Departure, by Howard Fast; The Storm, by Ilya Ehrenburg; The Vatican in World Politics, by Avro Manhattan; Story Without End, an informal history of the Jewish people, by Landman & Egron; Pictures in the Hallway, by Sean O'Casey; A Washington Story, by Deiss; and Soviet Psychiatry, by Joseph Wortis, M. D.

We are proud of this list. We are proud of this variety, its cultural content, its devotion to high literature standards.

Two of these books would never have been published had it not been for our guaranty of support. Two others were quietly barred from 90 percent of American bookshops and would have been killed very effectively were Liberty Book Club not on the scene to have made distribution possible. Three of them had remained completely unknown to the general public until we came along to give them mass distribution. One of them, through our support, outsold every other book of poetry published in 2 years.

And we are proud to add that we have distributed 25,000 books as free dividends—books which matched the same standards we set for our regular selections.

Now, let us consider what it costs our members to get these books. The retail price of these books added together amounts to \$75. We were able to send them to our members for \$38, a saving of considerably better than 50 percent on the price of each book. Despite the fact that our books are made by union printers and binders and that our office is staffed with union workers, we were able to accomplish this because we did not have to allocate thousands of dollars for promotion and advertising.

Such is the record of Liberty Book Club until now.

In closing this report to you, we again extend our greetings and a cordial invitation to join Liberty Book Club if you have not already done so. If you are already a member, we urge you to continue to help build Liberty Book Club by introducing your friends to the club. We shall continue to do our part, and we ask you to do yours.

S. A. RUSSELL, *President*.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is three pages of the issue of February 18, 1955, of the publication Counterattack. This is offered for the record since the question has been raised concerning what Counterattack said about the Liberty Book Club and about Mr. Cameron.

The statements of Counterattack about Mr. Cameron already are in the record, but those about the Liberty Book Club are not yet, and they should go in.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 120" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 120

[The New Counterattack, New York, February 18, 1955]

(Published weekly. Copyright 1955 by American Business Consultants, Inc.; J. G. Keenan, president; A. E. Cullen, vice president; L. F. Budenz, contributing editor)

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB—PROFITABLE PROPAGANDA

The name of Angus Cameron, publisher, has turned up again in connection with a party-line literary activity. Cameron's most impressive publishing work up to now was as editor of the Boston firm of Little, Brown & Co. He left there after this newsletter's disclosures of his party background. He was identified as a member of the party in 1951, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and took refuge in the fifth amendment.

Despite his present and past notoriety, Cameron has escaped general notice for another publishing venture of major propaganda importance. He is now president of the Liberty Book Club, Inc., 100 West 23d Street, New York, N. Y.

A major importance of this book club is that Liberty Book Club's selections are not made from among pro-Communist Party authors or publishers alone. This may also explain why Cameron's name has not appeared widely in connection with it. The selections include books from reputable publishers and apparently reputable authors. The broadness of the selections provides protective coloration.

Current selections of the club provide a good example. First in a current listing, for instance, is *My Mission to Spain* by Claude E. Bowers, former United States Ambassador to Spain. Ostensibly this might be just another diplomatic memoir. Actually, the book's softness toward the Communist side of the Spanish Civil War and its antagonism to anti-Communist forces in Spain makes it just right for the Liberty Book Club's special interest. Bowers also is author of two other current selections, *Jefferson and Hamilton*—a story of how "the people met and defeated reaction"—and *Jefferson in Power*.

The current listing also includes a love story by James Wellard entitled "Summer at the Castle." But what is the theme of this idyll? A protest against the use of weapons of mass destruction. Then there are essays by the leftwing Irish writer Sean O'Casey.

For poetry lovers there is a verse collection entitled "Roll the Forbidden Drums," by Aaron Kramer. This poet's background includes two separate teaching assignments at the Communist Party's Jefferson School of Social Science. One of his latest poems appeared in the *Worker* while selections from his Liberty Book Club volume were read, by the author, to a meeting of the American Labor Party last year.

Also on the Liberty Book Club list is a photonarration of union struggles in an industrial town. It is entitled "Mill Town." The author: Bill Cahn. His background includes authorship of a pamphlet, *Knock on Any Door*, which was put out during the party-dominated Wallace for President campaign. Outside of that, apparently, his name has not been closer to party-line activity than a petition denouncing the Dies committee in 1943, and editorial contributions in 1952 and 1953 to the journal of the United Electrical Workers Union, one of the unions expelled from the CIO because of Communist domination.

Another Liberty Book Club selected author is Mulk Raj Anand. Originally his book *Coolie* was a selection. Now his *Two Leaves and a Bud* is a selection. There is no reason why his name should be familiar to American readers, however. In 1948 he was a member of the International Committee in Defense of Peace as announced by the World Congress of Intellectuals in Communist Poland. An Indian, he was one of the signers in that country of a petition supporting the Hollywood Ten in their defiance of congressional questioning. In 1953 he received a peace-prize awarded by the Red World Peace Council.

Perhaps as unfamiliar to readers is the name of another Liberty Book Club selection's author, John Somerville. His contribution to the list is a work entitled "The Philosophy of Peace." Presently teaching philosophy at New York City's Hunter College, Somerville is known to the party press as a non-Communist authority on Marxist-Leninist literature and philosophy. In addition, he was a sponsor, in 1944, of a dinner of the American Russian Institute, a party front. He was a sponsor in 1951 of another front activity, the Mid-Century Conference for Peace. He also has been listed as a speaker at the Communist Jefferson School in New York, as a sponsor of a committee of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, another officially cited front, and as a sponsor of a testimonial dinner for the Communist Party's "expert" on minority peoples, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. During the recent Smith Act trial in Philadelphia he appeared as a defense witness.

Further on, the club's current list shows a more easily identifiable hue. There is Joseph Starobin's *Eyewitness in Indochina*. The book has a certain claim to novelty inasmuch as Starobin, a correspondent for the *Daily Worker*, covered the fighting from the side of the Communists. Cedric Belfrage, who has been identified as a Soviet agent and recently ordered deported from this country, is another Liberty Book Club selectee. His offering is *Seeds of Destruction* which parrots the line on Germany.

Howard Fast is another LBC author with his *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*. Fast, of course, is one of the party's most highly touted authors. His recent book, *Silas Timberman* is listed by the west coast Communist paper, *People's World*, as LBC's February selection.

Lion Feuchtwanger, an expatriate German author now living in California and winner of several important Iron Curtain citations for his books (*Counter-attack*, August 13, 1954) is also listed in the LBC list for his novel of the French Revolution, *'Tis Folly to be Wise*. Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the Hollywood Ten convicted for defying a congressional committee contributes a *Candide*-like satire entitled "The Ecstasy of Owen Muir."

Lardner's book is an interesting example of the manner in which Liberty Book Club selections may be given wide distribution among readers unaware of the purposes served by the books. Despite the fact that Ring Lardner, Jr. was in the headlines during the week (when the Supreme Court knocked out his suit for

salary lost after the Hollywood hearings), The Ecstasy of Owen Muir was put on display in the window of Brentano's world-famous Fifth Avenue bookstore in New York City.

The books listed above are currently on LBC's list as selections, alternates and premiums. Previously, however, LBC has had other outstanding party-line authors on its lists and active in its affairs. Annette Rubenstein, who has been identified as an official of the American Labor Party and a teacher at the Communist Jefferson School contributed a book on English literature last year; while Herbert Aptheker, an editor of *Masses* and *Mainstream*, Jefferson School teacher and contributor to the *Daily Worker*, was hailed by LBC for his documentary history of the Negroes in America.

Even in its internal affairs, LBC has not had to stray from the party line and its friends. The secretary of the club is listed as Alex Munsell, one-time Communist Party candidate for the Baltimore City council. The law firm that has represented the club is Wolf, Popper, Ross & Wolf, 160 Broadway, New York, N. Y. Benedict Wolf, of the firm, was a member of the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild. He also has been listed as active in these other fronts: Civil Rights Congress, Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and Jefferson School of Social Science.

Martin Popper, of the firm, was an American representative to the International Association of Democratic Lawyers in 1948. This group, according to the House Committee on Un-American Activities is the international Communist front for lawyers. Popper also has been an attorney for the Soviet trading agency, Amtorg, and for six of the persons named as Communists who ducked behind the fifth amendment during the Hollywood hearings.

Paul Ross, of the firm, has served on the executive board of the National Lawyers Guild as well as chairman of the American Labor Party's Council on Public Affairs.

All in all, it adds up to just the sort of book club properly within the scope of the talents of Angus Cameron, LBC's president. Also, the background of LBC provides an interesting light in which to read Cameron's latest exhaustive statement on publishing in America. It appears in the Communist Party's cultural organ, *Masses* and *Mainstream*, for January. Basically, the piece is a defense of the official party publishing house, International Publishers. It manages also to take slaps at Senator McCarthy, Secretary Dulles and J. Edgar Hoover, and to describe Smith Act trials against Communists as "shabby, shallow, and vulgarized" attacks against freedom of thought. Cameron also bemoans the fact that although 20 years ago many leading figures in publishing honored International Publishers, not one of them now will come to its defense. But about his Liberty Book Club, curiously, there's not one word.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next is a letter that accompanied a piece of advertising matter sent through the mails and received at his home by a member of the staff of this committee. This material relates to the Liberty Book Club, and the letter is from Charles J. Coe, editor of *Farm Research*.

(The letter referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 121" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 121

FARM RESEARCH,

New York 7, N. Y., March 15, 1954.

DEAR READER: It is becoming more and more difficult to get good books at this time when the "book-burners" are on the loose.

Therefore, we would like to call your attention to the Liberty Book Club, which is striving to make good books available to you and me at low prices.

Their selections have been excellent, and we are glad to refer their offer to you. If you decide to become a member, you are entitled to get two of the previous selections for only \$1.64 plus 25 cents for postage and handling charges. Members need not accept selections which they do not want and are required to take only four selections a year.

While we have no official connection with Liberty Book Club, we have seen the fine work that they are doing. So, we volunteered to introduce them to our readers, and Mr. Charles A. Collins, managing director, said, "Fine, we would welcome your farm readers to join."

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES J. COE, *Editor.*

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, INC., 100 WEST 23D STREET., NEW YORK 11, N. Y.

THE BEST IN LITERATURE AT MEMBER PRICE OF ONLY \$1.64

DEAR READER: We invite you to become a member of Liberty Book Club. Here is why.

Liberty Book Club brings to you at low cost the books you want to own and read, and which you might purchase during the year at a cost of 3 or 4 times higher.

BARGAIN

Our members pay the unusually low price of \$1.64 (plus a few cents for mailing and handling) regardless of publisher's price. Savings to you run up to 60 percent.

\$7-10 BARGAIN FOR \$1.64

On joining you have a choice of any two of our selections (list on back page). One is your regular selection, the other is your bonus for joining. Both books come to you for only \$1.64.

Occasionally, Liberty Book Club distributes to its members an extraordinary selection, either unavailable in this country, or unusually expensive, or something special which we feel we must publish ourselves; in such cases, understandably, the slightly higher price of \$2.25 is asked. The choice of such a book or our regular selection is optional.

LIBERTY BOOK CLUB SELECTIONS

Daybreak in China, by Basil Davidson

In *Daybreak in China*, Davidson vividly and excitingly pictures the lives of peasants, industrial workers, middleclass intellectuals, artists, scientists, religious leaders, and the armed forces in present-day China.

The Southpaw, by Mark Harris

This book combines a searching commentary on life with the most realistic descriptions of baseball ever written, tempered by a rich strain of native humor that stems directly from Twain and Lardner.

The Negro in the Civil War, by Benjamin Quarles

The Negro in the Civil War is by far the most reliable and well balanced of the many attempts to tell the story of the Negroes' participation in the Civil War. Written in a highly readable and lively style, it has been done with careful and thorough examination of original sources.

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti, by Howard Fast

The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti covers the last day of their lives. Two antagonistic forces roam through the pages of the book, both powerfully and skillfully drawn; at the focal point of the efforts of these 2 forces stand the 2 workmen in the death house. It is with their characters that the book deals, with the singular passion of their lives that led them to understand that their agony was also their triumph.

Slave Mutiny, by William Owens

Slave Mutiny, the revolt on the schooner *Amistad*, recovers a piece of our valued past in the dramatic account of carefully documented history presented in semifictional form. It is a story of a handful of men and women, torn from their homes in Africa and brutally kidnaped, and their abolitionist defenders in the United States. Few stories of American democracy are so pregnant with rich and vivid lessons for our own fight today.

'Tis Folly To Be Wise, by Lion Feuchtwanger

This book treats of the death and transfiguration of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. A study of what happened in the French Revolution. The impact of the thinking of Rousseau upon the most civilized group of his age is really the center of this story. Feuchtwanger is a great historian and social student.

Report on Southern Africa, by Basil Davidson

Basil Davidson's book, *Report on Southern Africa*, is a much-needed and effective antidote to the distorted dangerous cold war view of Africa. From personal observations, government reports, and other historical sources, he draws a wealth of factual material showing the origins and purposes of the racist oppression which he describes in intimate and full detail.

Rose and Crown, by Sean O'Casey

In *Rose and Crown*, O'Casey, irrepressibly warm as the sun, reaches out to melt away fetters and curtains and glorify man's power to do and be in the marvelous pattern of life. He is a bard for the common people who has never turned his back on them.

Other selections available:

Coolie, by Mulk Raj Anand

Bel Ami, by Guy de Maupassant

A Funeral for Sabella, by Robert Travers

Ditte: Daughter of Man, by Martin Andersen Nexø

Ditte: Towards the Stars, by Martin Andersen Nexø

Spartacus, by Howard Fast

Daughters and Sons, by Kung Chueh and Yuan Ching

NO FEES, NO DUES

It costs you nothing to belong to Liberty Book Club. You pay only for the books you want.

The member may take as few as four selections a year.

Every month a member receives, free, the club's publication, *Liberty Book News*, which contains a review of the forthcoming selection. If you want the book, you do nothing and it will be sent to you. If you prefer another selection, or do not want any book that month, simply fill out and return to us the enclosed option form.

Accompanying this letter is a postage-free enrollment card with a list of our selections. Simply check off your two books and mail the card to us. Your books will arrive promptly.

A FAVOR—PLEASE

If you are a present member, may we ask a favor, please? Pass this invitation on to a friend.

Duplications cannot always be avoided. Our low-price policy will be maintained by such help on the part of our members.

Sincerely,

CHARLES A. COLLINS,
Managing Director.

The best in literature by our country's and the world's greatest authors.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a memorandum with respect to Mr. Carl Marzani, prepared by the staff of the subcommittee at my direction, under the supervision of Mr. Mandel, the director of research.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 122," and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 122

CARL MARZANI

Executive vice president of the Liberty Book Club, Angus Cameron, president (folder: "The directors of the corporation announced the election of Angus Cameron and Carl Marzani to the board of directors and as president and executive vice president, respectively, of the Liberty Book Club.")

Record of United States Government service: Economic editor, Coordinator of Information, Research and Analysis, 1942; senior economic editor, same agency, 1942; Chief, Editorial Section, Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis, 1942; Assistant Chief, same agency, 1943; Deputy Chief, Presentation Branch, same agency, 1945 (United States Civil Service Commission, Service Record Division, June 5, 1953).

Convicted in district court of Washington, D. C., on charges of concealing his Communist Party affiliations when applying for a Government job. (Washington Evening Star, July 18, 1947, p. A2.)

Copy of report furnished to the United States Civil Service Commission by the New York Police Department in 1942:

"Carl A. Marzani, 643 East Sixth Street, 28 years of age, married, born in Italy, believed to be naturalized in 1929, is a known Communist and known with the party name of Tony Wales. Was formerly a section organizer for the Communist Party on the East Side."

Appeared before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on June 18, 1953, testifying as follows:

"Senator JOHNSTON. Do you mean to come before this committee and state you held this responsible position and at the same time you will not say whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party at that time?"

"Mr. MARZANI. In view of the nature of this inquiry, sir, I must respectfully claim the privilege of the fifth amendment (p. 803).

* * * * *

"Mr. MORRIS. Did you attend Communist meetings under the name of Tony Whales?"

"Mr. MARZANI. I claim the privilege (p. 804).

* * * * *

"Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you graduated from Williams College?"

"Mr. MARZANI. I claim the privilege.

"Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you graduated from Oxford?"

"Mr. MARZANI. I claim the privilege, sir.

"Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were a teacher at New York University?"

"Mr. MARZANI. I claim the privilege.

"Mr. MORRIS. Were you a member of the Communist Party when you were an economic editor of the Coordinator of Information?"

"Mr. MARZANI. Same answer.

"Mr. MORRIS. When you were assigned to OSS?"

"Mr. MARZANI. Same answer.

"Mr. MORRIS. When you were in military service serving in OSS?"

"Mr. MARZANI. Same answer.

"Mr. MORRIS. When you were transferred to the State Department?"

"Mr. MARZANI. Same answer.

"Mr. MORRIS. At the present time as you testify here this morning?"

"Mr. MARZANI. Same answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a memorandum with respect to Albert Maltz, which is offered for the record in view of the fact that Mr. Maltz has been mentioned in this hearing as an interested party in the firm of Cameron Associates. This memorandum was prepared by the staff of the subcommittee at my direction, under the supervision of the director of research.

(The memorandum referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 123" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 123

ALBERT MALTZ

Who's Who for 1954-1955 identifies Albert Maltz as: "Author: (plays) Merry Go Round (with George Sklar), 1932; Peace On Earth (with George Sklar), 1933; Black Pit, 1935; (short stories) The Way Things Are, 1938; (novels) The Underground Stream, 1940; The Cross and The Arrow, 1944; The Journey of Simon McKeever, 1949; (essays) The Citizen Writer, 1950; (films) This Gun for Hire, 1942; Destination Tokyo, 1943; Pride of the Marines, 1945; The House I Live In * * *."

Appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 28, 1947. When he was asked, "Mr. Maltz, are you a member of the Communist Party?" he challenged the right of the committee to ask him the question. He was cited for contempt of Congress and convicted by a United States district court on June 29, 1950.

Mr. Albert Maltz was cited as a member of the Communist Party, USA, by a number of individuals who were former members of the party when they appeared in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, including:

Richard J. Collins, screenwriter and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on April 12, 1951, that Albert Maltz was a member of the party. (HUAC Hearings, p. 225.)

Meta Reis Rosenberg, screenwriter and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on April 13, 1951, that Albert Maltz was a member of the party. (HUAC Hearings, p. 288.)

Edward Dymtryk, film producer and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on April 25, 1951, that Albert Maltz was a member of the party. (HUAC Hearings, p. 417.)

Frank Wright Tuttle, film director and former member of the Communist Party, USA, testified on May 24, 1951, that Albert Maltz was a member of the Communist Party. (HUAC Hearings, p. 638.)

RECENT RECORD OF ALBERT MALTZ

Signer of appeal for new trial for Morton Sobell. (Daily Worker, January 29, 1954, p. 2; People's World, February 1, 1954, p. 6.)

Sponsor, National Conference to Repeal the McCarran-Walter law and Defend Its Victims,¹ under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. (Daily Worker, October 1, 1953, p. 2.)

Contributor of \$50 to Daily Worker fund. (Daily Worker, September 15, 1953, p. 1.)

Extended greetings to delegates attending the World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship held in Bucharest, Rumania. (People's World, July 23, 1953, p. 7.)

Scheduled to appear on program of World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship in Bucharest, Rumania. (Daily Worker, July 28, 1953, p. 7.)

Wrote an article entitled "The Shadow of His Prison Bars Fall Across Every Publisher." (The Worker, February 1, 1953, p. 14.)

Urged clemency for Rosenbergs. (Daily Worker, January 21, 1953, p. 7.)

Wrote article entitled "A People's Hero." (Worker, June 21, 1953, p. 9.)

Signer of Dennis Amnesty Appeal.² (People's World, July 24, 1953, p. 6.)

Sent greetings to Continental Congress of Culture in Santiago, Chile. (People's World, April 29, 1953, p. 7.) (Daily Worker, April 24, 1953, p. 2.)

Endorsed statement by officers of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born¹ condemning the Justice Department's move to have the American Committee register with the Subversive Activities Control Board as a Communist-front organization. (Daily Worker, July 8, 1953, p. 8.)

Mr. SOURWINE. The next is a group of exhibits, a letter from the California Emergency Defense Committee; a publication entitled "Decision" issued under the auspices of that committee, bearing on the question of how the Communists are using the Matusow case. Also, a series of textual excerpts from intercepts of international wireless transmissions from Iron Curtain countries, with regard to the Matusow case.

(The documents referred to are marked "Exhibits Nos. 124 to 124-W" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 124

U. S. S. R. HOME SERVICE,
January 5, 1955.

STEFEN HEYM SPEECH

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Dec. 28, 1954, 0630 GMT—L
(Speech by Stefan Heym at Soviet Writers' Congress—read by announcer)
(Text:)

Howard Fast, Paul Robeson, Albert Maltz, James Howard Lawson, Albert Kahn, Dalton Cranbourn, Shirley Graham, Barbara Judd, Alexander Paxton, Victor Jerome, Louis Brown, Henry Stevens, Arthur Dubois, Angus Cameron, and many other highly gifted writers, artists, critics, editors—all of them today are experiencing more than ever before the force of the great brotherhood which was born in the struggle against the imperialist war, for a humanistic art.

¹ Cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

² Eugene Dennis, former Executive Secretary of the Communist Party, USA.

The authors of oppression and arbitrariness in the Government have deprived these writers of the chance to mingle with their colleagues from the land of Socialism. They each continue the fight single-handed. The battle has lasted for years. It is a stern trial for human hearts but they continue to write and carry on with their organizing work, to educate and to publish books. Their voices are heard in the world of comics and murder broadcasts, in that world which has today become the world of American literature. Are you, whose books are published by the million, able to realize what it means to write and publish books, when booksellers, intimidated by the secret police, refuse to sell them?

EXHIBIT No. 124-A

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, *Feb. 17, 1955.*

PAID U. S. INFORMERS SLANDER PEACE CAMP

* * * * *

The ruling circles of the imperialist states daily invent most impudent slanders and lies against the progressive movement and against the countries of the peace camp.

* * * * *

As is known, a paid U. S. informer, Matusow, recently admitted that by his false evidence he had brought about the imprisonment of many innocent U. S. citizens, including leaders of the U. S. Communist Party. Lidove Noviny, a paper published by Czechoslovakia compatriots living in the United States, recently printed the news that a certain Jan Vyskar, who had been a U. S. citizen for more than 40 years, had been asked by (Attorney General Herbert Brownell) to become an informer and give false testimony against progressive people persecuted by U. S. authorities. Vyskar refused to do this.

A similar attitude was adopted by another U. S. citizen who refused to testify against a progressive writer and his wife whom the U. S. Government wished to deport. Another woman of Czech origin retracted her false testimony forced upon her by a congressional committee. The U. S. court, of course, indicted these U. S. citizens who refused to become informers.

EXHIBIT 124-B

U. S. S. R. INTERNATIONAL SERVICE,
Feb. 8, 1955.

MATUSOW BOOK ADMITS HIS FALSE TESTIMONY

Moscow, Soviet European Service, in Hungarian, Feb. 6, 1955, 1700 GMT-L
(Summary)

In an article: Confessions of a Professional Provocateur, Pravda says that Harvey Matusow, a professional intelligence agent, former right-hand man of Senator McCarthy and chief prosecution witness in the trial of the 13 U. S. Communist Party leaders, has written a book in which he exposed methods of judicial provocations.

According to the New York Herald Tribune, he can substantiate his statements with documentary evidence. Therefore his book must be regarded as reliable.

In his book, Matusow admits that the 13 Communist leaders were sentenced on the grounds of his false evidence. Reviewing the book, the New York Herald Tribune says that in it Matusow explains how he became a professional false witness.

After quoting from the book, the Herald Tribune points out that Harvey admits in his book that he also committed perjury in the trial of Owen Lattimore when he said that the latter's book was used by the Communist Party as a textbook on Asia.

The Herald Tribune remarks that Matusow's confessions have caused a headache to the Department of Justice, since Matusow had been the Department's chief witness in many trials. Both Congress and the Department of Justice, the Herald Tribune said, are bound to take notice of Matusow's confessions.

The American people, PRAVDA says, will take notice of them all the same.

EXHIBIT No. 124-C

E120135 Moscow, in English to North America
 Feb. 12, 1955, 0000 GMT—E
 (Text:)

NEW YORK—Albert Kahn, the well-known author, has been sentenced in New York to a jail term of 6 months, on charge of contempt of court. The writer is a partner in the publishing firm of Cameron & Kahn which was preparing to print a book written by Matusow, a professional informer, on how charges are fabricated against Communist Party leaders in the United States.

In an interview recently given to American reporters, Matusow said the Federal court of appeals has upheld the sentence passed in 1952 on the 13 Communist leaders, basing itself on his false testimony. In an attempt to prevent any further exposures of their maneuvers against leaders of the American Communist Party, the Department of Justice ordered Albert Kahn to hand over to the Federal court all material concerning the contract for the publication of Matusow's book. Kahn refused to comply (and said) that the Department was trying to prevent publication of the book, because the exposures it contained concerned the Department itself. (The answer?) was a 6 months' sentence for the publisher.

EXHIBIT No. 124-D

L140635 Moscow Tass in English Hellschreiber to Europe Feb 13 1955 2130
 GMT—L
 (Text:)

NEW YORK.—On February 10 the Federal courthouse in New York City began hearings on behalf of a new trial for 13 imprisoned Communist Party leaders in connection with the scandalous testimony of the professional informer of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Matusow, which neither press nor Government bodies are able to silence. It has been established that the Department of Justice is implicated in this scandalous case.

American press reports that in 1952, under the guidance of Department of Justice officials, Matusow manufactured false testimony against the 13 Communist Party leaders: Elizabeth Flynn, Alexandre Trachtenberg, Pettis Perry, Alexander Bittelman, Victor Jerom, Albert Lannon, Louis Weinstock, Arnold Johnson, Jakob Mendel, William Weinstone, George Charney, Claudia Jones, and Betty Ganett.

On the basis of Matusow's false testimony, the Communist Party leaders were charged by the Federal court with pursuing the aim of violent overthrow of the United States Government and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In February this year the Federal court of appeals approved the verdict and the 13 United States Communists were imprisoned.

Now, a letter containing Matusow's confessions has been introduced in the testimony at the Federal court in which he declared, "When I testified at the trial against the 13 Communist leaders, the defense lawyer said, 'You would do anything for a buck (dollar—Tass),' I denied it then but he was right."

It is clear now that Matusow was bribed and that he slandered the Communist Party leaders on the orders of the Department of Justice.

On February 11 the American writer, Albert Kahn, who had been sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment for "contempt of court," spoke in court. It has already been reported that he refused to give the grand jury all documents in connection with Matusow's forthcoming book, False Witness.

Kahn announced that he could make public and available to the press and the Senate Judiciary Committee all these documents and said that the book "Contains material seriously implicating the Department of Justice." He explained that the demand to give the material to the grand jury represented "an effort by the Department of Justice to seize the material at secret proceedings and thus prevent publication of the book."

EXHIBIT 124-E

MATUSOW TYPIFIES UNITED STATES COURT METHODS

Sofia, in English to North America, Feb. 16, 1955, 0100 GMT—E.

(Text:)

There would hardly be a person in the United States who would dare call Stewart Alsop a Red. He is a columnist of the New York Herald Tribune. Just the same, Stewart Alsop, no matter what his motives are, has revealed to world public opinion the abominable methods of American jurisdiction in (framing) progressives in the United States.

His article (words missing) appeared some time ago in the New York Herald Tribune. In this article he described the true (countenance) of one of the numerous so-called star witnesses of the American Department of Justice in engineering such trials.

This is what Alsop writes: "A youthful former Communist, former professional witness, and former aid to Senator Joseph McCarthy is currently writing remarkable political confessions which may cause a major explosion, for the author of this confession, Harvey Matusow, calmly explains how he made a business of bearing false witness and how the American Government made his business a profitable one (courtesy) of the American taxpayer."

Further on Alsop quotes the words of Matusow as follows: "I climaxed my testimony with the dramatic assertion that Lattimore was (booked) or used as the official Communist Party guide in Asia. Once again I told a complete falsehood. I didn't care what happened to Lattimore; I cared about what was going to happen to me. My unfounded attacks on Lattimore just placed me in the role of an expert (on) experts. I had reached the top of the ladder."

Lattimore was later indicted. This is how Steve Nelson, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudius Chance, Curtis Perry, the Rosenbergs, and many other Americans were found guilty. Their guilt lay in their disagreement with the warlike policy of the American Government—with their courage to voice their opinions out loud.

Of course, the Matusow case is not an isolated phenomenon in present-day American life. In all frameups against Communists and other American patriots fighting for peace and for a better life, United States jurisdiction uses hundreds of perjurers of the Matusow type; otherwise it would not have the slightest proof to support its invented charges. The Nazis employed the same methods to eliminate all those fighting against their ruinous policy of unleashing a world war. Those United States leading circles which today are pushing the (tension) toward fascism and war are now following in the footsteps of the Nazis.

 EXHIBIT No. 124-F

L222311 Moscow Soviet Home Service, February 22, 1955—1245 GMT—L

("Shameful defeat of American Justice," a letter from New York by Comrades Leonidov and Armashev, published in Pravda.)

(Text:)

Recently an event took place in New York which, by the admission of American papers made the impression of a sudden explosion of an atom bomb. Harvey Matusow, the main witness for the prosecution in the case of the 13 leaders of the United States Communist Party condemned in 1952 by the New York Federal Court, declared that his evidence had been false and that it had been fabricated by Roy Cohn, assistant of the United States attorney in that case, and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the American secret police (Russ: Amerikanskaya Okhranka).

The Washington Post says the confession of the main witness for the prosecution in the case of 13 leaders of the United States Communist Party caused horror in the Justice Department and in the United States Congress.

That reaction is easy to understand. As a result of Matusow's admission not only the building of the slanderous accusations of the courageous United States Communist leaders is shaken, but the whole shameful system of American Justice—which is a parody of justice—is revealed.

The Federal Court of New York was obliged to open an investigation into the sentence pronounced in the summer of 1952 on the 13 leaders of the United States Communist Party. That investigation, started on request of the counsel of the defendants, is regarded as preliminary and the court has not yet taken a decision

to review the case. But already the amazing picture of judicial and police arbitrariness reigning in the United States has been fully revealed.

The investigation into the reviewing of the sentence has not only shown that the charges against a group of leaders of the United States Communist Party were unfounded, but has also exposed the whole system created by the American authorities to suppress democratic rights and freedoms in the United States, a system of bribes, police denunciations, false evidence, and paid agents.

Matusow's activities are a typical example of the methods by means of which his masters—the reactionary circles of the United States—attempt to suppress all that is progressive in the country, to suppress the striving of the American people for peace.

It is admitted by the American press that Matusow was hired by the FBI and sent to the United States Communist Party as an informer. At the same time he was used as false witness at the so-called Investigation Commission of the Congress by such a destroyer of democratic freedoms as McCarthy.

Developing their attack against the vestiges of democratic freedoms in the United States, the American ruling circles, as is known, fabricated provocative legal cases against the leaders of the United States Communist Party, leaders of a number of American trade unions and other progressive personalities with the aim of sending them to prison.

It was proposed to Matusow, as he himself told journalists at one of his recent press conferences, that he should come forward as the chief witness of the United States Government in the case brought in the summer of 1952 against the group of 13 leaders of the Communist Party still at liberty, headed by Elizabeth Flynn, Peretty, Trachtenberg, and others.

He agreed, expecting to receive for it a considerable sum of money. Matusow admitted that the false evidence which he had to give at the court had been fabricated previously by Roy Cohn, assistant United States attorney at that trial, who later became chief adviser of the permanent Senate Commission of investigations headed by McCarthy.

What evidence given by Matusow at the trial of the 13 Communist Party members—which by the way made an impressive column of 700 pages—was and how it had been prepared was revealed by no other than Matusow himself in his letter to the court of New York.

Matusow points out that Cohn instructed him to tell the court that he had spoken to defendant Trachtenberg and that in the course of that conversation Trachtenberg had made several statements which were of importance for the confirmation of the accusation made by the Government of the United States against him. "We both knew," Matusow writes, "that Trachtenberg never made any statements, but I ascribed the statements to him in my evidence at the court."

Matusow also admits now that he gave false evidence against other defendants in the 1952 trial.

On instructions from Assistant Attorney Cohn, Matusow said defendant Perry had called for a revolution by force and the overthrow of the Government of the United States. But now Matusow admits he had never heard Perry say anything like that. The hired agent also ascribed to defendant Charney, a statement in which he was alleged to call for granting independence to Puerto Rico with the aim of depriving the United States of their military bases in that area and destroying the defenses of the United States in the area of the Caribbean Sea.

"I gave false evidence," Matusow said, "and that was known to the prosecution."

The activities of the hired agent Matusow were by no means restricted to the participation in the trial of the 13 Communists. The United States press is now publishing much material on his other activities in the same field. More than that, Matusow has written his memoirs on his work under the title "The Fabrication of Black Lists: My Profession." The book contains extensive factual material revealing the shameful methods used by the United States organs of investigative organs and condemning American justice.

After his successful start at the trial of 13 Communists Matusow became "the king of witnesses," as the American press puts it, at a number of later provocative trials cooked up by the FBI and at several cases of investigation by the Permanent Senate Commission for Investigations headed by McCarthy. The periodical Time quotes the following incomplete list of jobs carried out by that agent:

Matusow was chief witness for prosecution at the trial of trade-union worker (Winston Jones?) in October 1952; four times he was witness at the Senate Commission for Internal Security; twice at the Commission for the Investigation

of Un-American Activities attached to the House of Representatives, and several times at the Permanent Investigations Commission of Senator McCarthy.

The papers calculated that Matusow had given false evidence dictated by Security Service and prosecutors accusing over 180 Americans. And every time, says the New York Post, gratitude was expressed to him as a patriot.

Matusow was hired as witness of the New York school administration during the investigation into the persecution of teachers accused of being Communists. For his false evidence he received \$250. He was also hired to draw the blacklist from among the employees of one of the large American advertising companies: Lennen & Newell. For this he was paid \$150. This enumeration could continue without end.

On personal instructions received from McCarthy in connection with the election campaign Matusow made (shameful) accusations of un-American activity and Communist sympathy against 100 workers of the newspaper New York Times and against 76 workers of the editorial office of the periodical Time.

As was to be expected Matusow's admissions were followed by numerous speeches and press conferences by Congressmen, high-ranking Government officials, and ordinary reactionaries. They have been making every effort to smooth over the impression produced by such confessions upon the rank-and-file American, who is constantly being told of the infallibility of justice. Having no chance to deny or to disprove the facts quoted by Matusow the investigating Senators, the Department of Justice, and the FBI—that is, all those who had formerly fabricated the texts of the false evidence given by him—are now attempting to confuse public opinion and make Matusow himself responsible for all that happened. For that purpose they are trying to bring about another wave of anti-Communist hysteria in the country, evidently hoping by doing so to weaken the indignation of American public opinion. But their efforts had no success.

Characteristically, even a bourgeois newspaper like the Washington Post asks a lawful question: How many Americans were sentenced incorrectly on the basis of Matusow's false evidence? How many others were sent to prisons or sentenced by the Congressional investigating committee with the help of other false witnesses who, like Matusow, decided to use their evidence as a profitable trade?

Understanding what detrimental influence that scandalous failure of the Investigations Committee of the Senate, FBI, and the Department of Justice could exercise upon American public opinion, the American authorities made an attempt to prevent the publication of Matusow's book, which had been accepted at the publishing house of Cameron & Kahn under the title of "False Witness."

For that purpose publishers, the American writer Albert Kahn, and Cameron were called before the grand jury, one of investigation court organs of the United States, where they were instructed to hand over to the Department of Justice "for study" all documents related to the publication of the book, as well as its manuscript.

The jury (proposed) to carry out the study secretly. When the publisher, Albert Kahn, quoting the American Constitution proclaiming freedom of publication and press in the United States, refused to submit the demanded documents for a study behind closed doors, the judge decided to sentence Kahn to 6 months of prison for contempt of the court.

The decision of the judge caused just public indignation and was regarded as gross pressure upon publishers with the aim of preventing the publication of the book. In the end the judge was forced to withdraw his sentence. But immediately after that publishers Kahn and Cameron were called to the Senate Committee for Internal Security where they will have to answer again.

Thus the shameful picture of the criminal activities of American justice, which imprisoned hundreds of American patriots on the basis of false accusations and false evidence of paid agents fabricated by the authorities, is being revealed further. The mercenary judges, ready to do anything to win the gratitude of reaction, the false witnesses, the spies, and the agents provocateurs are all used by American justice when it wishes to do away with the Americans who speak against the policy of war and fascism. All that causes the just indignation of many Americans.

Large circles of public opinion in the United States demand a revision of the sentence on the 13 Communist Party leaders and other progressive personalities who were sentenced on the basis of false evidence and who are still pining in American prisons.

EXHIBIT No. 124-G

CZECHOSLOVAKIA,
Feb. 17, 1955.

PAID U. S. INFORMERS SLANDER PEACE CAMP

Prague, Czech Home Service, Feb. 16, 1955, 1130 GMT—L

(Postscript to the News.)

(Summary with quotations:)

"The ruling circles of the imperialist states daily invent most impudent slanders and lies against the progressive movement and against the countries of the peace camp.

"The purpose of these slanders is to intensify the war psychosis in the capitalist countries, thus preparing the ground for direct aggression. All means for achieving this aim are welcomed by the war incendiaries.

"Apart from the reactionary press, provocative radio transmitters, and the entire state apparatus, they are being served—as Molotov pointed out at the meeting of the Supreme Soviet—by an army of all kinds of agents in the pay of the capitalists, who sell their honor and conscience, and who are ready, at any time, to spread every disgusting anti-Soviet lie and slander; and they do this with growing impudence and insolence, because they are aware of losing ground under their feet."

As is known, a paid United States informer, Matusow, recently admitted that by his false evidence he had brought about the imprisonment of many innocent United States citizens, including leaders of the United States Communist Party. Lidove Noviny, a paper published by Czechoslovak compatriots living in the United States, recently printed the news that a certain Jan Vyskar, who had been a United States citizen for more than 40 years, had been asked by (Attorney General Herbert Brownell) to become an informer and give false testimony against progressive people persecuted by United States authorities. Vyskar refused to do this.

A similar attitude was adopted by another United States citizen who refused to testify against a progressive writer and his wife whom the United States Government wished to deport. Another woman of Czech origin retracted her false testimony forced upon her by a congressional committee. The United States court, of course, indicted these United States citizens who refused to become informers.

"These examples of unheard-of pressure provide proof that the United States Government continues to use McCarthy's medieval witch-hunting methods. By means of terror and threats it is trying to expand its army of paid agents and to obtain further, so-called reliable witnesses who, for dollars, would be ready to spread all kinds of disgusting lies and slanders against the countries of the peace camp and against everything progressive."

However, the firm attitude displayed by Vyskar and other honest United States citizens demonstrate that the United States ruling circles are meeting growing resistance to these criminal efforts even in their own country.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Feb. 17, 1955.

MATUSOW BOOK SHOWS U. S. FASCIST TREND

Prague, CTK, in English Hellschreiber to Europe, Feb. 16, 1955, 1202 GMT—L

(From the Press Review.)

(Text:)

Under the title "A vowl of American Stool Pigeon," Rude Pravo carries an article by Alois Volf, dealing with the publication of the book, False Witness, by the professional informer H. Matusow. Matusow, main witness in the trial of 13 leading members of the United States Communist Party and in other provocative trials serving the interests of the Wall Street multimillionaires, discloses the dirty methods used by the United States authorities to persecute and silence United States patriots and defenders of civic rights. The article states:

"The provocative antipopular methods in the United States are, of course, not unique in themselves. The aggressive course of the foreign policy of the United States, as explained by V. M. Molotov at the recent meeting of the U. S. S. R. Supreme Soviet, is supported by an increasing trend toward fascism in the United

States. The antipopular course in the United States is the other aspect of the policy of pursuing despotic, aggressive aims. Preparations for war lie behind the antipopular terror in the United States and the United States foreign policy of 'negotiation from strength.' To effect this, the criminal Matusows, the Chiangs, and the Syngman Rhees are bought over and given the task of aiding the United States campaign against the nations in the same way as Matusow served the campaign against the American people."

* * * * *

EXHIBIT 124—H

E230410 Moscow, in English to North America, Feb. 23, 1955, 2330 GMT—E

(Text:)

Today's Pravda prints a letter from New York on The Disgraceful Miscarriage of American Justice. Here is a summary of the letter:

Harvey Matusow, who was the main prosecution witness at the trial of the 13 leaders of the American Communist Party convicted by the New York Federal Court in 1952, publicly assured a while ago that he had given false evidence, which had been fabricated by Assistant Federal Attorney Roy Cohn and by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In the admission to the American papers, this confession produced the effect of an unexpected atomic explosion. According to the Washington Post, the revelations of the star prosecution witness at the trial of 13 Communist Party leaders caused horror in the Department of Justice and Congress. Such a reaction is easy to understand, because the false confessions shatter the whole structure of the slanderous charges against the courageous leaders of the American Communists and exposes the whole system of American justice.

As he himself told newsmen in a recent press conference, Matusow was ordered to testify as State witness at the trial in the summer of 1952 against the 13 Communist Party leaders—including Elizabeth Flynn (Perry and Krostenberg)—with the understanding that he would get a substantial reward. The full testimony that he was to give in court had been fabricated in advance, according to Matusow, by Assistant Federal Attorney Roy Cohn, who later became chief counsel of Joseph McCarthy's permanent investigation subcommittee.

In a letter to the court of New York, Matusow divulged what his testimony was at the trial of the 13 Communists and how it was cooked up. Incidentally, this evidence comprised a weighty volume of 700 pages. He mentioned, in particular, that Cohn instructed him to tell the court that he, Matusow, had talked with (Krostenberg) and that in those talks (Krostenberg) had made statements which confirmed the charges made against him by the United States prosecutor. Matusow wrote that "(Krostenberg) had never made the statement which I ascribed to him in my testimony in court."

Matusow also wrote that he also bore false witness against other defendants in the 1952 trial. In the instructions of Assistant United States Attorney Cohn, Matusow attributed to Defendant Perry that he had called for the forcible overthrow of the United States Government by revolution, but now Matusow admits that he never heard Perry say anything of the kind.

The perjurer had attributed to Defendant (Farley) that he had advocated the granting of independence to Puerto Rico in order to deprive the United States of military bases in that area and to disarrange United States defenses in the Caribbean. Matusow now owns that he had testified falsely and that the prosecutor had known all about it at the time.

The letter from New York goes on as follows: "That is the kind of false evidence American so-called justice (uses) in order to imprison the leaders of the United States Communist Party."

Matusow's activities as a hired stool pigeon were not (questioned) at the mock trial of the 13 Communists. American papers are full of material describing many other of his ventures in that field. Furthermore, Matusow wrote a memoir recording his activities, entitled "Blacklisting is my business." The book contains a lot of factual material exposing the disgraceful method used by investigating authorities in the United States and is an indictment against American justice.

According to the American press, Matusow—after his successful debut in the trial of the 13—figured as a star witness in a series of subsequent provocative

trials framed by the FBI and in various cases investigated by Senator McCarthy's subcommittee.

The Time magazine gives the following record—far from complete—of the stool pigeon's activities. Matusow was heard in witness in the trial of (Quentin Jenks), a trade union official, in October, 1952. As a witness, he appeared 4 times before the Subversive Committee Control Board, 4 times before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, twice before the House Un-American Activities, and several times before Joe McCarthy's Permanent Investigation Subcommittee.

The papers have estimated that Matusow gave false testimony, dictated by the FBI and the prosecution, against more than 180 Americans and each time, as the New York Post says, "he was thanked as a patriot."

Matusow was hired as a witness by the School Board of New York during the examination of charges against teachers accused of adhering to communism. For his perjury, he was paid \$250. He was also (hired) to draw up a blacklist of persons employed by the big advertising firm of (Lennen and Newell). For this he was paid \$150. The enumeration can be continued without end.

Matusow came out with ridiculous charges—at the time of the election campaign—against 100 employees of the New York Times and 76 employees of the Time magazine, charging them with anti-American activities and sympathy for communism.

As could have been expected, Matusow's confession (speaks of) pressure by Congressmen and rising officials of the administration. (An attempt was made) to cool down the impression that the confession made on the average citizen, who is constantly assured that American justice is flawless.

Unable to deny or repudiate the facts (shown) by Matusow, the Senate investigators, the Department of Justice, and the FBI * * * are now trying to confuse the issue, to mislead public opinion, and to put all the blame on Matusow himself. At the same time they are trying to bring about another outburst of anti-Communist hysteria, apparently hoping to weaken in this manner the indignation of the American public. However, their efforts are futile.

It is curious that even such a diehard paper as the Washington Post poses some legitimate questions. How many Americans have been unjustly condemned on the strength of Matusow's false evidence? How many others have been thrown in prison or victimized by the investigating committees of Congress with the aid of other stool-pigeons who, like Matusow, make of perjury a profitable profession?

Realizing what an effect this scandalous (activity) of the Senate Investigating Committees, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Department of Justice might have on the American public, the United States authorities try to prevent the appearance of Matusow's book, which the Cameron & Kahn publishing house accepted for publication under the title "False Witness."

The Matusow episode brings into clear focus the odious conduct of American justice, which has sent hundreds of American patriots to prison on false accusation (based on) the false evidence of (stool pigeons), who got their tune from the authorities. Corrupt judges are ready to do anything to curry the favor of the reactionaries. Falsifiers, stool pigeons, and perjurers are all hauled in when there is need to do away with those Americans who oppose the policy of war and fascism.

EXHIBIT 124-I

E270210 Moscow in English to North America, February 27, 1955, 0010 GMT—E

NEW YORK.—The Communist Party of the United States has released for the press an open letter to President Eisenhower, declaring: "The present scandal over the false testimony of the Government witness, Harvey Matusow, in various Smith Act and other thought-control trials shows that these trials have sunk to the lowest level with the worst legal frameups in the history of the United States.

"Two things have been made clear by this disgraceful situation. Firstly, that the whole informer stool pigeon system system, whereby a large number of Communists and other progressive citizens are being railroaded to penitentiaries or deported, is deliberate lying. This was amply proved during the course of the recent Communist trials, as well as other proceedings, where these witnesses were used to send innocent men and women to jail.

"Matusow, with shocking stories of coached perjury on the witness stand, is not an exceptional instance of such testimony but a norm for all informer wit-

nesses. All such witnesses are as guilty as he is. The second fact made clear by the current perjury exposures is that these professional slanderers have been systematically primed with lies by prosecutors in charge of the trials in question. This puts a definite responsibility upon the heads of the Department of Justice, Herbert Brownell, and J. Edgar Hoover. It is inconceivable that these officials have been unaware of the systematic lying that has been committed by a score or more professional witnesses, speaking in the name of, and with the blessing of, the United States prosecuting attorneys.

"In this situation four things are indispensable in order to cleanse at least partially the Government administration of justice of the foul mess of this organized informer-perjury system. Firstly, the Communists and the others jailed under the testimony of the professional informer witnesses should be promptly released. Secondly, all persons victimized through the loss of jobs and so forth by reason of testimony of the congressional investigation should be restored to their jobs.

"Thirdly, Brownell and Hoover should be immediately suspended from their official functions and a thoroughgoing Senate Judiciary Committee investigation should be made of the gross mismanagement of their offices, including the use of paid informers and subornations of perjury by Government officials. Fourthly, an end should be put to the thought-control trials which violate every principle of American democracy."

The letter to President Eisenhower also demanded the repeal of the Taft-Hartley, McCarran, and the so-called Communist control laws, as well as other repressive legislation, declaring that their basic purpose is to intimidate and persecute all those who dare to speak out against the aggressive prowar policy which the administration is following at present.

EXHIBIT No. 124-J

POLAND,
Feb. 24, 1955.

MATUSOW PUBLISHER SHOWED GREAT COURAGE

Warsaw, Polish Home Service, Feb. 20, 1955, 1605 GMT-L

(Feuilleton by Gustaw Kaden: "Marginal Notes on Great Politics.")

(Editorial Report.)

After having reviewed in detail the book by Harvey Matusow, False Witness, and having described the difficulties connected with its publication, Kaden turns to the Rosenberg case.

After referring to their judicial murder, Kaden asked: A mistake? Mistakes occur everywhere—they happen in our country as well. And we have all seen how the people's power makes good such mistakes. It tells the people openly everything about them. It mercilessly pulls out the roots of these mistakes so as to prevent their repetition once and for all. But in the imperialist system injustice is not a mistake. Injustice in regard to men of progress and peace is a method applied by the system based on naked violence and exploitation.

But there are signs that the conscience of the American people is waking up. There are men who are saving the honor of the United States. Their numbers are on the upgrade. One of them is the courageous publisher of Matusow's book.

EXHIBIT No. 124-K

USSR HOME SERVICE,
Mar. 4, 1955.

MATUSOW REVEALS TRUTH ABOUT U. S. JUSTICE

Moscow, Soviet Home Service, Mar. 3, 1955, 1645 GMT-L

(Topics of the Day by Oleg Sergejev.)

(Text:)

The famous American writer Theodore Dreiser said about political life in the United States: The corporations and the Government are ready to resort to the foulest falsifications and to the dirtiest lies in order to stifle any political thought unless it is not openly reactionary; and all this comes about despite freedom of speech, assembly, and press laid down in the Constitution.

Dreiser reached this conclusion 25 years ago, but it still applies today. American reactionaries and the justice serving them continue to persecute cruelly all progressive people. As before arbitrary and highhanded treatment is being meted out to the best representatives of the American people. Only the scale of persecution has increased. There is more cynicism in the acts of American justice, which shuns no means serving its ends. How dirty these means are is shown by the story of Harvey Matusow, which has been occupying the pages of American papers for several weeks.

At the end of January American papers published sensational statements by Harvey Matusow, principal witness in the case of 13 leaders of the United States Communist Party sentenced by the New York Federal Court in 1952. Matusow admitted that all his evidence which led to the conviction of the United States Communist Party leaders was false from beginning to end. At the same time press reports appeared about preparations for publication by Cameron and Kahn of Matusow's book *False Witness*, the papers also published extracts from this book in which Matusow describes his provocations at other trials.

Washington higher official circles and the servants of American justice were obviously disconcerted by these reports. No wonder, Matusow's admissions undermine the prestige of American justice, which is low enough as it is. Their anxiety is greater because Matusow is not a third-rate denunciator, of which there are now thousands in the pay of the FBI. No, Matusow is a fairly prominent personality in the world of provocateurs. He was entrusted with a serious business; to drag into the mud of lies and slander the most prominent American progressive leaders.

As is well known from press reports, Matusow was sent by the American Okhranka (Tsarist secret police—Ed.) to join the United States Communist Party as an informer. In the summer of 1952 he agreed to act as the principal Government witness at the trial of 13 Communist Party leaders: Elizabeth Flynn, Perry, Trachtenberg, and others. For this he was promised a considerable reward in cash. One of the State prosecutors at this trial was Assistant United States Attorney Roy Cohn, who subsequently became the right-hand of Senator McCarthy, known for his Fascist leanings.

Matusow tells how his false evidence to be given at the trial were fabricated by Cohn in advance. In particular, Roy Cohn proposed that Matusow should declare at the trial that during his talk with Trachtenberg the latter had made a number of statements supporting the indictment. Matusow says: "We both knew that Trachtenberg never made any statements, but I ascribed them to him in my evidence given at the trial." Matusow admits: "I gave false evidence, and the prosecution knew it."

On the basis of such evidence and denunciations, leaders of the United States Communist Party were imprisoned although the falsity of the evidence was obvious not only to the accused and the counsel for the defense but, as has been confirmed, to the prosecution, the judges, and naturally to the high officials of the Department of Justice by whose order and according to whose plans false witnesses gave their evidence.

Matusow's appearance at the trial of 13 leaders of the Communist Party by no means ended his career as a false witness. Both he and his masters were apparently satisfied with each other. He received Judas' silver and American justice got a man ready to produce any evidence. The reactionary press called Matusow "The king of witnesses" at that time.

He appeared in a number of trials staged by the FBI and at the investigations of the notorious McCarthy investigation committee. According to the American press Matusow produced false evidence against over 180 people. He was a witness for the prosecution at the trial of the trade-union leader Clinton Jencks, who on the basis of Matusow's false evidence was sentenced to 5 years' hard labor. He appeared four times as a witness before the Senate Committee on Internal Security and several times before other investigating committees.

The kind of his evidence is (difficult) to gauge from back numbers of American papers for 1952. Here is, for example, a report of the Senate Internal Security Committee, giving Matusow's evidence. He maintained that Communists infiltrated in all youth organizations for subversive ends. He produced as proof a copy of a children's paper published 22 years ago in Chicago by the Young Pioneers of America, an organization which had ceased to exist long ago.

It follows from the recent admissions of Matusow that the United States ruling circles used the anti-Communist hysteria fomented by them in order to persecute all Americans they regarded as awkward for some reason or other, no matter how little they had to do with Communism.

In extracts from his book published in the press Matusow tells, with the cynicism usual in his profession, how on demands by the Hoover and McCarthy groups he faked accusations of Communist contacts against the collaborators of such a reactionary paper as the New York Times, against the workers of the no less reactionary Time, as well as against Senator Mautsfield.

The former director of the Institute of Pacific Relations and a friend of President Roosevelt's, Owen Lattimore, also fell victim to Matusow's false evidence. Matusow writes: "The crowning moment of my evidence arrived when I dramatically maintained that Owen Lattimore's books were used as official instructions by the Communist Party in Pacific problems. This again was entirely an invention."

And for such "proofs" Matusow earned dollars. He was paid for false evidence during the investigation in the case of New York teachers. He was paid for compiling a blacklist of (radio actors by) employees of an American advertising agency as well as for other provocative fabrications. When at a recent press conference he was asked why he had become a professional informer he replied without hesitation: "It was a profitable business."

Thus United States Government authorities made lies and slander, treachery, and denunciation, which with all nations and at all times has been regarded as most base and shameful by all nations at all times, a profitable business. Matusow's admissions showed this clearly and convincingly. That is why, as expected, the disclosures of the former agent and informer Matusow, produced a panic among American reactionaries. The Republican Dies, who himself was chairman of the Committee for the Investigation of Un-American Activities, declared that Matusow's repudiation of his former statements was very unpleasant. Senator Henry Jackson expressed anxiety that Matusow's case would put the Government in a difficult position in future convictions of Communists.

It should be noted that in the statements of various American Government officials, Congressmen, and other reactionaries none of them could deny or refute the facts quoted by Matusow. At the same time, they are now trying to cover up their tracks, to minimize the effect Matusow's admissions will have on public opinion.

With this end in view, he was called to appear before the Senate Committee on Internal Security in order to give evidence. But Matusow not only confirmed that all his evidence in the past was false, but also told that another witness at various trials of Communists, Elizabeth Bentley, has also produced false evidence. And yet the head of the FBI, Hoover, called her evidence some time ago "unimpeachably truthful."

Fearing further disclosures, American ruling circles are trying to prevent the publication of Matusow's book. The Department of Justice issued an order calling the publishers—the well-known American writer, Albert Kahn, and Cameron—before a grand jury to present the manuscript and all documents related to its publication. But Albert Kahn refused to deliver the manuscript for a closed investigation. He regarded it as an attempt to confiscate the manuscript and thus to prevent publication. The judge at once sentenced Kahn to 6 months' imprisonment for contempt of court.

This decision caused the indignation of American public opinion, and the court was forced to rescind the sentence. Kahn and Cameron were then called before the Senate Committee on Internal Security, which is investigating the case. Thus, American reaction is making feverish efforts to hush up the scandal caused by Matusow's admissions, but it cannot be hushed up now.

If any simple-minded American had still believed in the infallibility of American justice, this faith has now been shattered. The ways and means resorted to by United States reactionary circles to suppress the remnants of democratic rights and freedoms in the country have been disclosed. It has become obvious that the legion of professional false witnesses constitutes an integral part of the American judicial system. Monstrous slanders, merciless lies, and badly masked falsifications are used as legal proofs. Law has been supplanted by open lawlessness.

The disclosure of the paid agent, Matusow, is at the same time a disclosure of the whole system of the great lie about the alleged Communist threat. This system has been created by the United States ruling classes in order to terrorize the American Nation, in order to stifle the voice of protest raised by ordinary American people against the antipeople's policy of the Government. But the monstrous pyramid of lies about the Communist plot built by the hands of paid agents, police spies, and informers turned out to have been built on shaky

ground: one of the foundation stones gave way and the whole edifice collapsed, disclosing to the whole world the infamy of American "justice."

The whole of Matusow's case proves once again the truth of the saying of that great American democrat, President Lincoln: "You can fool all of the people some of the time; you can fool some of the people all of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

EXHIBIT No. 124

L050305 Moscow Tass in Russian Hellschreiber to Europe Mar. 4, 1955—1945
GMT—L

(A scandalous failure of American justice.)

(Text:)

NEW YORK.—A scandal caused by the disclosures made by a former Government informer, Matusow, and the indignation of the United States public forced the United States ruling circles to take urgent measures in an attempt to smooth over the impression caused by the scandalous failure of the Attorney General and the various investigating Congress committees. All efforts were made to force Matusow to deny his statements, prove the groundlessness of the persecution carried out by the authorities against more than 200 progressive figures.

Matusow was summoned to the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security which has been interrogating him since February 21. The subcommittee aimed at intimidating Matusow and forcing him to deny his confessions. The New York Post wrote on February 23 that the members of the subcommittee "tried to rudely intimidate Matusow, warning him that they would send him to prison for false evidence. As a result of this," indicates the newspaper, "he would be punished not for his previous lies but for his admission."

Matusow repeatedly stated to the subcommittee that he lied in his evidence against the progressive figures who were tried and sentenced to imprisonment on the basis of the Smith, Taft-Hartley, and other repressive laws.

During one of the sessions Senator McClellan, Democrat from Arkansas, threatened Matusow that he would be sent to prison for giving false evidence at the hearings of the trial. Matusow replied that he was ready for this but all others who lied and gave false evidence would be sentenced together with him. In spite of the threats made by Senators, Matusow stated firmly that he and other informers of the Department of Justice lied when they made various accusations against progressive leaders.

On March 2 Senator Eastland, Democrat from Mississippi, handed to Matusow a list of 244 people against whom he, Matusow, gave evidence at different times, and asked Matusow against whom did he supply false evidence. For several minutes Matusow read the list and then replied: "Some aspects of my evidence regarding each of these people are false."

Matusow said in particular to the subcommittee that Senator McCarthy encouraged him during the 1952 electoral campaign to make slanderous speeches. A member of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, Watkins, Republican from Utah, who is partly indebted for his election to the hysteria incited in the State by the slanderous speeches of Matusow against the Independent Trade Union of Smelters and Workers of the Metal-Mining Industry, is one of the persons who benefited from Matusow's activity during the electoral campaign.

A number of the members of the subcommittee tried to blacknail Matusow, stating that the latter was a Communist and was conspiring with the object of discrediting the methods of the Department of Justice and the congressional investigating committees. Matusow resolutely rejected these assertions and stated that now he was a member of the Republican Party and of a Mormon sect.

Having failed to break Matusow, the subcommittee ended its interrogations and warned him that he again may be summoned to give evidence.

The evidence [one word missing], as well as recent admissions of a number of other informers to the effect that they were instructed by the Government officials to give false evidence, put the bourgeois press into an extremely difficult situation, as the real nature of the American justice has been revealed to the whole people.

The newspaper Washington Post and Times Herald wrote recently in its editorial: "The disclosure of the fact that the witnesses on whom the Government relied in the court investigations are guilty of cynical and repeated false evidence, put the United States Attorney General, Herbert Brownell, in a diffi-

cult situation and forced him to speak in the defense of the system which produced this false evidence."

In connection with the scandalous failure of the Department of Justice the newspaper Capital and Times published in the town of Madison, Wis., in an editorial demanded the investigation of the work of such irresponsible Government departments as the Department of Justice and the FBI (the secret police—Tass).

EXHIBIT 124-M

E051855 Moscow, Tass, in English Morse to North America, March 5, 1955, 1610 GMT—E

(Text:)

Moscow.—The onslaught of American reaction on the democratic forces of the United States is discussed in Pravda today in an article by V. Korionov.

After recalling that a group of outstanding fighters for peace and the democratic rights of the American people, the leaders of the United States Communist Party—Eugene Dennis, John Gates, John Williamson, Jacob Stachel, and Carl Winter—were released on March 1 from the gloomy dungeons of the Federal prisons in Atlanta, Danbury, and Leavenworth, Korionov writes: The authorities had to open the prison doors before the Communist leaders whose sentences have expired. But having been forced to make a show of "legality" on the one hand, the United States administration has, on the other hand, begun to prepare new shameful acts in order to throw back behind bars people who are innocent of any crime.

It is known that in August of 1954 the United States Congress adopted and the President approved the so-called Communist Control Act, providing for further acts of repression against the Communist Party. It is this act that the authorities are now trying to invoke against Dennis and his comrades. The courageous fighters for peace and social justice are again menaced by court trial and a maximum of 10 years' imprisonment.

This intention of the United States ruling quarters to mete out another brutal sentence to leaders of the Communist Party is yet another link in the chain of numerous police measures that have been taken in the United States of late. It is known that 140 Communist Party leaders had been arrested in the United States, the Hawaiian Islands, and Puerto Rico by the end of 1954 and tried on charges fabricated on the basis of fantastic inventions of agent provocateurs of the type of Matusow. Thirteen more active Communist Party leaders were thrown into prison on January 1.

It is not only against the Communists that the new wave of police terror is directed. The history of the last few decades has demonstrated that persecution of the Communists invariably presages attacks on all progressive forces, the working class and its organizations first and foremost. The United States today is another proof of this. American reaction is trying to stifle all the forces in the country which are opposed to Washington's aggressive plans in the international arena, and its Fascist tendencies inside the country.

From the very first days of its existence, the 84th Congress showered the country with bills providing for still more repressive measures against democratic organizations. In intensifying the persecution of the fighters for peace and democracy in the United States, American reaction is demanding that the same be done by the governments of other countries in Washington's fold.

American reaction, Korionov writes in conclusion, is depending on terror and intimidation to consolidate its position and force the popular masses to submit to the policy of war and fascism. These are futile dreams. In demolishing the last vestige of bourgeois democratic rights within the United States, the country's ruling quarters are again revealing to the whole world their reactionary, antidemocratic designs.

EXHIBIT No. 124-N

E060245 Moscow, in English to North America, March 6, 1955, 0100 GMT—E

(Text:)

NEW YORK.—The exposure of the one-time Government informer, Matusow, and the indignation it aroused are responsible for the hasty measures the Government is taking to cover up the Department of Justice and the various congressional committees of investigation. Efforts have been made to compel Matusow

to go back on his statement about the uncalled-for persecution to which over 200 progressive persons have been subjected.

Uncowed by the threat from members of the Senate Internal Security Committee, to which he was summoned, Matusow avowed that he and other informers employed by the Department of Justice had given false testimony against progressive American leaders. Matusow and several other informers admitted that they were coached by Government agents in these lies.

This exposes the real nature of the trials that have been staged of late years in the United States against progressive persons who defend the cause of truth and the workers rights.

EXHIBIT No. 124-O

L130910 Moscow Tass in Russia Hellschreiber to Europe, March 13, 1955.
0030 GMT—L

(American provocateurs and their patrons have been exposed.)

(Text:)

NEW YORK.—In the Federal court in Foley Square, New York, the case of the Communist Party leaders continues. Their appeal to review their case was based on the fact that one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution, an FBI agent and paid "expert on communism" in the United States Department of Justice, Harry Marshal Matusow, publicly admitted that in his time, at the instigation of one of the representatives of the prosecution—Roy Cohn—he produced false evidence during the case.

It was reported earlier that Matusow made the submission in a special document published by the American press, which gave a detailed account of his false testimony in the case of the 13 accused. Another document also published by the press gave a detailed account of the false testimony presented by Matusow during the trial of 1 of the 12 leaders of the independent union of the mining industry and smelters, Clinton Jacks, who was sentenced to imprisonment on the face of this false testimony. Jacks' counsel also appealed for the review of his case, which is now being heard in the Federal court of El Paso, Tex. The prosecution is trying by every means to prevent the review of the case.

In the course of the case in Foley Square, Matusow confirmed the statements to the effect that the depositions which he made against the 13 leaders were in fact false. He announced that these depositions had been prepared beforehand for him in the form of questions and answers by one of the representatives of the State prosecutor, Roy Cohn. The defense submitted to the court a type-written text of questions and answers which on Cohn's orders were committed to memory by Matusow. A. Blinder, who was summoned before the court, and who had been assistant prosecutor during the trial of the 13, confirmed that handwritten remarks made on this list were made by Cohn.

Now, the defense has proved that the testimony presented by Matusow allegedly "confirming" that the Communist Party was spreading the idea of "forcible overthrow of the United States Government," was added to this list in Cohn's handwriting. Thus the main thesis of the indictment against the 13 leaders and on the basis of which they were imprisoned has been disproved. Nevertheless, these leaders (list of names follow—Editor) continue to remain in prison while the prosecution continues to hamper the revision of the case.

In order to hush up the scandal caused by this admission, the American authorities are trying to intimidate Matusow and force him to renounce his admissions.

However, nothing can weaken the enormous impression made on public opinion by the revelations of Matusow. The New York Times, on March 10 in an editorial, admits that protests have been made all over the country "against using paid stooges from the Department of Justice and other Government organs."

The press quotes facts which show that Matusow is one of many provocateurs whom the American authorities have used and continue to use for the persecution of progressive parties and organizations in the United States. The journal Progressive recently wrote that the Government Administration on Immigration and Naturalization alone has 35 paid agents and 50 other professional false witnesses working in the Department of Justice, who receive \$25 a day for appearing in various court cases and examination in congressional committees.

In its time, the periodical Nation published the names of many of these police agents. The observer of the New York Herald Tribune, Stewart Alsop, remarks that one of the agents mentioned by the Nation, Paul Crouch, who testified in 60

cases, was found to be lying when he testified in the case of the progressive trade-union worker Harry Bridges and the victims of the Smith law in Philadelphia. Another agent, Hewitt, was even accused of false testimony, but the case was hushed up and came to nothing. Of the provocateurs mentioned in Nation, Manning Johnson was also caught giving false testimony; however, he also escaped a trial.

"In spite of the ever-increasing disgust for these provocateurs even in conservative circles," writes the Daily Worker, "the Department of Justice continues to defend them in order to retain its system of exploiting false witnesses for the persecution of political parties and individuals whose opinions oppose the point of view of the Department of Justice."

The chairman of the national committee of the United States Communist Party, William Z. Foster, describing the system of provocation, espionage, and false testimony which is being set up by the Department of Justice to deal with progressive workers' movement in the country, wrote in the Daily Worker: "If Matusow and others like him are guilty of false testimony and deserve prison sentences, are not the Government lawyers and accusers as guilty or even more so for training them in false testimony and for supplying them with false inventions? . . ." (Tass dots.—Ed.).

EXHIBIT No. 124-P

Moscow Tass in English Hellschreiber to Europe, Mar. 14, 1955, 0345, GMT—L

(Text:)

NEW YORK.—Despite countermeasures and gross pressure on the part of the American authorities, the publishing house of Cameron & Kahn has put out Matusow's book, False Witness, in which he gives a detailed account of his activities as a professional informer and provocateur of the American secret police—the FBI—and various congressional "investigating" committees.

Using extensive factual material, Matusow exposes the dirty methods used by the American reactionaries to suppress the progressive movement in the country and any aspirations for peace among the American people.

Matusow describes in detail how he was recruited in 1950 by FBI agents who immediately began using him for all kinds of provocations against progressives.

The highlight of Matusow's activities as provocateur was his testimony in the 1951 trial of 13 leaders of the United States Communist Party accused of violating the notorious Smith Act. All his evidence at the trial was false and was written in advance by the Assistant Attorney General of the United States at this trial, Roy Cohn, and FBI agents.

After the trial Matusow became the intimate of high Department of Justice officials of the United States and the bosom friend of Senator McCarthy. On instructions from the Department of Justice and congressional committees, Matusow drew up lists of Communists including the names of all the people who were mentioned in reports on the activities of progressive parties, the collection of signatures to the Stockholm appeal, and so forth.

The book exposes many sinister aspects of the activities of Members of Congress. For instance, Matusow relates how, after his first interrogation by the House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee, "the committee members and staff employees began to pat me on the back. (Asterisks—Tass) My job was to convince them I could get headlines for them. They were the backers of my show."

The book also contains much material exposing Senator McCarthy.

It is significant that, almost simultaneously with the publication of Matusow's book, the Texas Federal court in El Paso concluded the hearing on an application for the granting of a new trial to Clinton Jenks, a mine, mill, smelter union official, 29, had been sentenced to imprisonment on the basis of Matusow's testimony. The defense demanded that a new trial be granted to Jenks in view of Matusow's confessions.

The court refused to grant a new trial. More, obviously trying to intimidate Matusow, the judge condemned him for "contempt of court" on the grounds that Matusow reversed his original testimony. The judge announced he would sentence Matusow next week.

EXHIBIT No. 124-Q

E150330 Moscow, in English to North America, Mar. 15, 1955, 0100 GMT—E

(Text:)

Here is a dispatch from New York about the appeal for a retrial filed by the defense counsel of the 13 Communist Party leaders. The appeal is under consideration in the Federal court on Foley Square, New York.

The appeal for a retrial has been made because Harvey Marshal Matusow, one of the principal witnesses for the prosecution of the Foley Square case, and FBI agent and so-called expert on communism in the pay of the Department of Justice, has publicly admitted that he gave false testimony by order of one of the members of the prosecution, then Assistant Attorney General, Roy Cohn.

Matusow gives a detailed account in this statement of his false testimony in the case of the 13. Another statement, which has appeared in American papers, details the false depositions given by Matusow at the trial of Clinton Jencks, a leader of the Independent Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers Union, who is sentenced to a prison term on the basis of this testimony. Jencks' counsel has also appealed for a retrial, and the appeal is being examined in the Federal court in El Paso, Tex. The prosecution is working to prevent a trial.

On Foley Square, Matusow has reaffirmed that the testimony he gave in the case of the 13 Communist Party leaders was false. He says that his deposition was prepared for him in advance in the form of questions and answers by Roy Cohn, then assistant attorney general. The defense has submitted to the court the typed questions and answers which Matusow read at Cohn's orders.

H. Blinder, who was the attorney general's special assistant at the trial of the 13, was summoned to court, and he confirmed that the annotations and writing on the text were made by Cohn. The defense has now proved that the testimony which Matusow gave in court was inserted in the text in Cohn's handwriting. Consequently, the main charge on which the 13 Communist leaders were given prison terms has been refuted. Nevertheless, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Claudia Jones, Betty Gannett, Victor Jerome, Alexander Bittleman, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, Albert Lannon, Leo Weinstock, George Blake Charney, Narnold Johnson, Jacob Mindel, and William Weinstone remain in prison and the prosecution is doing everything possible to prevent a retrial.

To quash this * * * exposure, the authorities are trying to badger Matusow into disavowing his admission, but nothing can detract from the impression already made.

The New York Times said last Thursday that the whole Nation was protesting against the use of paid informers by the Department of Justice and other Government agencies. Facts appearing in the American press show that Matusow is not the only perjurer used to smear progressive parties and organizations in the United States. According to the magazine Progressive, the Government Immigration and Naturalization Office maintains 35 paid agents and provocators. Fifty other professional perjurers work for the Department of Justice, receiving \$25 a day for appearing at trials and before congressional examining committees. The magazine Nation has revealed many of the names of these police agents. One of them, Paul Crouch, who has deposed in 60 cases, was caught giving false testimony, according to Stewart Alsop, of the New York Herald Tribune, when he deposed in the case of Harry Bridges, the trade-union leader; Jacob Berg; and the Smith Act victims in Philadelphia.

Another agent, Hewitt, was even charged with perjury, but the case was hushed up. Manning Johnson, another provocator mentioned by the Nation, was also discovered giving false testimony, but he, too, managed to escape trial. In spite of the growing disgust with these provocators, even in conservative quarters, the Daily Worker notes, the Department of Justice continues to defend them in order to preserve its system of employing perjurers to persecute political parties and individuals whose opinions conflict with the Department's views.

William Z. Foster, national secretary of the American Communist Party, raises the question in the Daily Worker as to whether the Government lawyers and the prosecutors who support Matusow and his kind in perjury and give them fabrications to depose are not equally guilty, if not more so.

EXHIBIT No. 124-R

USSR HOME SERVICE,
Mar. 18, 1955.

U.S. JUSTICE FEARS MATUSOW EXPOSURES

Moscow, TASS, dictation in Russian to Provincial Press, Mar. 17, 1955, 1700 GMT—L

NEW YORK.—The revealing statements by Matusow—the former agent of the FBI and the recruited false witness of the United States Department of Justice, continue to evoke public indignation at the methods of United States justice. Indignation has been evoked not only within the United States but abroad as well.

Trying to hush up the scandal, representatives of the Department of Justice are doing all they can to put an end to further statements by Matusow. As reported by UP, the court sentenced Matusow to 3 years' imprisonment for his refutation of evidence given in the case of a miners' trade-union leader, Clinton Jencks. As already reported, the same court refused to reconsider Jencks' case, although the whole case had been based on the false evidence supplied by Matusow.

The fact that the sentence passed on Jencks remains in force is explained by the fear of United States Justice officials that a new trial would lead to new exposure of the system of provocations and slander which they have set up.

It is characteristic that, on the eve of Matusow's trial, he declared at a press conference that he knew of another false witness who was prepared to refute his former evidence, but that his decision would depend on what happens to Matusow.

EXHIBIT No. 124-S

E220332 Moscow, in English to North America, March 21, 1955, GMT—E

(Dispatch from New York Pravda correspondent, Yevgeny Litoshko, concerning Harvey Matusow, former Government informer whose exposures have laid bare the legal despotism in the United States.)

(Text:)

Matusow admitted that on the basis of the false evidence he had given by order of McCarthy and other Fascist-minded reactionaries hundreds of honest, innocent people had been imprisoned, deprived of jobs, and means of subsistence, and smeared and hounded.

The New York Post says that Matusow was not the only one. Scores of other informers in the pay of the FBI have been doing the same. According to the magazine, Progressive, there are 35 professional witnesses in the pay of the Immigration and Naturalization Office, and more than 50 working for the Department of Justice. For money they are prepared to charge anyone with anything. All the trumped-up legal cases of Communists and other decent Americans who stand for peace and oppose Fascist reaction are built up on their false evidence.

Budenz the notorious provocator, receives \$10,000 a year from the Federal Treasury as a paid perjurer. Paul Crouch had drawn \$9,675 from the Department of Justice in less than 2 years. Manning Johnston has earned \$9,000.

It was in this stable of Government informers, as some American newspapers call it, that Matusow was for a long time.

According to the New York Times Matusow's exposures picture the filthy business of paid professional informers; a business which the paper says has reached big proportions in late years as a result of Government encouragement. Since the exposures laid bare the legal system in present-day America they come as a bombshell in reactionary quarters in Congress and Government. Everything is being done to halt them and to dispel the shocking impression made on the public.

Assistant Attorney General Tomkins has tried to represent Matusow's depositions as a kind of new Communist plot. The members of the Senate Internal Security Committee questioned Matusow for several days and did their best to make him look like a madman or a person who had told the truth before but was now lying. Finally they made it quite clear that he was being imprisoned unless he disavowed his testimony. Nevertheless, Matusow went on exposing the system of perjury, bribery, and informing which forms the basis of America's legal system today whereupon ruling quarters resorted to another act of legal tyranny.

One of the 244 victims of Matusow's earlier slander is Clinton Jencks, the trade union leader, who was sentenced last year to 5 years hard labor on a charge of

concealing his membership in the Communist Party of America. Matusow has admitted that his deposition against Jenks was fabricated on orders from above; that it was only his testimony that sent him to jail.

When Judge Thomason held a review of Jenks' case in El Paso, Tex., a few days ago, in view of Matusow's statement, Matusow reaffirmed under oath that he had earlier given false evidence against Jenks. This notwithstanding, the judge refused Jenks a retrial and railroaded Matusow to jail for 3 years for daring to reveal the false character of his earlier testimony. Senator Eastland, chairman of the Senate Internal Security Committee, maintains that Judge Thomason's unprecedented decision will fortify the American people's trust in and respect for Federal Justice. One wonders.

EXHIBIT No. 124-T

Prague Czechoslovak Home Service in Slovak, Mar. 24, 1955, 1530, GMT—L

(Program from Moscow.)

NOTE.—"Perjury is an American business."

(Summary with quotations:)

Listeners have certainly heard that books on business are numerous and very popular in the United States. One branch of business which has spread widely in contemporary America has, however, been neglected, it is perjury. This gap has been filled by False Witness, written by Harvy Matusow, a professional informer.

In this book, the author described how the job of a false witness has become profitable in the United States.

The book describes in detail the filthy methods employed by the United States reactionary circles in their attempts at suppressing progressive forces and democratic rights. There are laws providing for severe punishment for subversive activities, attempts directed against the security of the state, and so forth.

These laws are employed for the persecution of the Communist Party and other progressive organizations. In order to provide the required evidence, United States courts employ methods which were elaborated "by the ideological predecessors of the present-day McCarthyites, the leaders of Hitlerite Germany."

Evidence of provocateurs and false witnesses is used for the persecution of progressive organizations. It was this way that a blacklist of radio and television artists was prepared. Matusow admitted in his book that the names of people who he had never met were included in this list on the basis of his denunciations.

Thirteen leading Communists were sentenced on the basis of Matusow's evidence. Matusow admitted that his evidence and its contents were instigated by McCarthy.

Matusow's revelations have disquieted the United States judiciary. All its endeavors to explain Matusow's behavior as the guilt of an individual have failed to deceive the public. "Facts show irrefutably that the methods described by Matusow are typical of the practices of United States reaction." The United States News & World Report has recently reported that Congress paid \$6 per day to informers heard by the Un-American Committee, up to \$9 daily to those heard by the Internal Security Subcommittee, and ten to two hundred dollars daily to so-called experts.

"These details clearly show that the job of a false witness provocateur is paid in contemporary America as well as that of a Member of Congress." Matusow was arrested in order to prevent him from making further revelations. This measure taken by the United States authorities can deceive nobody. Facts remain facts.

EXHIBIT No. 124-U

M242145 Sofia Bulgarian Home Service, Mar. 24, 15, 1830, GMT—M

(Anonymous commentary: "Bearing false witness is a profitable profession in the United States.")

(Text:)

Books on different methods of making money are popular in the United States. Hitherto none of these books has been devoted to one of the most profitable businesses now very, very popular in modern America; namely, bearing

false witness. This omission has been taken care of in the book of the professional spy, Harvey Matusow, that is entitled "False Witness." This book explains how the United States Government has made the profession of false witness very profitable. The dishonest methods used by the reactionary circles in the United States in attempting to stifle progressive forces and democratic freedom are described in detail.

It is known that in postwar years many laws were passed in the United States, the McCarran, the McCarran-Walter Act, and others, aimed at crushing the progressive movement in the country. All these laws provide heavy punishment for subversive activities, for endangering the security of the state, and so forth. As a result of these laws the members of the Communist Party and organizations that are stubbornly fighting for the defense of worker rights and in defense of the Constitution have been brought to court. According to the McCarthy followers, these people are subversive elements and foreign agents. There need be no proof of this.

American justice decided to take up the methods of the leaders of Hitlerite Germany. With the aid of paid agents, evidence was manufactured against the so-called subversive elements. On the evidence of spies and false witnesses, progressive organizations were subject to persecution and innocent people were dismissed from work and sent to prison. Similar methods were used in making up the well-known blacklists for television workers and radio stars.

Matusow now admits that many people he included in the blacklists were unknown to him. The 13 leaders of the American Communist Party retried on evidence of the false witness Matusow. In his book Matusow states that his methods and the contents of his evidence were engaged by Senator McCarthy and were used on his instructions at the time of the political campaign.

It is no wonder that when Matusow was revealed the leaders of the American justice were very upset. They started to make refutations, trying to say the false witness of Matusow was an individual case. These unskillful distortions of the American authorities cannot deceive anyone. Facts prove indisputably that the methods of justice, for which Matusow speaks, are typical of the American reactionaries.

A progressive magazine stated recently that the American immigration-naturalization authorities maintain 35 agents-provocateurs and the Department of Justice 50, who receive \$25 daily for appearing at trials and before Congress.

Information appearing in the U. S. News & World Report is also of interest. In accordance with a table the magazine published, Congress pays \$5 a day for evidence given to the Committee on Un-American Activities. For evidence given to the Internal Security Subcommittee, the rate is being increased from \$5 to \$7 daily. Experts like Matusow are paid \$10 daily. It is evident that the profession, false witness, in modern America is as profitable as that of a deputy or Senator.

The American authorities, in order to excuse themselves before the community to avoid further masking, sent Matusow to prison. This gesture, however, will not deceive anyone. The agents and false witnesses in the United States continue their dirty business. C N [sic] on their slander, including those slandered by Matusow, are still in prison. All this shows once more the true face of American justice.

EXHIBIT No. 124-V

CALIFORNIA EMERGENCY DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

Los Angeles, Calif., February 19, 1955.

DEAR MEMBER OF CONGRESS: Newspapers, radio and television commentators, and Members of both Houses of Congress have expressed abhorrence at the use of paid informers in labor and political trials and indicated that if innocent people have been convicted through false testimony, that these cases should be reviewed.

We are enclosing a bulletin issued by our organization which cites numerous examples of false testimony in recent political trials by paid informers. There has not been a single prosecution of anyone giving false testimony in a Smith Act case by the Attorney General's office.

The Harvey Matusow confession highlights the growing need for a congressional investigation into the use of paid informers by the Justice Department.

We urge you to demand a congressional investigation of the Justice Department's use of paid informers.

We request that you use your influence to call a halt to further Smith Act indictments.

That you support the appeals for new trials where it has been shown that convictions were obtained by false testimony of paid informers.

We would appreciate hearing from you on this matter.

Yours very truly,

WALTER J. STACK, *Secretary.*

EXHIBIT No. 124-W

[Decision, California Emergency Defense Committee, February 1955—Information bulletin]

"IT'S A GOOD RACKET"

The confession of Harvey Matusow, former FBI spy, has exposed the Justice Department's cage full of "trained cobras" and raises important questions for every American who cherishes honor and fair play. When will the Government prosecute these liars?

Harvey Matusow, self-confessed FBI spy, has fingered 180 different Americans in the last few years, as Communists, subversives, fellow travelers, and Reds. His services have been used by the Department of Justice in Smith Act trials, before grand juries, and congressional witch-hunting committees.

A former aid of Senator Joseph McCarthy, Wisconsin Republican, Matusow provided McCarthy with "evidence" about books in United States overseas libraries, about candidates for public office, about the personnel employed on magazines and newspapers, about former United States consultants like Owen Lattimore.

He had reached the top. He was earning lots of money in what has become a popular postwar profession: witnessing. He had no reason to change his tune; all he had to do to enjoy the prestige and the money that the United States Government pays so readily to such as he was to keep on naming names.

But Matusow had a change of heart. He went, first, to Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and confessed that he had lied about the distinguished clergyman "and many others." He said he wanted to make amends for what he had done.

Bishop Oxnam told of Matusow's confession from the pulpit. Later he repeated what he knew of it, under oath, before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Nothing much happened.

It was known—Matusow himself announced it often—that he had written a book. He wanted money to publish it. He asked the bishop for \$1,500; he repeated the request to two former Justice Department aids. Still nothing happened.

Then, in Texas and New York, he filed two affidavits: He swore that he had lied about Clint Jencks, an official of the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, who had been convicted—on his testimony—of perjury.

He swore that he had lied about 13 Communist Party leaders who are now in prison—and that Roy Cohn, a former United States attorney and aid of McCarthy, had helped him frame his perjured testimony.

He swore that in both cases—the Jencks case and the Smith Act case—United States attorneys knew before he testified, and when he testified, that his testimony was perjured.

Then, all hell broke loose. A New York grand jury subpoenaed him; the same grand jury and the Senate Judiciary Committee summoned his publishers—Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn—in an obvious attempt to intimidate them and suppress the Matusow book, *False Witness*.

The chairman of the House Un-American Committee first demanded that Matusow be prosecuted for perjury—for telling the truth. Then, a few days later he changed his tune and said that if his perjured testimony had "tipped the scales" against innocent persons, "there must be another trial."

That there could be no doubt of the fact that Matusow's lies had tipped the scales was proved by a letter he received from the United States attorney in the Jencks case, who thanked him for his testimony and wrote: "Your testimony was absolutely essential to a successful prosecution."

And the Matusow confession continued. He swore in public that he had—

Lied about Owen Lattimore, the former United States State Department consultant who had been twice indicted for swearing he did not "follow the Communist line"—after Matusow swore he did;

Lied publicly about "Communists" on the staffs of *Time* and the *New York Times*, so Joe McCarthy could claim both publications were "infiltrated":

Lied publicly about Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield, who was running for reelection, in order to give the impression that Mansfield had written for a Communist publication.

Matusow is the first Government-sponsored informer to openly confess his perjury and his confession has confounded the United States Department of Justice, which admittedly maintains a cage of "trained cobras" for use against progressives.

HERE'S THE RECORD ON UNITED STATES STOOLS

Though Matusow is the first United States stoolpigeon to make public confession of the indecent business in which he has been engaged—with United States Government approval—several Government informers have been exposed in the past 5 years—both on the witness stand and out of court. Consider these examples:

Paul Crouch—currently retired from the business and allegedly under investigation by United States Attorney General Herbert J. Brownell, was one of the most talkative—and imaginative—of the professional witnesses.

In the fourth frameup trial of longshore leader Harry Bridges, Crouch swore that he saw Bridges at a meeting in New York, on a certain date.

Newspapers and other witnesses established—to the satisfaction of the court itself—that Bridges was in Stockton, Calif., at the very same moment Crouch "saw" him in New York. Yet Crouch was not prosecuted for his perjury. In fact—

He went on—in a Smith Act trial in Hawaii—to testify that when he was a 24-year-old ex-United States Army private, he went to the Soviet Union and consulted with top Red army generals, who showed him plans "for the invasion of the United States." The plans Crouch swore, were in English.

In 1925, when Crouch was court-martialed by the United States Army in Hawaii, he said: "I am in the habit of writing letters to my friends and imaginary persons, sometimes to kings and other foreign persons, in which I place myself in an imaginary position. I do that to develop my imaginative power."

That statement is the measure of a man the United States Justice Department accepted as an authority, whose testimony has convicted innocent people.

Manning Johnson, another professional informer, had testified against Gerhard Eisler, a German Communist up for deportation, that Tim Buck, a Canadian Communist leader and Eisler met with him in 1933. He was positive; there could be no mistake about the date.

The record showed that Tim Buck spent the entire year 1933 in a Canadian prison.

In the sedition trial of Steve Nelson, Johnson became so infuriated when confronted with his lies that he shouted:

"Yes, I lied, and I'd do it a thousand times again if necessary."

Lawrence Seton Ross, another United States informer in the 1949 Bridges frameup suddenly broke down on the witness stand and confessed that his name was not Ross, that he had not been born in Kentucky, as he had sworn the day before, but in Europe; and that his entire life for 20 years had been a lie so elaborate that even his wife did not know who he was.

Ross was not prosecuted: he was rushed out of town, and the Government has just announced that he will be a witness in the fifth frameup of Harry Bridges, scheduled to begin on June 20.

Daniel Scarletto, a paid FBI stool pigeon, swore in the Los Angeles Smith Act case that he had been taught hundreds of times that the United States is colonizing and exploiting South Korea, this is what the war is about.

These teachings took place at a Communist institute, Scarletto swore, and the institution folded up when the (Korean) war was going pretty strong.

The institution to which he referred was closed in February 1950, 4 months before the war in Korea began.

Scarletto placed Mrs. Rose Kusnitz at a meeting of the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. She was in jail at the time, awaiting bail.

He was asked to identify, in the courtroom, a man he said was a former candidate for sheriff on the Communist ticket. He promptly pointed to a man in the rear of the room, a visiting clergyman from San Francisco, the late Rev. R. L. Turner of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church.

Was Scarletto prosecuted for his lies? He was not.

Margaret Louise Ames, testifying on May 5, 1952, in the Los Angeles Smith Act trial was asked to identify Al Richmond, defendant-editor of the Daily Peoples World.

She promptly pointed to Norman Leonard, SF defense attorney. The confusion arose because she had apparently been told by United States attorneys that Richmond was a man in a brown suit. (So was Leonard.)

She admitted as much when she blurted out, "It should be the man in the brown suit."

Stephen A. Wereb, on March 25, 1952, in Los Angeles, was denouncing Smith Act defendant Albert J. (Mickey) Lima.

Asked to point him out, he pointed to the bailiff at the defendants' table. Asked to try again, Wereb took a good look and said, "That's him."—pointing to defendant Carl Rude Lambert.

Caught in so many obvious lies, Wereb conveniently had a heart attack and was removed from the stand so his memory could be refreshed by the prompters in the wings.

The last three examples, which may be found in the official transcript of the Los Angeles Smith Act trial, may sound fantastic, but they are entirely typical of the sort of evidence accepted by court and jury and used to convict American citizens.

Consider the case of Daisy Van Dorn, who appeared in the Hawaiian Smith Act case, and many others.

Mrs. Van Dorn was a typical lavender-and-old-lace type of old lady; gentle in appearance and demeanor.

With a straight face Mrs. Van Dorn told the court that she had been told, not by the defendants in the case, that the revolution is imminent, that she was to help cut telephone wires and that blood would run in the streets.

Since she was a nurse, Mrs. Van Dorn was told that she would tend Communist wounded who could be recognized by the white caps all would be wearing.

She told how Communists were preparing the revolution by storing, not guns or ammunition, but sugar. She was assured that when communism took over she would be rewarded by a job as nurse in the White House.

In the California Smith Act trial Mrs. Van Dorn swore that she saw defendant Ben Dobbs at Communist Party headquarters at a time when United States Army records proved he was an American soldier in Czechoslovakia.

Similarly, she placed defendant Ernest Fox at Communist Party headquarters at a time when he was in an internment camp, under guard.

Cross-examined in the Hawaiian trial, Daisy confessed that she had testified wrongly in the L. A. Smith Act case and had told Judge Mathes so.

Queried by defense lawyers, Judge Mathes said he would gladly testify to the effect that Daisy had lied. The prosecution in Hawaii finally agreed to stipulate that Daisy lied.

Louis Budenz, leading stool pigeon of them all, seems to live a charmed life despite the many lies he has told in grand-jury proceedings, at trials, and before congressional committees.

In September 1951 the nationally known columnist Joseph Alsop wrote in the New York Herald Tribune that Budenz had given demonstrably false testimony at hearings presided over by Senators Millard Tydings and the late Pat McCarran.

Senator Herbert Lehman of New York, has demanded Budenz' investigation for perjury, on the floor of the Senate. So did Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, a prominent Catholic layman. Former President Harry S. Truman publicly associated himself with Senator Lehman's charges against Budenz, yet there has been no investigation or prosecution of this liar.

To the contrary, he has testified that in 7 years he had earned \$70,000 for writing and lecturing against communism, exclusive of his fees and per diem payments from the Government of \$34 a day, and his salary as a professor at Fordham University.

John Lautner, another \$34-a-day man, occupied the witness stand in the Hawaiian Smith Act case for almost a month despite the fact that he didn't claim to know a single defendant in the case.

Similarly, in Seattle, he testified at great length as a star witness without knowing a single defendant; ample proof that it was not the defendants who were on trial for any overt acts, but the ideas they professed and the books in which those ideas are set forth.

This particular spy, appearing in the Los Angeles Smith Act case, swore that he saw Al Richmond, Peoples World editor, at the 1945 convention of the Communist Party.

At the time of the 1945 Communist Party convention, Richmond was a soldier in the United States Army in England.

Symbolic of most of these stools is Samuel D. Russell, who made a living telling stories; a member of the Los Angeles Fantasy Writers Society.

IT'S A GOOD RACKET

How good a racket the I-was-a-Communist-for-the-FBI game is, is evidenced by the money paid by the United States Government for the services of these contemptible people.

Mrs. Mary Markward of Washington, D. C., Mrs. Bernice Baldwin of Detroit, and William Cummings of Toledo appeared in the New York Smith Act case. They swore they got nothing but expenses.

It was revealed that the Justice Department and the FBI paid out \$118,431 to 10 informers who testified in that trial for services rendered.

Mrs. Markward actually got \$24,026, Mrs. Baldwin got \$16,717, and Cummings earned \$12,444.

In the California Smith Act trial United States Attorney Binns admitted the Government had spent over \$50,000 to pay 22 informers.

SINCE THE DAYS OF JUDAS DECENT PEOPLE HAVE DESPISED THE MAN OR WOMAN WHO BEARS FALSE WITNESS AGAINST HIS NEIGHBOR

The confession of Harvey Matusow, which will be published shortly by Cameron & Kahn in the book, *False Witness*, has sparked the growing disgust of the American people with the use by their Government of men and women who will say anything if they get paid for it.

Yet no perjury prosecution has ever been instituted against a single one of these professional liars even when they were exposed.

Methodist Bishop Oxnham called for an investigation of these people many months ago. And today even Representative Walter, chairman of the witch-hunting Un-American Committee, admits that there must be another trial if such testimony has tipped the scales against innocent people.

Apropos of the Matusow revelations the San Francisco Chronicle on February 4 raised serious doubts about the Attorney General's wholesale use of informer testimony in political trials.

"Human instinct is to disbelieve informers," the Chronicle said, "and this is an example of how right the instinct is."

On February 6 the Washington Post and Times Herald asked editorially: "How many Americans have been unjustly convicted on the basis of Matusow's perjured testimony? How many others have been sent to prison or condemned before congressional investigating committees by other former Communist perjurers who like Matusow decided to make witnessing a lucrative career?"

No accurate answer can be given to that question, but the number may be found in the thousands, workers who have been fired on the basis of information provided by stool pigeons, information just as accurate as that detailed in this leaflet by professional witnesses.

Teachers have been thrown out of their jobs; writers, actors, directors have been blacklisted and deprived of the right to earn a living in their professions.

Doctors and lawyers have been smeared before witch-hunting bodies and lost their practice and their reputations; librarians and research workers have been fired; trade unionists have been indicted and brought to trial and imprisoned; the list is growing every day.

In his column in the New York Herald-Tribune on January 28, Stewart Alsop wrote:

"But in the years since the trial of Alger Hiss, the cult of the ex-Communist as the undisputed arbiter of the loyalty of other citizens has grown like a cancer.

"Matusow's confession is likely to initiate a serious investigation of this new postwar profession of the informer, and this could have good results for the political health of the United States."

Will there be an investigation, or will it all blow over? Will Matusow's accusations against Roy Cohn, McCarthy, and other United States officials who, he claimed, helped him frame his perjury, be investigated or will the Department of Justice content itself with prosecuting Matusow for daring to leave its cage of "trained cobras," and attempt to cover up the entire scandal?

Will the Government abandon its attempt to whip the American people into conformity with its present foreign and domestic policy by the use of the hired liar who will finger anyone for a fee?

That is up to you.

This is what you can do: Write Attorney General Brownell demanding—

An end to all Smith Act indictments and prosecutions.

Reversal of all Smith Act and other antilabor convictions based on perjured testimony.

An end to the use of the taxpayers' money to pay political informers.

Published as a public service by the California Emergency Defense Committee. Send urgently needed contributions to 1026 Market Street, San Francisco 2; 525 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next, a list of news stories appearing in the Communist publications Daily Worker and Daily People's World, to show the importance with which the Communists regarded the Matu-sow case.

I ask that these clippings be printed in full text in the record at this point.

(The clippings were marked "Exhibit No. 125" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 125

[Daily Worker, April 14, 1955, p. 1]

COMMUNISTS ASK HIGH COURT REVIEW McCARRAN ACT

WASHINGTON, April 13.—Judicial approval of the McCarran Act would immediately outlaw the Communist Party, jeopardize the trade union movement and imperil the liberties of countless non-Communists, the Supreme Court was told today.

The grave warning was offered in the course of a 131-page petition to the High Court by the Communist Party for review of a 1954 United States Court of Appeals decision sustaining, by 2 to 1, a Subversive Activities Control Board order directing the Communist Party to register its members under the McCarran Act. The petition opens the way for the first major test of the constitutional issues involved in the bitterly debated, Truman-vetoed 1950 law.

"If the order of the Board becomes final, the civil and criminal penalties which the act imposes on individuals for membership (in the Communist Party) will be extended far beyond those who are its members," the petition declares.

The petition points out that since passage of the McCarran Act Congress has adopted the Communist Control Act which sets up "all embracing criteria of membership" under which many non-Communists will be subject to dragnet prosecutions.

"Such persons as Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, John Carter Vincent, Dr. John P. Peters, and many thousands of lesser prominence will be natural targets of the civil disabilities imposed by petitioner (the Communist Party) and of prosecution for failure to register," the petition continues.

"The Court should not wait until the axe has fallen on some of these victims before determining whether it may be constitutionally wielded."

Pointing out that "no other Western democracy outlaws the Communist Party," the petition declares:

"This proceeding immediately involves the rights of Communists. But events of recent years have once more proved that repression cannot be contained. What began as a drive against the Communists has inexorably led to the victimization of thousands of non-Communists, who have been prosecuted, dismissed from their jobs, black-listed, ostracized, barred from public platforms, deported, denied the right to leave or enter the country, and otherwise persecuted.

"Of even more moment have been the pervasive restraints on expression, the burning of books, and the creation of 'the ministry of fear in our country.'

"When the Court below sustained the act and the Board's order, it upheld the premises of McCarthyism on which they are based. These are coerced conformity, suppression of peaceful assembly and advocacy, determination of guilt by legislative fiat, imputation of guilt by association, trial by a biased tribunal, judgment on the basis of irritational and vague standards, and acceptance of the testimony of professional perjurers.

"If these execrable policies may be lawfully applied to petitioner, they may be, and inevitably will be, extended to the people as a whole. Indeed, the techniques which the act and the Board employed against the petitioner have only recently been used to indict four Democratic administrations and the present Republican administration for '22 years of treason,' to impugn the loyalty

of two former Presidents and impeach the integrity of the Foreign Service and the Armed Forces.

"The issue which this case presents is not whether communism will survive in America, but whether the Constitution will survive to protect the whole American people."

The sweep of the McCarran Act, originally aimed at so-called "Communist action" and "Communist front" organizations, was enormously extended by passage of the Communist Control Act of 1954, the petition points out. The new law amended the McCarran Act by adding a new category known as "Communist-infiltrated organizations." It is under this section, vigorously opposed by all sections or organized labor, that the Attorney General has announced that he is proceeding against various trade unions.

"Moreover," the petition continues, "if the present categories of front and infiltrated organizations turn out to be too restricted, new ones can and undoubtedly will, be created. Having moved from action and front organizations, to infiltrated organizations, the act could next be extended to groups which are 'contaminated,' 'tainted,' 'tinged,' and finally, 'politically unreliable.'"

The Communist Party presented 10 questions for the Court to consider, including the constitutionality of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950, which is the first section of the Internal Security Act of 1950, more commonly known as the McCarran Act, as amended and supplemented by the Communist Control Act of 1954.

Review was urged on a number of other counts including the denial by the appeals court of the Communist Party's motion to adduce additional evidence based on revelations of perjury by paid Government informers. Harvey Matusow, a paid Government witness, testified in the SACB proceeding against the Communist Party. Matusow admitted in his book *False Witness* that he lied in his testimony before the Board.

Other paid Government witnesses who testified included Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Mary Markward, and Benjamin Gitlow.

The Board's report was not supported by the preponderance of the evidence and the Board members were prejudiced against the defendants, the petition declares.

The evidence on which the court relied, the petition goes on, "consists of petitioner's views and policies."

"Thus, applying the act in accordance with its real purpose the court sustained a death sentence against petitioner because it holds views that are presently unorthodox and unpopular.

"If the decision below is allowed to stand, there remains no effective limitations on Congress' control over political expression.

"The proceeding outdoes the heresy trials of earlier times. Heretics were burned for believing doctrines held to be false and wicked. The act, however, as applied by the Board and the court below, punishes political heretics for promulgating doctrines which concededly may be true and good. It creates the strangest and most virulent of heresies—'nondeviation,' including 'nondeviation from truth.'

"Clearly, the question whether the act, on its face and as applied, violates the first amendment, requires review by this court."

Failure to register under the law is punishable by imprisonment up to 5 years, fine up to \$10,000, or both. Since each day of failure to register constitutes a separate offense, the penalties, the petition points out, "are potentially astronomical." On this point the petition declares:

"The order is not a means for obtaining the disclosure of information. Its purpose and effect is to outlaw the organization and so to prevent it from disclosing its views to the American people. The Attorney General has acknowledged that the registration order in this case, if sustained, will result in outlawing or destroying the petitioner."

The reference is to former Attorney General Tom Clark's testimony in February 1948 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Clark was testifying on the Mundt bill, a predecessor measure on the McCarran Act.

PASSED OVER VETO

The petition was filed by attorneys John J. Abt, of 11 Park Place, New York, and Joseph Forer, 711 14th Street NW., Washington, D. C.

The McCarran Act was passed over President Truman's veto on September 30, 1950, during the Korean war. The Attorney General filed a petition with the subversive Activities Control Board on November 22, 1950. Taking of evidence began on April 23, 1951, and the SACB handed down its adverse ruling April 20,

1953. The court of appeals sustained the order by a 2-to-1 vote with a judgment entered December 23, 1954, Judges Prettyman and Danaher making up the majority against dissenting Judge Bazelon.

It is from this decision that the Communist Party is now appealing.

[The Worker, February 6, 1955, p. 1]

FULL TEXT OF MATUSOW'S STATEMENT—"I LIED FOR THE FBI
TO JAIL COMMUNISTS"

(By George Morris)

Harvey Matusow, repentant professional FBI informer who since 1952 has been used as a witness in thought-control cases affecting 180 individuals and organizations, confessed that his testimony was "false" and, was "entirely fabricated" at the direction of United States Government attorneys to support the fake force and violence charge against the Communist Party.

Matusow's confessions came in 2 affidavits, with more apparently to come, in which he exposed point after point of his testimony in the Smith Act case of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her 12 codefendants, now serving sentences, and in the Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit case of Clinton Jencks, international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, sentenced to 5 years for allegedly swearing falsely.

Both affidavits have been placed before the trial judges of the two cases along with motions for new trials. Hearings on the Jencks motion were set for March 7. On the New York 13, Judge Dimock set the hearing for March 10.

After each point, Matusow asserted his testimony was false and he flatly charged in his affidavit on the Flynn case that Roy Cohn, then assistant United States attorney, "developed" the framed false answers that were later given from the witness stand.

In the most flatfooted and sweeping exposure of frameup methods in the long history of United States antilabor frameups, Matusow said after quoting one section of his testimony:

"The testimony was entirely fabricated to create the false impression with the court and the members of the jury that the Communist Party taught and advocated the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence."

After listing his refutations, Matusow stated they do not exhaust the pack of lies he unloaded in the court of Judge Dimock and that he was ready to testify in court on the entire testimony, adding:

"For on other occasions in connection with other portions of my testimony, the United States attorneys participated in formulating statements which I attributed to the defendants and other persons named in my testimony which was not based on what was actually said, but which was created for the purpose of the trial."

Matusow repeatedly stressed he gave testimony "which the United States attorneys knew to be false."

The affidavit in the Jencks case submitted to a Federal judge in El Paso, similarly listed about a score of items in Matusow's testimony that he now says were false. It was entirely Matusow's testimony upon which the Jencks case hung. The affidavit was accompanied by a copy of a letter to Matusow from Charles F. Herring, United States attorney who prosecuted Jencks, dated February 5, 1954, which said:

"As I told you before you left El Paso, I am sincerely grateful to you for your fine cooperation in the case of *United States v. Clinton E. Jencks*. As you know, your testimony was absolutely essential to a successful prosecution and you presented it in a fine, intelligent manner. If you are ever in my part of the country, be sure to look me up."

The pattern of the frameup technique that emerges from the Matusow affidavits is a simple one: the witness usually bases himself on a conversation he may have had with a defendant or on presence at a meeting addressed by the defendant, but the statements attributed to the person on trial are prefabricated and coached in the "preparation" sessions in the Government attorney's office for the informer to memorize.

One of the more detailed examples given by Matusow concerned Alexander Trachtenberg, 1 of the 13 imprisoned Communists who heads International Publishers. The only basis for "connecting" Trachtenberg to a certain passage in the book of Andrei Vishinsky's Law of the Soviet State which Roy Cohn said was very "essential" in the case, was Trachtenberg's inquiry on one occasion at the Worker's Book Store on how a number of books among them Vishinsky's, was

selling. Matusow said he informed Cohn that he had no discussion with Trachtenberg on the contents of the book.

"Nevertheless," he went on in the affidavit, "thereafter, in several sessions with Cohn, we developed the answer which I gave in my testimony, tying Trachtenberg to that passage. We both know that Trachtenberg had never made the statements which I attributed to him in my testimony."

Similarly statements were fabricated against Pettis Perry, Arnold Johnson, and George Blake Charney.

Matusow's was the first voluntary confession of the long parade of professional informers and FBI plants since the Smith Act trials began. But it is as sweeping and unequivocal as the confessions of the parade of witnesses that were used in 1916 to frame Tom Mooney and the famed handwritten confession by star witness Ruby Bates in the frameup of the nine Negro Scottsboro boys.

Public attention had been drawn before to exposures of fake testimony in the Smith Act trials, notably that of Paul Crouch. It was the Alsop brothers who first noted the contradictions between his testimony in the Philadelphia trial and in other cases. The holes in the testimony of Louis Budenz were also publicized by the Alsops and others. But Matusow is the first to come forward and confess.

Matusow was probably the most used of the informers. The two affidavits give only a sample of the story he is to tell in the book, *False Witness*, to be published soon by Cameron & Kahn. Since he was unveiled in 1952 as a witness before the House Un-American Committee, he fingered about 180 persons in trials and hearings and was star witness in McCarran Act proceedings against numerous organizations, including the Communist Party, Labor Youth League, Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Council of American-Soviet Friendship and others. He testified also against Owen Lattimore and before the Internal Security Board and at numerous State and Federal witchhunt hearings.

He was also a campaigner for the McCarthyite candidates, especially in Wisconsin where McCarthy put a plane at his disposal. He was used in the Montana, Utah and Wyoming campaigns in support of the McCarthy-backed senatorial candidates. He was also a witness in witchhunt hearings against the Boy Scouts of America, Antioch College, New York City College, New York Teachers Union and served as an "expert" and "adviser" to a long list of redbaiting bodies.

His confessions are unquestionably a hard blow for the Department of Justice machinery of informers. The testimony of informers is more under question than ever. The Department, at this writing, has not gone beyond announcing that Matusow will not be used any more. But there is apparently no intention of dropping other discredited witnesses.

From San Francisco it was disclosed that one of the witnesses to be used in the forthcoming Bridges trial is Lawrence Ross, who was used in the previous Bridges cases, but who has since admitted that he has lived a life of lies and had given false testimony.

Only a few days before the Matusow affidavits appeared, a parade of professional FBI informers, among them two in the unions of Milwaukee, were used to convict Claude Lightfoot on the Smith Act charge of "membership" in the Communist Party.

On the other hand, the Matusow exposure has also spurred a drive in labor ranks against professional informers. A delegates' conference of the southwest region of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in El Paso (Jencks' district), cheered a call by vice president Orville Larson of the union for a general drive in the country against the use of informers in all witchhunt cases.

The CIO nationally has begun to take an active interest in the fight against the "loyalty" procedure with main attention to the case of Dr. John P. Peters, Yale medical professor, who was ousted as a "security risk." The United Automobile Workers is pressing the fight for John Lupa, an auto worker who was similarly ousted. The CIO's main concern is that the informers are "invisible"—the accused is not given an opportunity to face the accuser.

Ironically, in the very week that the CIO and UAW pressed their fight, the Wisconsin edition of the CIO News gave its main headline to glorifying Michael J. Ondrejka, an FBI plant in a Milwaukee local of the IUE-CIO who appeared as a witness against Lightfoot. The Milwaukee Labor Press, AFL, similarly glorified John Brzek, of the longshoremen's AFL local there, also a confessed FBI plant, who appeared against Lightfoot.

The Matusow confessions are taking the spotlight, however, and they will go a long way toward discrediting the business of paid, professional, FBI-planted informers.

[Daily Worker, February 8, 1955, p. 8]

ASK NEW SOBELL TRIAL, CITE HARVEY MATUSOW

Because of the linking of Roy Cohn and former United States Attorney Miles Lane to Harvey Matusow's use of perjured testimony in the courts, Attorney General Herbert Brownell was asked yesterday to reopen the case of Morton Sobell. Mrs. Rose Sobell, mother of Morton Sobell, speaking for the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, pointed out to Brownell that both Cohn and Lane played major roles in the trial of Morton Sobell, convicted of "conspiracy to commit espionage" with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, and sentenced to 30 years.

Matusow, in an affidavit, had said that in a Smith Act trial he lied under the guidance of Roy Cohn and "with the knowledge of the United States attorney." Lane was United States attorney in New York at the time.

The letter sent to Brownell by the mother of Morton Sobell was as follows: "The linking of Roy Cohn and former United States Attorney Myles Lane to knowing use of perjured testimony in the courts is a further reason why your office should reopen the case of my son, Morton Sobell. While the disclosures against Cohn and former United States attorney Lane by Harvey Matusow concerned another case, these facts cannot but add to the doubts in the Sobell case, in which Cohn and Lane played a major role.

"I remind you that there was only one major witness against my son. This witness, Max Elitcher, admitted perjuring himself, in another matter. Moreover, when asked by attorney Manuel B'och:

"Will you name the person or persons with whom you went over your testimony, in preparing for this trial?" Elitcher answered:

"Well, I have talked to Mr. Kilsheimer and Mr. Cohn" (p. 270, printed trial record.)

"To continue to keep my son in Alcatraz on a 30-year sentence after it has been disclosed that there have been such irregularities on the part of members of the prosecution staff is the height of irresponsibility and disregard for the cause of justice.

"I ask that your office start an immediate investigation into the circumstances of Sobell's conviction, and take steps to see that he gets a new trial."

[Daily Worker, February 8, 1955, p. 1]

CIO COLUMNIST WELCOMES CONFESSIONS OF MATUSOW

Commenting on the turnabout of paid informer Harvey Matusow, Willard Shelton, the political columnist of CIO News, sees signs of a "crackup in the ranks of the anti-Communist political racketeers." If this crackup comes, he adds, "the event will be a joyful one."

He writes that "it is possible—possible, not certain—that the country is beginning to break out of its miasmic preoccupation with the dangers of domestic communism and internal subversion."

"The climate is somewhat better than it was a year ago," writes Shelton. He also hopes that the President will recognize his "supreme responsibility" of guaranteeing the protection of "innocent" victims of the witchhunts.

"There has been something obscene," he writes in the February 7 CIO News, "in the spectacle of a great free nation shivering in its boots before the rantings of the witchhunters, passing drastic laws by the sheaf, hanging breathlessly on the televised hearings of some junior-grade headline hunter like Representative Velde, turning a respectful ear to the testimony, true or dreamed-up, of professional turncoat informers."

After describing the McCarthyite craze that brought us the McCarran law and the more recent changes in it, Shelton writes:

"Now there are signs of a change."

He notes that informer Paul Crouch had already been discredited, and now Matusow. Shelton doesn't place much reliance on Matusow's veracity, but adds "There's something infinitely funny in his claim that Roy Cohn, the terrible-tempered former counsel of the McCarthy committee, helped him doctor up some evidence."

"It's just possible," continues Shelton, "that the latest Matusow episode will discourage the Justice Department about the whole stable of informers, so that Brownell will gloomily file away his wiretap records and return to his proper business of prosecuting people for overt crimes."

[Daily Worker, April 1, 1955, p. 7]

JOHN STEINBECK TAKES A LOOK AT MATUSOW AND "DEATH OF A RACKET"

(By Milton Howard)

In the current issue of Saturday Review, April 2, John Steinbeck, one of the best-known American novelists, signs a blazing editorial called in unmistakable American speech, *Death of a Racket*.

The racket of which Steinbeck speaks with such harsh contempt is the racket of the "anti-Communist" hired informer.

The book on which Steinbeck bases his opinions is Matusow's *False Witness*, in which the one-time darling of Joe McCarthy, various Government committees, and of Herbert Brownell's conviction-hungry prosecutors, recounts the sordid tale "from the inside" of how Government frameups are manufactured.

Writes Steinbeck:

"The Matusow testimony to anyone who will listen places a bouquet of forget-me-nots on the grave of McCarthy. The ridiculousness of the whole series of investigations now becomes apparent, even to what a friend of mine used to call peanut-munchers. Matusow will have a much greater effect than he knows. What follows cannot be worse and may be better. It will surely be funny."

Steinbeck adds:

"Matusow's description of the life of an informer is a sad commentary but a believable one. It is the story of Titus Oates all over again * * * (Oates was an anti-Catholic informer who caused the jailing and death of hundreds through fake testimony in 17th century England.) Not only was he paid as a Government expert but he was paid for lectures. Magazines fought for his articles * * *. It is natural that he would cast about for the means to maintain his position by bringing larger and more flamboyant charges. Remember—when Titus Oates' first bill of charges was thrown out he countered with a second larger bill. The parallel is exact."

"Matusow has ruined the racket," continues Steinbeck. "It will never be so good again * * * the fact is that every bit of testimony of professional witnesses will have to be inspected in terms of old-fashioned rules of evidence."

With unmistakable reference to Louis Budenz, Steinbeck remarks, "A very famous informer dribbled out his revelations over a period of 10 years. He is the dean. None other has ever equaled his technique."

It is impossible not to be moved by this kind of statement of an angered scorn which, if the record is to be kept straight, itself participated in, and helped to create, that very climate, those same "winds of the time" as Steinbeck puts it, "when certain basic nonsense was allowed to pass unnoticed." For Steinbeck was taken in tow by the cold-war leadership to such an extent that he did not scruple even to lend the authority of his literary achievement to State Department broadcasts in Fascist Spain, Italy, Vienna, etc.

But there is a fact which thinking American intellectuals, sickened by the freezing anti-intellectualism of the McCarthyite "Red scare," must face. It is that the Government men who hired a professional liar like Matusow are also in control of the cold-war propaganda which enlists some of our leading writers abroad. Brownell hired Matusow and the other false witnesses; but Dulles hired the novelists.

The cold war of the past near decade has been based on the dogma of the "inevitable war" with "communism."

This dogma had the appearance of invincibility. Its power to stampede the American intellectual world, or to silence its dissidents, was very great. And seeming invincibilities, however hollow in fact, have attractive power. But the American situation has not turned out to be what the "inevitable war" conspirators had honed.

The doctrine of the "inevitable war against communism" now stands before the alarmed Nation as a dogma of national treachery and suicide. The sought-for war can be nothing but an unbelievable slaughter with atomic and H-bomb weapons. If a Matusow has picked up on his antenna the signals of this approaching change in the real situation, will our serious writers be far behind?

The placing of the brand of "security risk"—that contemptible invention of the planners of war—on the brow of Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, despite his efforts to prove his submission, did not prevent some of America's leading scientists from declaring their boycott of the University of Washington because it banned

Oppenheimer from talking on science. This too, along with Steinbeck's statement, is a sign of the times.

Steinbeck's contempt for the "certain basic nonsense" which was believed under the influence of the cold-war hysteria does not lead him to a rejection of the big lie about the working-class Communist Party. He still says that the Communists approve of "the climate of disunity and suspicion which has haunted us for the last few years," and that Communists "would much rather keep the investigations going with their harvest of fear and disruption."

Certain basic nonsense, it would seem, is more tenacious than even Steinbeck has estimated. The opinion that Communists just adore being hounded, jailed, and tormented as proof of the wickedness of their persecutors is about as cogent as the view that Negroes like to be lynched to prove the white supremacy of the Ku Klux Klan.

But we cannot expect everything. It suffices that John Steinbeck has expressed sentiments which a literary artist with a sense of responsibility for his Nation cannot long silence without crushing his talent. The country which wouldn't swallow McCarthy is now changing its writers, and its writers must help to further change the country. The forgery of the "Communist menace" has been poisoning the Nation and its culture long enough.

[Daily Worker, March 30, 1955, p. 4]

X-RAY ON THE FRAMEUP SYSTEM—HOW MATUSOW'S LIES GREW IN THE FLYNN TRIAL

(By Harry Raymond)

The history of frameups throughout the ages, in the effort to control the thoughts of men, is replete with the confessions of perjurers.

Stephen's History of the Criminal Law of England describes how the notorious Judge Jeffreys sentenced five Jesuits to death in 1679 on testimony of the infamous professional informer, Titus Oates. Oates later recanted and was denounced by the same judge as the "most perjured villain that ever appeared on the face of the earth."

The Tom Mooney case, the Moyer-Haywood-Pettibone case, the Scottsboro case—all 20th century frameups—and dozens of other cases brought to light self-admitted liars for the prosecution.

But rarely has there been an example of a recanting witness whose lies revealed a whole system of Government-organized fabrication.

The recent 6 weeks' hearing before Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock on the motion for a new trial for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and 12 associates, imprisoned under the Smith Act, is just such of a rare example. For it provides, with pitiless clarity, a legal X-ray of the frameup system at work.

It demonstrates to all reasonable persons, by evidence independent of the sworn recantation of Harvey Matusow, former professional informer, that false testimony was willfully instigated and used by the Government.

This article and those to follow, based on the record of the hearing before Judge Dimock, the transcript of the Flynn trial, and the magnificent brief on the facts and law by defense counsel Harry Sacher, will analyse the lies of Matusow in their "egg to hatching" evolution.

The testimony and documentary evidence will speak for itself.

It will show how the Matusow lies (largely fertilized, if not conceived by former Assistant United States Attorney Roy M. Cohn) grew and grew and grew.

PROOFS OF FALSEHOOD

In examining the hatching process of the Matusow lies, one begins to wonder, What would happen if Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, and the rest of the paid professional informers were likewise microscopically scrutinized? Matusow certainly was gone over with a fine-tooth comb in the hearing before Judge Dimock.

Judge Dimock has this important question before him: Was Matusow's testimony in the Flynn trial false?

Sacher, an astute lawyer, told the court that to establish the falsity of Matusow's testimony in the trial "we have in no instance relied on the recanting testimony which he gave at the instant hearing unless such testimony is corroborated" by—

Documents introduced in evidence which emanate from the Government itself.

Testimony of Government witnesses, excluding Alfred Kahn, Nathan Witt, and Herbert Tank, witnesses unfriendly to the Government position who were subpoenaed by Prosecutor J. Edward Lumbard.

Testimony of such disinterested witnesses as Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, called by the defense.

The transcript of the Flynn trial.

"We think we may fairly say that from these independent sources we have established overwhelmingly, if not conclusively, that every item of Matusow's testimony which the defendants on this motion charged to be false was in fact false," Sacher told Judge Dimock.

Sacher presented to the court a series of 13 charts, 8 of which traced the development of Matusow's testimony in the Flynn trial, and 5 charts which exhibited contradictions in testimony by former Assistant United States Attorneys Cohn, David Marks, Alfred Blinder, Robert Reagan, John Foley, and FBI Agent James J. McCarthy.

These men admitted they had the job of preparing Matusow to testify in the Flynn trial.

FBI reports and witness sheets outlining the type of testimony Matusow was prepared to give at the trial, documents which emanated from the Government during Judge Dimock's hearing on the new trial motion, demonstrated that Matusow had made no previous mention to any Government official of more than half the items to which he testified at the trial.

These documents also revealed that Matusow, while being prepared to testify, made no mention of the most damaging portion of seven items of his later testimony in reports to the FBI or to Assistant United States Attorney Blinder, who was in charge of preparing Matusow's testimony before Cohn took the job sometime after May 16, 1952.

Matusow's main perjured testimony in the Flynn trial, according to the testimony at Judge Dimock's hearing, began to emerge at this point.

Sacher charged in his brief that "six of the items to which Matusow testified emerged for the first time, either in whole or in most damaging part, while Matusow was being prepared by Mr. Cohn."

Matusow, examined at the Dimock hearing, testified Cohn coached him to fabricate testimony against defendants in the Flynn trial.

Two additional items of Matusow's testimony at the trial, claiming defendant Alexander Trachtenberg advocated "force and violence" through alleged endorsement of the late Andrei Vishinsky's book, Law of the Soviet State, were not contained in the original question and answer sheets.

AFTERTHOUGHTS

The testimony against Trachtenberg was clearly an afterthought of Matusow and the prosecution staff. It was developed, according to testimony at the hearing, during the week preceding Matusow's taking the stand in July 1952.

Testimony about the Vishinsky book, not mentioned in any of Matusow's FBI reports or in the prosecution witness sheets, was developed, the record of the Dimock hearing reveals, when Reagan replaced Cohn as Matusow's "preparer."

Sacher, in his brief, discusses these developments and draws the court's attention to this "appropriate commentary" from Wigmore on Evidence:

"A failure to assert a fact, when it would have been natural to assert it, amounts in effect to an assertion of the nonexistence of the fact. This is conceded as a general principle of evidence."

COMPARISON WITH OATES

Sacher then tells the court that, "in the circumstances," Matusow can be appropriately compared with the "notorious perjurer Oates" of the 17th century of whom Wigmore wrote:

"One of the chief weaknesses of the testimony of the notorious perjurer Oates was that at his original information to the Council he failed to state facts which he afterwards testified to on the trials of his various victims; each time bringing out new facts before unmentioned."

Matusow admitted he lied on eight specific points in the Flynn trial. The evolution of his admitted perjury in relation to defendant Trachtenberg, as shown by evidence in the hearing on the motion for a new trial, will be discussed in tomorrow's article.

[Daily Worker, March 27, 1955, p. 6]

**THE WEEK IN CIVIL LIBERTIES—FILE BRIEF FOR NEW TRIAL—FALSE WITNESS
BEST SELLER**

Briefs were filed Friday by attorneys for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her 12 codefendants by defense attorneys to support their demand for a new trial, and by attorneys for the Justice Department who oppose a new trial. The defense motion was based on sworn testimony of Harvey Matusow that evidence he had given in their trial was false. Judge Edward Dimock said he would study the briefs together with the testimony of some 20 witnesses who testified during the 6 weeks of hearings held by Dimock on the defense motion.

Attorneys for Clinton Jencks, mine-mill organizer convicted under the Taft-Hartley Act for perjury on the testimony of Harvey Matusow, has filed notice of appeal against the decision of Federal Judge Thomason in El Paso, Tex., denying him a new trial.

The trial of seven Smith Act defendants opened in Denver last week in Federal court. The seven are Joseph Scherrer and his wife, Maia; Harold Zeppelin; Arthur Bary, and his wife, Anna Correa; Patricia Blau; and Lewis M. Jolinson.

Cameron & Kahn, publishers of Matusow's False Witness, announced that the first edition of 50,000 copies has been exhausted and a new edition is on the press. There have been 20 radio and TV interviews with the publishers about the book and 1 clipping service informed the publishers it has 10,000 clippings commenting on the book.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, world famed Negro scholar, last week denounced the rearrest of the six Communist leaders following their release from prison on March 1. Dr. DuBois expressed special concern for Benjamin J. Davis, who upon his release began serving a 60-day sentence for "contempt" in Pittsburgh.

From Atlanta Federal prison, where he is serving a Smith Act sentence, Robert Thompson blasted the Government's attempt to deprive his family of disability pension due him because of wounds suffered in World War II. Thompson was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for valor in action during that war.

Delegates from 15 States were slated to gather in Washington this weekend for a national legislative conference called by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

[Daily Worker, March 18, 1955, p. 4]

**DENVER, GREENSBORO PAPERS ON MATUSOW: DID HIS LIES FIRE NEW YORK
TEACHERS? HELPED SNAP NATION OUT OF TRANCE**

DENVER, March 17.—Recalling Harvey M. Matusow "has now been revealed as one of the 'faceless informers' against American public schoolteachers," Associate Editor Lawrence Martin in the Denver Post asked if "false testimony by him against the New York teachers cost them their jobs."

In his column March 9 Martin cited testimony at a recent board of education meeting here on the resolution "which would require any schoolteacher, whether a suspected subversive or not, to inform on other teachers, or be fired for insubordination."

Martin told how Mrs. Rose Russell, legislative representative of the New York Teachers Union, read a photostatic copy of a confidential memorandum to the board dated February 14, 1952, headed "Re Harvey M. Matusow," signed "S. M." Her identification of "S. M." as Saul Moskoff, assistant corporation counsel, wrote Martin, went unchallenged.

Martin quoted the memorandum, which figured in news stories here, in detail, including S. M.'s account of how he followed up one of Matusow's tips by himself telephoning a number.

Identifying himself as "Nat Moss," and after "much conversation, most of which was of a jocular nature," with a "female voice," the investigator, S. M., wrote "it was determined that—has a sister who is a schoolteacher and who is unmarried."

The Denver columnist and editor wrote that during Matusow's 10-day period working for Supt. William Jansen and Moskoff, who was in charge of the anti-subversion school program, "Matusow named other school employees than those referred to in the 'S. M.' memorandum." And he cited Mrs. Russell as saying that all of them were called before Moskoff, and some were severed from their jobs.

"In view of Matusow's self-repudiation of his lying about other persons," Lawrence wrote, "the question now arises whether false testimony by him against the New York teachers cost them their jobs. He never appeared face to face with them as a witness against them. * * *"

GREENSBORO, N. C., March 17.—The Greensboro Daily News apparently doesn't go along with the Department of Justice apologists who are trying so hard to persuade the public to discount Harvey Matusow's revelations on the theory he was a "plant" in the FBI.

In an editorial March 5 the Greensboro newspaper declared, "What does it matter whether this mixed-up creature is an undercover Communist agent or not?" And it concludes:

"History may, indeed, remember him as the man who finally convinced a nation, bordering on the edge of Red hysteria, to take a second look and snap out of the hypnotic trance."

And although the editorial declared Matusow to have "tricked the FBI and Congress as badly as they had been tricked in decades," it refrains from saying that he "tricked" Roy Cohn. Instead, it recalled how "Roy Cohn, of deathless memory," declared of Matusow, "there was never any doubt about his credibility."

[Daily Worker, March 24, 1955, p. 7]

MATUSOW'S REVELATIONS ABOUT THE ENTERTAINMENT BLACKLISTS

(By David Blatt)

One of the most interesting chapters in Harvey Matusow's False Witness concerns that weekly blacklist dope sheet Counterattack, which was set up a few years ago by ex-FBI men.

Under the slogan of fighting communism it peddles information injurious to trade unionists, democrats, and liberals to big-business outfits and particularly to the personnel departments of the mass entertainment media.

"Those classified by Counterattack as 'Reds' encompassed far more than Communist Party members," writes Matusow, "They encompassed members of Congress, motion-picture performers, stage singers, dancers, one stripteaser, various businessmen and members of the clergy from all major faiths."

You get a clear-cut idea of the sinister aims of this labor-spy racket, 1955 model, when you read in Matusow's book that Counterattack blacklisted Stars for Stevenson because these entertainers campaigned for Adlai Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic Party candidate for President, and they singled out for blacklisting people who were active in civil-rights struggles and spoke out for equal rights for Negroes and against discrimination.

You also get from the book a vivid picture of the sordid and farflung activities of the witchhunting rag with which Matusow was connected for sometime as assistant editor, and the soulless characters who made blacklisting a paying proposition.

"While I was with Counterattack the total number of subscriptions was never above 5,000 but many were strategically located with top business executives," writes Matusow. The 5,000 subs at \$24 apiece brought in a gross annual income of over \$100,000, in addition to the very substantial fees paid by industry to Counterattack for its investigatory services."

Here was a lucrative business indeed and it stretched from New York to Washington to Hollywood and involved such men of culture as Jack Wren, a former officer in Naval Intelligence who was the liaison man between Counterattack and the big New York advertising agencies which "controlled the casting of television shows."

Here are some more of Matusow's revelations of the underworld of labor espionage:

Wren had his own blacklist "and worked closely not only with his advertising agency, Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, but with almost every major agency and radio TV network in New York."

On top of that he was in close touch with the American Legion's Americanism Commission and with the Un-American committees and worked with them in clearing suspected "Communist artists"—but "only if they were willing to testify (that is turn informer) as Elia Kazan, the director, and others had done."

Counterattack had its fingers in the Hollywood movie pie through screen actor Ward Bond (he usually plays the part of a "heel") and Roy Brewer, head of the Motion Picture Alliance, an antilabor outfit once shunned by almost every union in the film industry.

The widespread blacklist operation had the blessing of George Sokolsky, the professional Red-baiter and A-bomb rattler, and Alfred Kohlberg, one of the leaders of the pro-Chiang China lobby.

Also participating in the operation were lesser individuals like Frank Pulaski, an actor who sat at home evenings watching his TV screen and compiling blacklists of actors and actresses for use by Counterattack; and the Drew sisters, whose main interest "was ridding the fine arts of 'Communists' * * * they furnished Congressman George A. Dondero, of Michigan, with the information he used in eight speeches before Congress 'exposing Communist painters and sculptors.'"

Matusow was hired by Counterattack for his "inside knowledge of communism." He testifies, among other things, that he made false statements to 20th Century Fox about a talented Negro actor who was forthwith blacklisted throughout Hollywood and radio and TV. "Once universally acclaimed by critics as one of the most talented in the United States, he is now limited to an occasional role in an off-Broadway play," he now writes.

This is only one out of a great many lives and careers wrecked by the terrible blacklisting and informer system.

The book tells how Counterattack hounded John Garfield, the brilliant young screen star whose suicide a few years ago shocked the country.

Matusow tells how he himself got a well-known comic thrown off the Colgate TV Comedy show that included Yogi Berra, the Yankee catcher, by calling the Yankee's public-relations man "a total of 17 times, using several different voices—a voice technique I have developed through my hobby of working with puppets"—and putting the pressure on him to do something about it.

Matusow's confessions are a shocking exposé of the murderous technique of investigators, blacklisters, and informers.

The whole country should echo what columnist Barry Gray said in his column last Thursday:

"Open the Matusow file with an investigation of investigations. Examine the blacklist technique. Cross-examine every individual mentioned in his book. Let us properly allocate some of the blame—what we have left over after draping it on ourselves."

[Daily Worker, March 15, 1955, p. 4]

"FALSE WITNESS," BY HARVEY MATUSOW—A SEARCHLIGHT INTO THE FRAMEUP CESSPOOL

(By Simon W. Gerson)

Whatever the sins of Harvey Matusow—and they are many and heavy—he has accomplished one thing: he has placed the Government informer system on trial. More, he is compelling thinking Americans to reexamine the whole system of cold war thought-control laws of which the Government informer is an inevitable part. His book, *False Witness*, out today, should speed considerably that process of sober second thought.

For *False Witness* is more than the record of a political rake's progress. Far beyond the author's intent, it is a devastating account of the moral corrosion of McCarthyism on midcentury American society. As such it deserves careful study by all decent elements in American society, first and foremost the organized workers.

Its principal importance lies not in the fantastic path of Matusow. He is apparently seeking to rise from the McCarthyian ooze and return to the ways of decent mankind—a beginning of regeneration that has already given the Justice Department and various Senators horror spasms. Matusow's seriousness rests not so much on his revelation of the sordid and sometimes macabre ways of McCarthyism. It is in the two sober affidavits in the book's appendix in which he gravely places his own liberty on the line in a small effort to expiate some of his crimes. It is because of these that the Washington heavens are now falling and judicial thunderbolts play about young Matusow's head.

False Witness carries the reader through the various stopping places of a rogue's travelogue. First an informer for the American Gestapo, J. Edgar Hoover's FBI, then a witness for the House Un-American Committee, then an

investigator for the Ohio Un-American Activities Commission, a witness in Federal court trials in the Flynn case in New York, a professional witness for the Internal Security Committee, the Subversive Activities Control Board, various Texas commissions, a speaker for McCarthyite-backed candidates in the 1952 campaign, etc., ad nauseam.

Of special meaning to organized labor are the sections in which Matusow describes, with names, places, and dates, the use to which his "services" were put by an unholy alliance of antilabor manufacturers, State officials and some unscrupulous labor leaders in their fight against militant unionism.

Of most current interest is the detailed account of the fabrication of evidence in the Smith Act case against Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her 12 codefendants. In this case, shrouded in the deepest legal doubt from the outset (the jury was out about 6 days, longer than in any other Smith Act case) the fabricated Matusow testimony might very well have been precisely the added bit that swung the wavering 12 jurors to bring in a guilty verdict. It is precisely here that the essential rottenness of the thought-control frameup system is most clearly exposed. Roy Cohn's role as the bright young maestro of the frameup is vividly brought out by Matusow.

But the Government informer did not help frame up only Communists. The Matusow canvas was much broader, ranging from Communists, through labor leaders, liberals, New Deal and middle-of-the-road Democrats to the New York Times and Time, Inc. Heads of the New York school system carried his favor and paid for his "services," while McCarthyites systematically used him against Owen Lattimore and rival Democratic candidates.

False Witness illustrates an axiom that an increasingly large group of Americans is beginning to understand that fascism only begins with the Communists but by its own ruthless logic must destroy the rights of all its opponents—labor leaders, liberals, and even conservatives who still cling to traditional constitutional liberties. Those who still argue about the alleged "rightness" of McCarthy's objectives but disagree only with his "methods" might well ponder this lesson.

For if anything is plain it is that Matusow is no aberration. He is a social product. He could only grow and flourish in the rotten social swamp of McCarthyism. As publisher Albert E. Kahn writes in a brief foreword, "the major question * * * is not the question of Harvey Matusow. It is the question of a national atmosphere which has raised the informer—in the words of the Washington Post columnist Alan Barth—'to the stature of a national hero and transforms his role into a profession.'"

For social repression literally requires a Matusow, a Louis Budenz, an Elizabeth Bentley, a Paul Crouch, a Manning Johnson, and the rest of that subhuman species.

American big business is an old hand at this stuff. In 1916-17 when one giant California public utility wanted to terrorize its workers against unionism and antiwar expressions, it found stool pigeons against Tom Mooney. When the frenzied New England banking, textile, and shoe interests wanted stool pigeons against Sacco and Vanzetti, they "found" them. And when the southern bourbons wanted to terrorize the Negro people through the Scottsboro case (as in a thousand other cases against the Negro people) they, too "found" informers. And when the atom maniacs wanted stool pigeons in the Rosenberg case (Roy Cohn was in that one, too) they "found" them.

It is against the expression of political opinion that the informer becomes an indispensable weapon of extreme reaction. As Prof. Zachariah Chaffee put it in his *Free Speech in the United States*:

"Informers have been the inseparable accompaniment of Government action against the expression of opinion since the delators of Tiberius.

"* * * the spy often passes over an almost imperceptible boundary into the agent provocateur, who instigates the utterances he reports, and then into the fabricator, who invents them."

But history and people have a way of catching up—sometimes, tragically, too late. Some such social process is at play here. The widening mass opposition to McCarthyism is creating a profound revulsion in many circles. A new anti-McCarthy social pressure is being engendered, one that takes on many and frequently transient forms, but which continues to move firmly toward the Bill of Rights and the freedom of the market place for discussion of questions of war and peace. This new pressure affects even a Harvey Matusow, a Mrs. Marie Natvig, a Lowell Watson—and perhaps others.

With all due respect to the various schools of individual psychology who will examine the Matusow book, this reviewer feels that the reason for False Witness is not to be found in the Matusow psyche. It stems from the growing anti-McCarthy resistance of many elements in the community and the great, new winds of reason that are blowing. It is this basic social pressure that caused informers to recant in the Mooney case, the Scottsboro case, and most recently in the Flynn and Edward Lamb cases.

To say this is not to minimize the great contributing role played by the defendants and their supporters in all these cases. Tribute must be paid first of all to the Communists and others who denounced the thought-control frameup and the informer systems from the very beginning, and to fighting lawyers like Nathan Witt, John T. McTernan, and Harry Sacher (to name but a few).

A special word needs to be said about the two courageous publishers, Angus Cameron and Albert Kahn, who issued False Witness. Without them there would not be these revelations of rotteness. Their courage and steadfastness are models for all Americans who believe in the freedom to write and publish. Their tenacity of high purpose has defeated the frenzied efforts of the McCarthy and Brownell crowd to suppress False Witness. In this high-minded resolution they follow the example of another publisher of a generation ago, Gotham House, which resisted similar reactionary pressure in 1932 to publish the famous Mooney-Billings Report, a carefully documented analysis of the frameup of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings suppressed by Congress.

Democratic-minded Americans of all political persuasions can rejoice that a Harvey Matusow has ascended from the lower depths of American politics to tell his story. Now it is up to liberty-loving America to insist on the sequel—a searching congressional probe of the informer system; freedom for the victims of the frameups; full pardon and indemnification for those convicted or forced to flee political frameups, and an end to the whole foul network of thought-control laws that destroy our heritage and shame America before the world.

[Daily Worker, March 15, 1955, p. 1]

FAIL TO GAG MATUSOW BOOK—FALSE WITNESS ON SALE TODAY IN BOOKSTORES

(By Harry Raymond)

Harvey Matusow's book, False Witness, an amazing biographical story of how fabricated testimony was cooked up against persons in the left wing and progressive movement, goes on sale today in bookstores across the Nation with an advance sale of more than 40,000.

Matusow, a former FBI informer, and his publishers, Angus Cameron and Albert E. Kahn, met newspaper and television reporters in the Hotel Roosevelt yesterday.

The publishers told how the Justice Department "attempted to suppress publication of the book through an effort to seize by subpoena all manuscripts and galleys," affected a 6 months' contempt sentence against Kahn (later vacated), and brought "pressure to bear on printers and binders" to prevent publication of the book.

Matusow told how he must fly to El Paso, Tex., this morning to a face a possible prison sentence Wednesday of 5 years for "telling the truth" about his faked testimony in last week's hearing on a motion for a new trial for Clinton Jencks, officer of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

Matusow had testified in El Paso before Federal Judge R. E. Thomason that he lied as a star witness in the trial in which Jencks was sentenced to 5 years on a charge of falsely signing a non-Communist Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Judge Thomason in a brief hearing held Matusow in contempt for scheming to "obstruct justice."

"If Judge Thomason had decided that I made a mockery of justice when I testified against Clinton E. Jencks and had granted Jencks a new trial, one might understand his contempt citation," Matusow declared. "But to hold me in contempt now, when I am telling the truth, is to deny Clinton E. Jencks a new trial on the basis of that present truth is in my opinion improper.

"I think the judge is going to sentence me. I believe the maximum is 5 years and I will appeal it. If I have to go to jail for upholding my convictions, I'll go to jail proudly."

Matusow stated he had confidence "a higher court will vindicate me." He added: "The question of whether I am telling the truth now or not is something that should be decided only after a hearing on the issue."

He told the news and TV reporters he believed Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz had been "false witnesses on internal communism."

He cited testimony of Budenz that he personally knew 4,100 Communists.

"Budenz was not in a position to know that many people," Matusow said.

He said he knows another professional Government witness who admitted to have testifying falsely. This person, he said, is waiting to see what action will be taken on Attorney General Brownell's proposal to change the perjury law so a recanting false witness can be clapped in jail without traditional corroborating evidence.

Matusow gave copies of his book to newspaper and TV reporters. Throughout the book, which is well documented, he said he made false statements as a witness to win convictions of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her 12 codefendants in the 1952 Smith Act trial. He gave other faked testimony charging persons were Communists.

"I was * * * a publicity addict longing to see my name in the papers—to see the headlines scream and a few people cringe," he wrote.

"I even knocked King George off the front page," he said. He referred to testimony he gave the day Britain's King George VI died.

Cameron & Kahn, publishers of the Matusow book, charged that the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee inquiry into Matusow's recantations "can hardly be called impartial."

"When Matusow appeared as a witness before this committee in 1952, his sworn testimony contained manifest lies," the publishers declared. "Nevertheless, the committee not only failed to act at that time to expose these lies, but in fact assisted on giving them wide publicity * * * They have asserted they believe Matusow is lying now, and they remain painfully silent about the lies he previously told as a committee witness."

Cameron & Kahn announced they were sending a letter to all Members of Congress urging a "broad and thorough investigation be initiated by the Senate into Matusow's operations as a paid Government witness and an aide to Senator McCarthy."

"We are urging this investigation also to inquire into the present efforts of the practice of the Justice Department to prevent the true facts in this case from reaching the American public," the publishers of False Witness declared.

The publishers said the first printing of 50,000 copies of the book has been distributed to dealers and jobbers across the country. They said the second printing would be issued shortly.

To meet the March 15 publication dateline, Kahn said, he and his staff worked night and day. They finally did in 3 weeks a job that usually takes 2 months he said.

False Witness is published in a hard cover edition for \$3 and a paper cover for \$1.25. Matusow will receive "regular author's royalties," Kahn said.

[Daily Worker, March 11, 1955, p. 4]

BIG LIES, LITTLE LIES, AND THE CASE OF HARVEY MATUSOW

By Alan Max

It makes you feel as if you're standing on your head to see a headline in the New York Herald Tribune reading, "Reds Seen in Drive on FBI Men." Especially after several years of headlines announcing "FBI Men Seen in Drive on Reds."

The latest headline is over a statement by Assistant Attorney General William F. Tompkins, who seems to be in a state of shellshock from the Matusow revelations. Tompkins insists that the current exposure of the Justice Department's "liars' club" of informers is only a "Communist plot." Being a "Communist plot," therefore the substance of the exposure should be ignored, there should be no new trials for the victims, no disciplining of the Government attorneys who manufactured false testimony. On the contrary, according to the Justice Department, all those who are taking part in the exposure should themselves be thrown into jail.

Thus, Mrs. Marie Natvig, informer in an FCC case who recanted, has been indicted for perjury, charged with lying when she testified that a Government

attorney told her to lie. A grand jury in Texas is all primed to get Harvey Matusow. The publishers of Matusow's book are constantly being threatened with prison for "contempt." And Attorney General Brownell is trying to get new legislation which would send any recanting informer to prison at once on charges of perjury.

The Justice Department was so worried about Matusow's confession regarding his part in helping frame the Communist leaders in the Flynn case, that it sent Assistant Attorney General Tompkins himself to Foley Square to oppose the motion for a new trial. Tompkins got one squint at Matusow's charges and concluded the only way to meet the damning revelations was to yell "Communist plot."

Signs point to a danger that the Justice Department may actually succeed in preventing the Matusow revelations from being followed to their logical conclusions. This is so particularly because the labor-backed Democrats in the Senate so far are not eager to step into the fight. Senator Harley Kilgore, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, let the Subcommittee on International Security (formerly the Jenner committee in name and still the Jenner committee in fact), take over the issue and proceed to carry the ball for the Justice Department.

The labor-backed Democrats are evidently concerned because the "liars' club" was actually founded under the Truman administration. Budenz, Bentley, and Chambers were all products of the Justice Department under Truman.

Furthermore, there is evidently a fear in many quarters as to just where a real investigation would lead. There is genuine concern, and rightly so, over the smearing of New Dealers by the stable of informers and over false accusations that someone is a Communist when he has never been anything of the kind. But the hearing in Judge Dimock's court over a motion for a new trial for the 13 Communist leaders is something else again.

In that case we did not have an instance of non-Communists falsely being called Communists. Here we had leaders of the Communist Party falsely being called advocates of force and violence.

The Matusow trial, once embarked upon, leads directly to the exposure of the big lie itself about the nature of the Communist Party and its program. All the more reason for pursuing the trail, of course. But also the more hesitation on the part of many.

Without the big lie that Communists advocate force and violence, the little lie that some non-Communist is a Communist would have no effect. In fact, far from being a smear, it would be viewed by many as a badge of honor.

The most outspoken criticism of the Justice Department in the present Matusow case comes from Stewart Alsop (in the Herald Tribune of March 6) who himself did much to expose the informer system. "It was no doubt naive to expect any sober examination of the problem posed by Matusow and his kind," he writes. "For then the Justice Department and the committees concerned would have to consider their own past practices, perhaps even to admit mistakes—and that, of course, would never do."

But these "practices" were inevitable, once the big lie was incorporated into thought-control legislation. If the Justice Department has employed only "honest" stoolpigeons, they could never have sent Communists to jail.

Much of the labor press has shown an interest in the Matusow revelations. After all, the labor movement is a prime target of the informer system as used to cook up "loyalty" firings in "defense" plants. But unless the unionists insist on a real probe of the system and of Justice Department collusion in it, none is likely to take place. No matter how big the lies uncovered by the Matusow trial, the labor movement can only be the gainer.

[Daily Worker, March 9, 1955, p. 3]

HOW UNION-BUSTERS USED MATUSOW—COACHED BY GM TO GET UE, SAYS SPY

Citing sections of Harvey Matusow's book, *False Witness*, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers noted that the repentant informer had worked with Ohio corporations and leaders of the CIO International Union of Electrical Workers to "Red-tag" the UE and militant unionists the firms wanted to be rid of.

The passages cited also indicate that leaders of the IUE cooperated with the corporations and State's un-American committee to obtain collective-bargaining rights where the UE held them.

Matusow's confessions shed more light on operations of the vast network of industrial spies that is now a daily menace to millions of workers in both Government employ and private industries.

"In Ohio," says Matusow in his book, as quoted in the current UE News, "I cooperated with management and its attempts to rid themselves of the 'trouble-makers' in the unions. I worked behind the scenes with the Ohio State Un-American Commission and management.

"I worked with General Motors, Frigidaire division, the Master Electric Co., the GHR foundry, and others. I was in contact with the personnel departments of these plants as an investigator for the committees. I was invited to go through their files and their reports on the activities of employees. Frequently the accusation that someone was a Communist or pro-Communist was originally made by the management."

In another part, Matusow says:

"Subpenas were served on the leaders of the United Electrical Workers Union, District 7. They were hauled before the commission at a time when negotiations were in progress with Master Electric Co.

"Bill Shoots, then head of District 7 IUE, told me that his union was cooperating with the commission in order to get jurisdiction of the UE shop. He said it couldn't be done on a fair trade-union basis.

"The personnel director of the Master Electric Co. called and asked to see me. When I arrived, he showed me the personnel record of all employees that management suspected of being Communists * * *."

The company's officials explained to him Matusow said, that their suspicions were determined on the "degree of activity in the union" and "all those under suspicion were in the leadership of the local" of the UE.

Later those names were recited by Matusow before the Ohio un-Americans as those of "Communists." He continued:

"My broadcasts on the hearings were completely distorted in order to hurt the UE. That was my intent. Another way in which to build my reputation."

Matusow also disclosed that Shoots invited him to a District 7 meeting of the IUE.

"The staff of District 7 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE-CIO) was at my disposal," Matusow went on. "I received names, dates, and places of UE activities. There was little concern as to the effect the information had on the workers in those plants under UE contracts. The IUE leaders frankly admitted that their cooperating with the commission would have a harmful effect on future UE contract negotiating."

[Daily Worker, February 14, 1955, p. 3]

UREY CITES ROLE OF ROY COHN IN CONVICTION OF SOBELL

CHICAGO, February 13.—Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize scientist, expressed the belief here last night that "injustice had been done" to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and that many others in the United States today are similarly threatened.

Speaking at a banquet of more than 700 guests in his honor, the distinguished physicist pleaded for people to "try to do something about this series of doubtful trials or quasi-judicial procedures, that threaten our security as individuals living in a great free country."

Dr. Urey declared that Morton Sobell, convicted of conspiracy to commit espionage and serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz, "was not properly tried" and that "the verdict and the sentence were not justified."

The testimonial to Dr. Urey was held under the auspices of the Chicago Sobell Committee at the Hamilton Hotel. Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the imprisoned man, presented the scientist with a bound volume of scrolls inscribed with a tribute to Dr. Urey from prominent persons throughout the world. Among the signers were Robert M. Hutchins, educator, and Arnold Toynbee, British historian.

In a detailed analysis of the Rosenberg-Sobell case, Dr. Urey declared:

"If proper trials cannot be secured for unpopular people, then it will become impossible to secure justice for other somewhat less popular people and so on until no justice is possible at all."

Dr. Urey criticized the use of the professional informer by the Department of Justice and congressional committees and cited the recent statements by Harvey Matusow that he gave false testimony and that Roy Cohn was in complicity with him. While saying that Matusow's accusations against anyone could not be relied upon, Dr. Urey pointed out that Roy Cohn was assistant prosecutor against Sobell and the Rosenbergs.

He pointed out that Sobell had been convicted on the word of an admitted perjurer who hoped for leniency in testifying against Sobell.

"The concern with our basic security as a country," he said, "has led many people, often in high places, to look for a scapegoat, that is, an easy way to solve our difficulties. That scapegoat has been spies, espionage agents, subversives in Government. I do not condone such agents but if all Communists and Communist sympathizers should quietly die, the fundamental insecurity of this country would be the same as it is now.

"This very well justified concern for our security in a modern, dangerous world has led us to do things which will undermine our way of life, our form of government, and our freedom."

Dr. Urey cited the Oppenheimer hearings, Dr. Condon's clearance problems, the Lattimore case, passport problems, and visa problems.

Other speakers included Carey McWilliams, author and editor, and Prof. Harry Kalven, of the University of Chicago. Stephen Love, Chicago attorney, was dinner chairman.

[Daily Worker, January 31, 1955, p. 3]

MINE, MILL HITS GOVERNMENT USE OF STOOLIES

EL PASO, TEX., January 31.—More than 100 delegates to the southwest regional meeting of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers held here over the weekend, cheered a call for a nationwide drive by labor against "professional informers and stoolpigeons" now the main instruments of the Government in thought-control trials.

The call was sounded by Orville Larson, the union's vice president, in an address before the delegates. Larson called on them to mobilize their membership in California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Texas in defense of all victims of thought control, with central attention to the forthcoming trial of Maurice Travis, Mine-Mill's secretary-treasurer, on a charge of allegedly swearing falsely to a non-Communist Taft-Hartley affidavit.

Clinton Jencks, international representative of the union in the area, is now out on appeal from a sentence of 5 years on the same charge.

Jencks received a standing ovation when he appeared before the conference.

The spirit among the delegates was heightened by the report that a day before the conference Harvey Matusow, an informer who has been a Government witness in 180 thought-control trials and hearings and was chief witness in the Jencks case, had made a full confession that he lied and was willing any time to take the stand to reaffirm an affidavit to that effect.

Matusow's affidavit, listing each of the bits of "evidence" he gave in the Jencks case as lies, was submitted in Federal court in El Paso to Judge R. E. Thomason, who sentenced Jencks. A hearing on a petition for a new trial petition was set for March 7.

Larson spoke bitterly as he reviewed Matusow's confession and the role of professional informers and FBI plants in general as a menace to labor.

"Matusow not only lied about a member of our union," said Larson, "but also against professors in universities in our country and United States Senators, and he has lied about some of the great newspapers in the country."

Matusow was also the star witness before a hearing of the Senate Internal Security Committee staged in Salt Lake City during the 1952 election campaign when the late Senator Pat McCarran was its chairman. That hearing was deliberately staged to label Mine-Mill as a "Communist-dominated union" and combat its election activity in the Western States.

[Daily Worker, January 31, 1955, p. 1]

A BOMBHELL

An Editorial

The admission by a star FBI stool pigeon that he gave "deliberately false" testimony in court, is a sensational expose of the entire frameup system against Communists, labor leaders, and progressives.

Harvey Matusow's admission undermines every Smith Act trial and thought-control hearing in which he participated.

It cuts the ground from the testimony of every other stoolie, too—for they all testified to the same kind of lies that he did.

It throws new light on the outrageous nature of the plan of the Justice Department to arrest and imprison Eugene Dennis and the other Communist Party leaders all over again when they finish their Smith Act terms in March.

Attorneys for Clinton Jencks have demanded a new trial now for the union leader who was framed by Matusow.

The bombshell admission by Matusow also underscores the urgency of the CIO convention demand for a congressional probe of violations of civil liberties and for elimination of all repressive legislation.

The American people have a right to know all the facts behind the Matusow case. They have a right to know the extent to which the Department of Justice has been used as a department of frameup.

The American people have a right to demand that the Justice Department drop every thought-control prosecution underway and that all imprisoned victims be released.

Mr. SOURWINE. The next, a letter—obviously a form letter—mailed by Mr. John Clark, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers to Senator Jenner of the subcommittee, and a mimeographed copy circulated through the mails, of a letter addressed to the Attorney General by Mrs. Louis Sobell.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit No. 126 and 126A" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 126

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL, AND SMELTER WORKERS,
Washington 4, D. C., February 8, 1955.

HON. WILLIAM E. JENNER,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SENATOR: I am taking the liberty of sending you the full story of Harvey Matusow's recantation of the testimony with which Clinton Jencks was convicted on Taft-Hartley affidavit charges.

We believe this is a sensational story. It proves the statement by 17 prominent Protestant and Jewish clergymen that "The informer is a public accuser * * *. Yet we have strong reason to believe that some informers who have traduced large numbers of citizens have not spoken the truth."

Matusow's affidavit is the first time since the political trials began 6 or 7 years ago that a Government witness, a professional ex-Communist, has recanted his own sworn testimony.

Stewart Alsop, in his January 28 column, said: "Legal lying, by such professional former Communists as Matusow, which has been tolerated by all three branches of the American Government, has done irreparable harm to the individual American citizens. But it has also done irreparable harm to the whole American political process." Mr. Alsop suggests that "Matusow's confession is likely to initiate a serious investigation of this new postwar profession of the informer."

We respectfully urge that such an investigation by the appropriate committees of Congress be undertaken immediately. We agree with Mr. Alsop that it could "have good results for the political health of the United States." We believe such an investigation should include careful, critical study of every word of testimony given by the professional witnesses in the last several years, as well

as the methods used by various agencies of Government to obtain and use their services.

Sincerely,

JOHN CLARK, *President.*

EXHIBIT No. 126-A

COMMITTEE TO SECURE JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL,
New York, N. Y., February 2, 1955.

Attorney-General HERBERT BROWNELL,
Justice Department, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: The linking of Roy Cohn and former United States attorney Myles J. Lane to knowing use of perjured testimony in the courts is a further reason why your office should reopen the case of my son, Morton Sobell. While the disclosures against Cohn and former United States Attorney Lane by Harvey Matusow concerned another case, these facts cannot but add to the doubts in the Sobell case, in which Cohn and Lane played a major role.

I remind you that there was only one major witness against my son. This witness, Max Elitcher, admitted perjuring himself in another matter. Moreover, when asked by attorney Emanuel Bloch: "Will you name the person or persons with whom you went over your testimony, in preparing for this trial?" Elitcher answered "Well, I have talked to Mr. Kilsheimer and Mr. Cohn" (p. 270, printed trial record).

Morton Sobell has maintained his absolute innocence.

To continue to keep my son in Alcatraz on a 30-year-sentence after it has been disclosed that there have been such irregularities on the part of members of the prosecution staff is the height of irresponsibility and disregard for the cause of justice.

I ask that your office start an immediate investigation into the circumstances of Sobell's conviction, and take steps to see that he gets a new trial.

Sincerely,

Mrs. LOUIS SOBELL.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a memorandum prepared by the staff of the subcommittee at my direction, and under the supervision of Mr. Mandel, the director of research, with respect to the activities and associations of Mr. Sacher.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 127" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 127

HARRY SACHER

Signer of statement to the President defending the Communist Party. *Daily Worker*, March 5, 1941, page 2.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born¹ announced that Sacher will serve as attorney for Louis Weinstock in denaturalization proceedings brought under the McCarran-Walter Act. *Daily Worker*, February 3, 1953, page 4.

American Labor Party.² Scheduled speaker at rally against McCarthyism on May 6, at Manhattan Center. *Daily Worker*, May 7, 1954, pages 1 and 2.

American League for Peace and Democracy.¹ Member of executive board, New York City division. *Peace Yearbook*, 1939-40, page VIII.

American League for Peace and Democracy.¹ Member executive committee, New York City division. *Peace Yearbook*, 1939-40, page VIII.

Labor Advisory Committee of the Civil Rights Congress.¹ To speak at trade-union reception for Steve Nelson and Ben Careathers on February 24 at Hotel Brevoort in New York City. February 21, 1952, page 8 (ad), *Daily Worker*.

Bronx County Civil Rights Congress.¹ Local 905, Painters Union, A. F. of L. Local 140, Furniture Workers, CIO. Drug Clerks Union, CRC committee. Committee to Defeat the Smith Act. To speak at meeting on March 19 at Painters Local 905 hall, Bronx. *Daily Worker*, March 18, 1952, page 8.

¹ Cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

² Cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Civil Rights Congress.¹ New York. Speaker in behalf of 12 Communist leaders. Daily Worker, October 5, 1948, page 7.

Civil Rights Congress.¹ Participant at sixth anniversary dinner held on March 26 at the Central Plaza in New York City. Daily Worker, March 28, 1952, page 4.

Civil Rights Congress.¹ National Civil Rights Legislative Conference, January 18 and 19, 1949. Sponsor. Leaflet, Freedom Crusade, program and conference (part of Cvetic exhibit 52).

Civil Rights Congress.¹ To speak at eighth anniversary dinner April 9 at Yugoslav Hall, 405 West 41st Street, 7 p. m. Photo, Daily Worker, April 9, 1954, page 3.

Civil Rights Congress.¹ Spoke at eighth anniversary dinner April 9 at Yugoslav Hall, 405 West 41st Street, 7 p. m. Daily Worker, April 13, 1954, pages 5 and 8.

International Labor Defense.¹ Speaker. New York City. Daily Worker, April 10, 1937, page 5.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Board of trustees. Invitation to sixth anniversary dinner, January 27, 1950.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Speaker at sixth anniversary dinner January 27, 1950. Invitation.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Speaker on civil rights. Daily Worker of March 12, 1948, page 7.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Speaker. Daily Worker, December 18, 1947, page 4.

(Labor attorney.)

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Speaker. The Worker, March 7, 1948, page 11.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. Jefferson School catalog inside front cover, winter, 1950.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. Catalog, Jefferson School of Social Science, September–December 1947, page 1.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. Catalog, summer, July–August 1947, page 2.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. Spring catalog, April 14, 1947.

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. The Jefferson School Summer Session, July–August 1944, page 2 (booklet).

Jefferson School of Social Science.¹ Member of board of trustees. Catalog 1950, inside front cover.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations With Spain.² Member. Prospectus and review, back cover.

Lawyers Committee on American Relations with Spain.² Speaker. Advertisement, first public meeting.

Lawyers Committee To Keep the United States Out of War, Emergency Peace Mobilization.² Signer of telegram to House Military Affairs Committee against conscription. Daily Worker, September 4, 1940, page 3.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.² To be honored at public reception June 19, 1951, at Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York City. Daily Worker, June 18, 1951, page 7.

Attorney for Communist 11.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.² Honored at reception held June 19 at Riverside Plaza Hotel, New York City, for defense lawyers of Communist 11. Daily Worker, June 21, 1951, page 3.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.² Spoke at meeting in Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 10. Daily Worker, March 12, 1952, page 3.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.² To speak at a mass meeting on civil liberties to be held at Carnegie Hall March 10, New York City. Daily Worker, March 4, 1952, page 3.

National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.² To speak at a rally to repeal the Smith and McCarran Acts on March 10 at Carnegie Hall, New York City. March 7, 1952, page 8.

New York Council and Health and Welfare Division, ASP. To speak at meeting to be held at Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City, on April 17. Daily Worker, April 17, 1952, page 8 (ad).

New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. To speak at meeting on April 17, 1952, at Cornish Arms Hotel, New York City. Handbill: "Defends Freedom To Practice."

¹ Cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

² Cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

National Lawyers Guild.² Member.

National Lawyers Guild.² Director ex officio. Letterhead May 28, 1940.

New York City chapter of National Lawyers Guild. Elected voting member of the board of directors for 1953-54 at annual meeting held May 26 at the Willkie Memorial. Daily Worker, May 27, 1953, page 8.

National Lawyers Guild.² Member, Committee on Constitution and Judicial Review. Newsletter, National Lawyers Guild, July 1937, page 2.

National Lawyers Guild.² Member, committee on labor law and social legislation. Newsletter, National Lawyers Guild, July 1937, page 2.

National Lawyers Guild.² Participant in discussion entitled "The Right To Strike and Compulsory Arbitration," 5th annual convention, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29-June 1, 1941. Convention program printed in Convention News, May 1941, page 2, published by NLG for the 5th annual convention.

National Lawyers Guild.² Member, convention resolutions committee, 5th annual convention, Book-Cadillac Hotel, Detroit, Mich., May 29-June 1, 1941; member, National Executive Board. Convention News, May 1941, pages 2 and 4, respectively, published by NLG for the 5th annual convention.

National Lawyers Guild.² New York City chapter. Elected to board of directors for 1954-55. Daily Worker, May 26, 1954, page 8.

New Masses¹ letter to President. Signer. New Masses, April 2, 1940, page 21.

School for Democracy.² Guest lecturer. Catalog and program, January 1942.

Transport workers union. Attorney. Daily Worker, February 10, 1936, page 3.

Transport workers union. Attorney. Photograph, Daily Worker, September 25, 1937, page 5.

Transport workers union. General counsel. Ousted. New York Star, September 8, 1948, page 6.

Workers School.² Speaker. Daily Worker, February 28, 1938, page 3.

Workers School.² Speaker. Daily Worker, March 3, 1938, page 8.

Attorney for John Santo, Communist. Daily Worker, October 13, 1948, pages 11 and 12; September 8, 1947, page 3.

Attorney for John Gates, Communist. Daily Worker, November 8, 1948, page 8; September 21, 1948, page 3.

Attorney for Communist leaders. The Worker, November 21, 1948, page 1.

Attorney for Benjamin J. Davis, Communist. Daily Worker, January 16, 1950, page 9.

Rally to defend counsel, Manhattan Center, February 2, 1950. Speaker. Investigator Stokes report. Daily Worker, February 5, 1950, pages 1 and 3.

Conviction for contempt upheld. Daily Worker, April 6, 1950, page 3.

Signer of statement in behalf of lawyers for Communist cases. Daily Worker, June 9, 1950, page 3.

Defended in disbarment proceedings by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn. Daily Worker, December 14, 1950, page 8.

Supreme Court refused to review contempt of court conviction. Photograph, Daily Worker, February 10, 1951, page 4.

Sentenced to 6 months in jail for contempt of court. Attorney for Communist 11. Daily Worker, July 21, 1951, page 5.

Attorney for Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, on trial for contempt of court. Daily Worker, December 27, 1951, page 3.

One of the lawyers who defended the 11 Communist leaders. Permanently disbarred from practice in the southern district of New York. Daily Peoples World, January 7, 1952, page 8.

Disbarred lawyer fights for right to defend Gus Hall. Daily Worker, January 22, 1952, page 4.

Wins stay in decree on disbarment until completion of appeal of Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party. Daily Worker, January 24, 1952, page 3.

Painters Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock, Communist, and to repeal the Smith Act. To speak at meeting to be held in grand ballroom, Hotel Cornish Arms, New York City, March 1. Daily Worker, February 18, 1952, page 8 (ad).

Painters Committee to Defend Louis Weinstock, Communist. Speaker at pretrial trade union mobilization in defense of Louis Weinstock * * * to be held March 1, 1952, at Hotel Cornish Arms, New York. The Worker, March 2, 1952, page 6 (ad).

Painters Committee To Defend Louis Weinstock, Communist. Speaker at pretrial trade-union mobilization in defense of Louis Weinstock and his 16

¹ Cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

² Cited as subversive by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

codefendants under the Smith Act, March 1, at Hotel Cornish Arms. The Worker (Michigan edition) March 2, 1952, page 6 (ad).

Contempt decision upheld by Supreme Court; immediate effect of decision is a 6-month prison sentence. Daily Worker, March 11, 1952, page 1.

United States court of appeals yesterday upheld the disbarment of Sacher, attorney for his defense of 11 Communist leaders in the Smith Act trials. Photo, Daily Worker, July 7, 1953, page 3.

Disbarred from practice by decision of the Federal court of appeals for professional misconduct during trial of the 11 Communist leaders. The Worker, July 12, 1953, page 6.

Granted right to continue practice in the Federal courts while the United States Supreme Court considers his appeal against an order of disbarment. United States circuit court of appeals sitting in Hartford, Conn., granted the right. Daily Worker, July 21, 1953, page 3.

With Mary Kaufman, attorney, filed appeal brief in behalf of 13 Communist leaders sentenced under the Smith Act. Daily Peoples World, November 24, 1953, page 2.

The Supreme Court on April 5, 1954, reversed the disbarment of Sacher, one of the attorneys for the Communist leaders in the 1949 trial. Daily Worker, April 6, 1954, page 1. (Shown as "Harold" in article.)

Harry Sacher to be honored at reception in his behalf, Manhattan Towers, New York City, December 11, 1949. Daily Worker, December 5, 1949, page 2.

Biography; photo, Daily Worker, November 17, 1949, page 4.

Protested discrimination against Negroes in United States prisons. Daily Worker, October 19, 1951, page 3.

Connecticut committee to aid victims of the Smith Act, Speaker at rally in the Fiesta Room of Hotel Garde, New Haven, on March 11. Daily Worker, March 13, 1952, page 2.

Rally against Smith Act. Speaker at rally at St. Nicholas Arena, New York City, September 10. Daily Worker, September 10, 1951, page 3.

Scheduled speaker at rally to repeal the Smith Act to be held September 10 at St. Nicholas Arena, 69 West 66th Street, New York. Daily Worker, September 5, 1951, page 2.

Photograph. Daily Worker, January 7, 1952, page 1.

Joseph R. Brodsky funeral, pallbearer. Daily Worker, August 1, 1947, page 9. Congressional Record, June 10, 1946, page A3535 (Dies committee press releases and speeches).

Speaker at memorial to Joseph R. Brodsky, Communist. Daily Worker, July 28, 1948, page 5.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, in view of the fact that Mr. Cameron has not been located to be served by our subpoena, and his attorney, Mr. Faulkner, has informed the committee he is unable to locate him and produce him, a memorandum with respect to Mr. Cameron and his affiliations and activities, prepared by the staff of the subcommittee at my direction, under the supervision of the director of research, and an excerpt from the executive testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 21, 1951, with regard to Mr. Cameron, and an exhibit from the executive testimony of October 19, 1950, before the Committee on Un-American Activities Committee, being the text of a telegram sent to Mr. Angus Cameron, among others, by the chairman of the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibit Nos. 128, 128A, and 128B" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 128

D. Angus Cameron

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Committee To Defend V. J. Jerome.	Issues press release as he appeared before Senator Jenner's subcommittee in closed session (former editor in chief of Boston publishing house of Little, Brown & Co.; former chairman of Progressive Party of Massachusetts).	Daily Worker, May 8, 1953, p. 1.
	Invoked 5th amendment in refusing to answer questions concerning Communist Party membership, in an appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on May 7 (editor and publisher).	Washington Post, May 8, 1953, p. 10.
	Announced with Albert E. Kahn the formation of Cameron & Kahn, Inc., new book publishing company which will publish what other companies shy away from because of "intellectual intimidation"; also company will operate a Union Book Club, whose first selections are Kahn's book <i>The Game of Death</i> and the book <i>The Untold Story</i> , written by Herbert Morais, Richard Boyer, and Len DeCaux. Offices at 109 Greenwich Ave., New York.	Daily Worker, May 5, 1953, p. 7; the Worker, May 24, 1953, p. 8.
	Member of committee which sponsored a limited, prepublication edition of Arthur Kahn's new novel, <i>Brownstone</i> .	Daily Worker, Jan. 13, 1954, p. 7; undated form letter on letterhead of Independence Publishers, GPO, Box 42, Brooklyn.
	Signed an appeal for dissolution of Committee on Un-American Activities.	Little Brown & Co. (See: Com./Complaints, Oct. 23, 1945 and Daily Worker Oct. 20, 1945, pp. 8 and 10.)
	Chairman and speaker at protest meeting for Howard Fast, under auspices New Masses and Mainstream.	The Worker (southern edition), Oct. 12, 1947, p. 9; Advertisement in PM, Oct. 16, 1947, p. 5.
	Signer of statement against contempt proceedings.	Daily Worker, Feb. 19, 1951, p. 2.
	Signer of statement against ouster of leftwing CIO unions.	Daily Compass, Feb. 14, 1950, p. 24; Daily Worker, Feb. 15, 1950, p. 3.
	Signer of brief in behalf of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo.	Brief submitted by cultural workers in October 1949 term of the Supreme Court.
	Writer of letter to Howard Fast, on Little, Brown & Co. letterhead, on review of book <i>Spartacus</i> .	Letterhead, June 27, 1951, attached to "Trade Editorial Report * * *"
	To speak at Culture Fights Back rally to be held at Manhattan Center April 24, New York City.	Daily Worker, Apr. 10, 1952, p. 7; letter dated Apr. 14, 1952, on official letterhead; Daily Worker, Apr. 18, 1952, p. 8; Daily Worker, Apr. 28, 1952, p. 3.
	Sends message of encouragement to attorneys defending 14 Smith Act Communists in Los Angeles at banquet given in their honor.	Daily People's World, June 10, 1952, p. 3.
	An excerpt from a pamphlet <i>Publisher on Trial</i> issued by Committee To Defend Alexander Trachtenberg is carried over his name—"By Angus Cameron, Former Editor-in-Chief, Little Brown & Co."	Daily People's World, Feb. 4, 1953, p. 7.
	Signer of statement to the press on the death of the German anti-Fascist writer Friedrich Wolf (name shown Angus J. Cameron).	Daily Worker, Oct. 14, 1953, p. 7.
	Record given.....	Times Herald, Aug. 5, 1950, p. 14; Congressional Record, Aug. 8, 1950, p. A 6010.
Resigns from Little, Brown & Co.; record given.....	Times Herald, Sept. 18, 1951, p. 4.	
American Continental Congress for World Peace. ¹	Program in Spanish, Sept. 5-10, 1949, p. 7.	
American Peace Crusade ^{1 2} (New York Peace Council of APC).	Daily Worker, Aug. 7, 1953, p. 3.	
Civil Rights Congress ^{1 2}	Daily Worker, May 15, 1953, p. 3; May 18, 1953, p. 2.	

See footnotes at end of table.

D. Angus Cameron—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy. ²	Signer of open letter to President Truman, released Oct. 7, 1946. Sponsor.....	Pamphlet, <i>What Price Philippine Independence</i> , by George Phillips, pp. 30-31. Letterheads 1946 and 1947; July 11, 1947; May 28, 1948.
Masses and Mainstream ^{1,2}	Article, <i>A Trap for Intellectuals</i> Article, <i>I will Not Cooperate</i> . (Statement made "by Angus Cameron before a hearing of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee * * * in Boston, May 7. Mr. Cameron was subpoenaed shortly after the announcement of his participation in a new publishing firm, Cameron & Kahn.") National sponsor; Chicago chapter.....	Masses and Mainstream, Aug. 1953, p. 6. Masses and Mainstream, June 1953, p. 3. Letterhead dated May 5, 1950.
National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill. ¹ National Conference on American Policy in China and the Far East. ² National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. ^{1,2} National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. ¹	Sponsor..... Signer of statement urging Truman interview with Stalin. Sponsor of dinner held in honor of Henry A. Wallace on Oct. 28, 1948, Hotel Commodore, New York City. Sponsor, Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, Mar. 25-27, 1949. Signer of Resolution Against Atomic Weapons (Wayland, Mass.). Speaker at meeting for Lawson, Trumbo, and Maltz (publisher). Member, board of directors.....	"* * * Jan. 23-25, 1948, New York City"—Conference Call. Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1949, p. 4. Program, Oct. 28, 1948. New Leader, Feb. 5, 1949, p. 4; conference program, p. 12; conference call; Daily Worker, Mar. 15 1949, p. 12. Mimeographed list of signers attached to letterhead of July 28, 1950. Daily Worker, Apr. 11, 1951, p. 8. Letterhead dated Dec. 7, 1952.
Southern California Chapter of Arts, Sciences and Professions Council. Arts, Sciences, and Professions Council.	To speak on "Bookburning, 1953" at Embassy Auditorium in Los Angeles, Oct. 30. To be presented by ASP at Embassy Auditorium Nov. 20. Speech at above meeting quoted.....	People's World, Sept. 24, 1953, p. 7. Daily People's World, Nov. 4, 1953, p. 7; Daily People's World, Nov. 18, 1953, p. 7 (advertisement and article). Daily People's World, Nov. 24, 1953, p. 7. Daily Worker, Nov. 13, 1952, p. 7. Daily Worker, Dec. 11, 1953, p. 8.
New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.	To speak at reception for W. E. B. Dubois, V. J. Jerome, and Carl Marzani, Nov. 16, New York City. Scheduled speaker at a "Right to Read" program protesting book burning to be held at Manhattan Towers, Dec. 11, 1953.	Daily Worker, Dec. 11, 1953, p. 8.
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties. ^{1,2}	Signer of statement supporting War Department's order on granting commissions * * * to members of Armed Forces who have been members of or sympathetic to the views of the Communist Party. Signed statement opposing use of injunctions in labor disputes.	Undated leaflet, " * * * the only sound policy for a Democracy * * *"; Daily Worker, Mar. 18, 1945, p. 2. Advertisement, New York Times, Apr. 1, 1946, p. 16.
Samuel Adams School ²	On board of trustees.....	Catalog, spring term, 1947, p. 1.
World Congress for Peace, American Sponsoring Committee. ¹	Sponsor.....	Leaflet, World Congress for Peace, Paris, Apr. 20-23, 1949.
Bill of Rights Conference... Citizens United to Abolish the Wood-Rankin Committee.	Sponsor: New York City, July 16-17, 1949..... Supporter.....	Conference Call, p. 7. Full page advertisement, New York Times, Mar. 14, 1946, p. 18.
Committee of Welcome for "Red" Dean of Canterbury.	Member.....	Daily Worker, Sept. 22, 1948, p. 5.
Committee to Defend the Victims of the Committee on Un-American Activities.	Signer of petition to United Nations Commission on Human Rights, May 10, 1950.	Mimeographed list attached to pamphlet, <i>In Defense of Human Rights</i> .
Massachusetts Independent Progressive Party.	Chairman.....	Daily People's World, Apr. 7, 1948, p. 3.

See footnotes at end of table.

D. Angus Cameron—Continued

Organization	Affiliation	Source
National Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims.	To be present at a Citywide Amnesty Rally June 10, Chateau Gardens, New York City.	Handbill, June 10, 1954; Daily Worker, June 14, 1954, pp. 3 and 6.
National Guardian	To speak at National Guardian Fight Back Rally, May 3, at Palm Garden; rally advertised under slogan "Help Chase the Un-American Committee Out of New York."	Daily Worker, May 1, 1953, p. 8; May 5, 1953, p. 3.
National Wallace for President Committee.	Member	Membership list of Committee dated Mar. 26, 1948.
Progressive Citizens of America.	Committee treasurer. Chairman, Massachusetts chapter	Do. The Progressive Citizen, Mar. 1947, p. 4.
	Sponsor, Conference on Cultural Freedom and Civil Liberties.	People's World, Sept. 30, 1947, p. 4; PCA Politics, published by PCA, New York State chapter, Oct. 1947, p. 4; program.
	Endorses Wallace for President (Massachusetts State chairman).	New York Times, Dec. 20, 1947, p. 11.
	Delegate, 2d annual convention, Chicago, Jan. 17-18, 1948.	Partial list of delegates dated Jan. 17-18, 1948.
	Vice chairman; endorses Wallace	New York Sun, Jan. 19, 1948.
	Photo	Progressive Citizen (PCA), February 1948, p. 7.
Progressive Party	Massachusetts; chairman	The Citizen, April 1948, p. 12; Daily Worker, Apr. 5, 1948, p. 3; Daily Worker, Apr. 22, 1948, p. 11.
	Featured at rally of Progressive Party held in the Charles Street Universalist Meeting House, Boston.	Daily Worker, Dec. 14, 1953, p. 3.
Wallace Convention	Member, nominations committee	List of convention committees released by Progressive Party at Philadelphia Convention July 1948.
Wallace-for-President Committee.	Treasurer	The Citizen, April 1948, p. 2.
	Listed as signer of appeal	Leaflet, In Defence of the Right To Speak for Peace * * * Aug. 25, 1950, circulated by Robert Morss Lovett and Dean John B. Thompson.

¹ Cited by Committee and/or Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

² Cited by U. S. Attorney General.

NOTE.—See also: Testimony of Walter S. Steele (1947): pp. 51, 54, 142; Report No. 1115, Civil Rights Congress (1947): p. 23; Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for World Peace (1949): 8, 11, 19, 24, 26, 31, 33, 37, 51, 55, 57; Report on the National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill (1950): 11; Exposé of Communist Activities in the State of Massachusetts (1951): 1295; Report on the Communist "Peace" Offensive: 17, 23, 104, 108, 110, 116.

EXHIBIT No. 128-A

Subject: Angus Cameron.

Excerpt from the executive testimony of Herbert A. Philbrick before the Committee on Un-American Activities on June 21, 1951, pages 112 and 113:

"Mr. PHILBRICK. The first small group, which originated around January of 1948, included Comrades Jackie, Martha, Henry, Peg, and myself.

"Mr. NIXON. Did you subsequently further identify any of these individuals, besides Helen?

"Mr. PHILBRICK. Not completely. Jackie was a girl employed at the office of Little, Brown & Co., either in the office of Mr. Angus Cameron or in one of the offices affiliated with him.

"Mr. NIXON. How did you gather this information relative to her being in some way associated with Angus Cameron? Through comments she had made?

"Mr. PHILBRICK. Through comments that either she or one of the other comrades made one evening at the apartment of Martha Fletcher. Also, Jackie lived in Cambridge. * * *

EXHIBIT No. 128-B

Wheeler Exhibit 27, executive testimony of October 19, 1950, before the Committee on Un-American Activities:

SEPTEMBER 9, 1950.

Please send the following night letter to the list of addresses below:

"Senate votes Tuesday on McCarran bill and Kilgore concentration-camp substitute, incorporating worst features of Mundt-Ferguson and other thought-control legislation, climaxes 3-year fight against police state in our country. But even at this late hour bill can be blocked. Even in event of passage a veto fight can be successful. Veto movement has already gained substantial momentum. AFL, CIO, Bishop Sheil, many newspapers oppose bill and President Truman has committed himself to a veto. If country is aroused, the bill will be vetoed and the veto sustained. To press this fight is our committee's main work now. However, lack of funds seriously hampers us. Urge you individually or through your organization rush a contribution immediately to the committee to sustain its crucially necessary activity."

JERRY J. O'CONNELL,

Chairman, National Committee To Defeat the Mundt Bill, Washington, D. C.

* * * * *
Angus Cameron, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass.

* * * * *

Mr. SOURWINE. Since the subpoena issued by the committee for the appearance of Mrs. Mary Kaufman has not been served, since the only information which could be obtained at her home was that she had gone to Denver, but those there refused to give a Denver address, and since the subpoena was sent to Denver but has not yet been served, a memorandum prepared by the staff of the committee at my direction, and under the supervision of Mr. Mandel, the director of research, with respect to the activities and associations of Mrs. Kaufman, and a copy of the Federal employment record of Mrs. Kaufman and her form 57 as filed in connection with her Federal employment, and certain articles from the Daily Worker of various dates with reference to Mary Kaufman.

(The documents referred to were marked "Exhibits 129, 129A, 129B, and 129C" and appear below:)

EXHIBIT No. 129

MRS. MARY KAUFMAN

American Women for Peace.¹ Daily Worker, October 23, 1950, page 1.

Citizens Emergency Defense Conference.¹ To be honored at Victory Salute on October 6, 1952, at St. Nicholas Arena, New York City. Opening nationwide drive to free Smith Act victims. Daily Worker, October 3, 1952, page 1.

Citizens Emergency Defense Conference.¹ To be honored at dinner on September 18, New York City. Daily Worker, September 12, 1952, page 5.

(Attorney for 15 Smith Act Communists.)

Civil Rights Congress Bail Fund Council.¹ Photo. New York Times, July 6, 1951, page 1.

Civil Rights Congress.¹ Attorney for CRC Bail Fund. Daily Worker, July 9, 1951, page 3.

Attorney for William Z. Foster. Appeared March 23 before Senator McCarthy's subcommittee and obtained agreement that Foster would be excused from subpoena to testify on that date because of ill health. Daily Worker, March 24, 1953, page 3.

To represent Robert Thompson, New York Communist Party leader on trial for contempt. Daily Worker, September 29, 1953, pages 1 and 6.

¹ Cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

With Harry Sacher, attorney, files appeal brief in behalf of 13 Communist leaders sentenced under the Smith Act. Daily Peoples World, November 24, 1953, page 2.

Introduced at meeting of "more than 200 persons (who) greeted Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her codefendants and their families election night in Yugoslav Hall." Daily Worker, November 4, 1954, page 8.

Biography. Defends Communist cases. Writer of statement against Mundt anti-Communist bill. The Worker, April 9, 1952, section 2, page 11.

Attorney in deportation cases. Daily Worker, November 1, 1950, page 9.

To be honored by families of Smith Act victims on October 24 at Yugoslav Hall, New York City. Daily Worker, October 23, 1952, page 8 (ad).

Bronx Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act. To speak at March meeting on March 15, 3:30 p. m. at New Terrace Garden, Boston Road and 181st Street, Bronx, at which 13 defendants of recent Smith Act trial in New York will be honored guests. Daily Worker, March 11, 1953, page 3.

A defense attorney in Smith Act trial at St. Louis postponed from September 14 until January 4. Daily Worker, August 19, 1953, page 3.

Former Government employment: Attorney, Office for Emergency Management, National Labor Board, January 2, 1945 to January 1, 1946; attorney, National Wage Stabilization Board, January 1, 1946 to February 23, 1947 (reduction in force); attorney, War Department, Office of Military Government, United States Nuremberg, Germany, March 19, 1947 to July 18, 1948; attorney, Department of the Army, Office Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, European Command, August 18, 1948 to completion of agreement.

Gave as reference on form 57, December 1944, Thomas I. Emerson.

Taught reading to retarded children, New York Board of Education, August 1935 to December 1937.

Father born in Russia, naturalized.

Attorney for 13 Communist leaders (New York Times, January 11, 1955, p. 14), before United States Supreme Court.

Candidate for justice of the city court, American Labor Party, Bronx (Daily Worker, June 9, 1950, p. 5).

Defended Willie McGhee, Roosevelt Ward, aliens faced with deportation and trustees of the Civil Rights Bail Fund (Daily Worker, July 28, 1952, p. 5).

Prosecuted the Krupps, the Farbens, etc. in Germany. (Daily Worker, July 28, 1952, p. 5.)

Defended Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the Communist Party (Daily Worker, July 28, 1952, p. 5).

Sponsor, National Women's Appeal for the Rights of Foreign-born Americans (Daily Worker, January 25, 1951).

Writer of article Mundt Bill Hits the Family and Home (Worker, April 9, 1950, p. 11).

Attorney for Dorothy Forest and Robert Manewitz, Smith Act cases, St. Louis (Daily Worker February 1, 1954, p. 2; Daily Worker March 1954).

Attorney for 13 Communist leaders before United States Court of Appeals (New York Times, May 11, 1954, p. 18; Daily Worker, May 11, 1954, p. 1).

EXHIBIT No. 129-A

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
SERVICE RECORD DIVISION,
Washington 25, D. C., August 13, 1955.

STATEMENT OF FEDERAL SERVICE

Notice to individuals—This record should be preserved—Additional copies of service histories can not be furnished due to limited personnel in the Commission. This record may be presented to appointing officers for their inspection.

Name: Kaufman, Mary M.

Date of birth: 11-09-12.

Authority for original appointment (Examination from which appointed or other authority—Executive Order, Law, or other exemption): Section 4 (c) War Service Regulation V, Department Circular 497, 7-14-44.

Effective date	Nature of action	Position, grade, salary, etc.
Jan. 2, 1945	War Service Indefinite Appointment (Admitted To the New York Bar in November 1937).	Attorney, P-4, \$3,800 per annum, Office for Emergency Management, National War Labor Board, Washington, D. C.
Jan. 1, 1946	Transfer, Executive Order 9672.....	Attorney, P-5, \$5,180 per annum, National Wage Stabilization Board, Legal, Washington, D. C.
Feb. 23, 1947	Reduction in force (Liquidation of National Wage Stabilization Board, Reduction in force).	Attorney, P-5, \$5,905.20 per annum.
Mar. 19, 1947	Excepted Appointment (Schedule A-1-7 CSC Rule and Regulation).	Attorney, P-5, \$7,381.50 per annum, War Department, Office of Military Government, U. S., Nuremberg, Germany.
Aug. 18, 1948	Termination (Completion of employment agreement).	Attorney, \$6,235.20 per annum, plus 25 percent Differential, Department of the Army, Office Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, European Command, APO 696A, c/o P.M., New York, N. Y.

A. M. DEEM,
Chief, Audit Section.

The above transcript of service history does not include all salary changes, intraagency transfers within an organizational unit not involving changes from one official headquarters or duty station to another, and promotions or demotions, since Federal agencies are not required to report all such actions to the Commission.

APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Attorney
Washington, D. C.

Miss Mary Mathey Kaufman
4801 - 48th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

32 **Dec. 1964**

Nov. 9, 1912 **Vo 4801** **X 5367**

New York **Atlanta, Georgia**

32 **Dec. 1964**

Nov. 9, 1912 **Vo 4801** **X 5367**

New York **Atlanta, Georgia**

32 **Dec. 1964**

Nov. 9, 1912 **Vo 4801** **X 5367**

New York **Atlanta, Georgia**

1. If you are a citizen of the United States, please check the appropriate box in this column. If you are a naturalized citizen, check the box for "Naturalized Citizen." If you are a native-born citizen, check the box for "Native-born Citizen." If you are a foreign-born citizen, check the box for "Foreign-born Citizen." If you are a dual citizen, check the box for "Dual Citizen." If you are a resident alien, check the box for "Resident Alien." If you are a non-resident alien, check the box for "Non-resident Alien." If you are a member of the Communist Party, check the box for "Member of the Communist Party." If you are a member of any other organization, check the box for "Member of Other Organization." If you are not a member of any organization, check the box for "Not a Member of Any Organization." If you are a member of the Communist Party, check the box for "Member of the Communist Party." If you are a member of any other organization, check the box for "Member of Other Organization." If you are not a member of any organization, check the box for "Not a Member of Any Organization."

X	No.	Date	City	Organization	Occupation	No.	Date	City	Organization
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Submitted to the
New York Bar - Nov. 1937.

15. FORESEE, E. J. (Name)
 Vice-Chairman of the
 National Board of Labor Relations

16. ROY, ARTHUR (Name)
 Vice-Chairman of the
 National Board of Labor Relations

Edward Bickmanstein
 Frank Gabelber
 Mildred Roth
 Thomas I. Marston
 Prof. Magat, Jr.

New York National Nat. Labor R.
 270 Broadway, N.Y.C.
 270 Broadway, N.Y.C.
 9, P.A., Washington, D.C.
 St. John's Univ., Brooklyn, N.Y.

Vice-Chairman of Bd.
 Attorney
 Attorney
 Administrator
 Law Professor

17. Not a party to these proceedings. (Name)
 Not a party to these proceedings.

18. Not a party to these proceedings. (Name)
 Not a party to these proceedings.

19. Not a party to these proceedings. (Name)
 Not a party to these proceedings.

20. Not a party to these proceedings. (Name)
 Not a party to these proceedings.

Attorney

Engaged in private practice involving corporation problems, partnership agreements, business torts, contracts, mortgages, real estate, negligence and other matters of general practice.

Brooklyn, New York

Oct. 43 - Oct. 44

Private Practice

8799 - 21st Ave
Brooklyn

Private Practice

None

None

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE

Washington, D. C. Feb. 41
 National Labor Relations Bd.
 Washington, D. C.

Government agency
 none

Name and title of donor: **Howard Lichtenstein**
Arthur Saperstein
 Recorder hearing

Origin Attorney
 2600
 2600
 Analysis of transcripts of hearings
 reported publicly by the Board and drafted
 its decisions and opinions.

New York New York
 8/38 8/39
 Name of contributor: **Frank Scheider**
 270 Broadway
 N.Y.C.

Occupation: **Labor Lawyer**
 Reason for leaving: **none**
 Name and title of donor: **Frank Scajzner**
 Resigned

Attorney
 1200
 1400
 Negotiated and drew up labor contracts
 participated in conferences and hearings held
 before the N. L. State and National Labor
 Relations boards, settled disputes, investigated
 charges of unfair labor practices and petitions
 for representation, prepared cases for trial
 and performed other related labor relations
 duties.

Place: Brooklyn Date: Jan 38 Name of emp: Prof. David S. Edgar Jr. Address: St. John's Univ., Brooklyn, N. Y. Kind of business or organization: Annotate Restatement Number of employees: 15 Attorneys Reason for this entry: Prof. Edgar Reason for leaving: Resigned	Place: New York Date: Aug 39 Name of emp: Legal Research and Editor Address: Legal research, editing and drafting for the annotation to the Restatement of the Law of Torts. Kind of business or organization: Legal Research and Editor Number of employees: 1200 Reason for this entry: Legal Research and Editor Reason for leaving: Home
Place: Brooklyn, N.Y. Date: 8 36 Name of emp: N.Y.C. Bd. of Education Address: N.Y.C. N.Y.C. Kind of business or organization: Educational Number of employees: None Reason for this entry: Dorothy Bilderssee Reason for leaving: Resigned	Place: Brooklyn Date: 19 37 Name of emp: Home Address: Home Kind of business or organization: Home Number of employees: 1200 Reason for this entry: Home Reason for leaving: Home

1. Name of the person or persons who were interviewed.
 2. Date of interview.
 3. Name of the person or persons who were interviewed.
 4. Date of interview.

38. Do you hold any position of influence which may be a source of publicity, **not at time of application** (see 45) (see 45)

39. Do you have any relatives or other family members of foreign birth or birthplace in the United States, Canada, or any other country? If so, give names, birth dates, and addresses of each.

40. State name and address of each of the employers of your wife (if any).

N.Y.C. Board of Transportation

41. Do you employ others (give names and addresses) (see 45) (see 45)

42. Do you have any other persons (give names and addresses) (see 45) (see 45)

43. Do you have any other persons (give names and addresses) (see 45) (see 45)

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60. Do you have any other persons (give names and addresses) (see 45) (see 45)

**41(a) Rita Leuchner Matlay, Mother
Rusia, naturalized 1938 N.Y.**

**Nathan Matlay, father
Rusia, naturalized
1927 (I) N.Y.
(abt certain of date)**

Legal

None

61. Do you have any other persons (give names and addresses) (see 45) (see 45)

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Mary L. Kaufman
Quest. no. 37

9/39 - 1/40 - Prof. David S. Edgar
(Same as 1/38 - 8/38)

2/41 - 10/43 - Unemployed (Home duties)

1. I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939. I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939. I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939.

Mary Miller Kaufman

I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939. I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939. I am a member of the Communist Party of the United States of America since 1939.

2/44

day

(General Sec. Authority for Employee Files)

[Daily Worker, New York, September 29, 1952]

FIRST DEFENSE WITNESS AT "13" TRIAL

By Harry Raymond (reprinted from late edition of *The Worker*)

Defense witnesses, the first of whom will be called to testify Tuesday, in the trial of the 13 New York Communists will show that the program of the Communist Party is no cellar conspiracy but a widely publicized platform of a political party "centered around the objective of securing peace, democracy and economic security," Mary Kaufman, attorney for two of the defendants, told the jury Friday.

The evidence will show, she said, that in carrying out this program the defendants fought for full employment, higher wages, equal rights for the Negro people and the defense of civil rights.

Defense witnesses will also testify, she added that it is the aim of the Communist Party to build a people's coalition "strong and powerful enough to elect a government that could eliminate the danger of fascism and war."

"This is what they (the defendants) describe as a people's front government," Mrs. Kaufman said. "The evidence will show they believed such a government would make possible a peaceful advancement to socialism."

Mrs. Kaufman, who was a member of the prosecution staff in the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals, was the second defense attorney to address the jury at the opening of the defense.

The defense case was launched Thursday by James Wright, Washington Negro lawyer. Defense attorneys John T. McTernan, Frank Serri and defendants Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, acting as their own counsel, made their opening statements at the beginning of the trial.

The defense opened after Judge Edward J. Dimock acquitted Simon W. Gerson and Isidore Begun, two of the defendants.

Mrs. Kaufman told the jury that Betty Gannett and Louis Weinstock, the two defendants she represented, "gave their first allegiance to the people of this country."

"Out of their hatred of misery and want, out of a deep faith in their fellowmen, they decided to work for an America where the dignity of every person would be fully realized," she said. "They joined the Communist Party because they believed it stood for this dignity. They believed that only through socialism could this be accomplished."

Mrs. Kaufman told how Miss Gannett came here from Europe with her parents as a young child, was educated in the elementary and business schools, and at 16 "became the breadwinner" for her family.

"She saw the sweatshop conditions under which her family had to toil," Mrs. Kaufman said. "She saw in her fellow human beings a great talent to make something better. She began to read books on social problems. Her studies brought her to the Communist Party."

Mrs. Kaufman told how Miss Gannett, at 20, went into the coal mining fields of Ohio and West Virginia, where she helped miners and their wives to organize in face of terror.

"We will show she worked to start such great unions as auto, rubber and steel," the lawyer declared. "When the great depression occurred, Miss Gannett and others like her began to organize the unemployed. With this organization, with many struggles, which included beatings and jailings, evictions were stopped, relief and unemployment insurance was won."

Miss Gannett became a leader and a teacher in the Marxist movement and was later placed in the educational department of the party's national leadership, Mrs. Kaufman stated, and the main overt act charged against her was an article she wrote "urging unity, peace and security."

Weinstock, the lawyer said, came here from Hungary, became a house painter, "learned that millions of immigrant workers were subject to special discrimination" learned of the labor struggles from the great strikes and joined the Communist Party.

As leader of his local painters union, Mrs. Kaufman recalled, Weinstock concerned himself with the needs of the unemployed, and organized 3,000 AFL locals into the AFL Committee for Relief and Unemployment Insurance. This, she pointed out, was a large factor in winning the fight for relief and government insurance for the jobless.

She told how Weinstock led the fight which rid the building trades unions of gangster leadership, how as leader of Painters District Council 9 for 10 years he opened the door that had heretofore barred Negro workers from the painters unions, how he was officially cited for rallying the painters in support of the war against Germany and Japan.

[DW Sunday Worker, October 12, 1953]

MISS FLYNN REFUTES BUDENZ LIES ON CP

(By Harry Raymond)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, testifying in the Foley Square Smith Act trial began the process of refuting the police version of Communist Party history as presented by the prosecution's star witness, the informer Louis F. Budenz.

Miss Flynn, member of the party's national committee and one of the 13 remaining defendants reciting in detail the developments in the United States Communist movement in 1944-45, had arrived, at the close of the court session, at the period in 1944 when the anti-Marxist theories of Earl Browder prevailed, with dissolution of the party and establishment of the Communist Political Association.

Miss Flynn, who will continue her testimony today, told the jury she attended the three sessions of the January 1944, national committee meeting, at which Browder proposed formation of the CPA. She refuted Budenz' story that Browder's anti-Marxist plan was first offered at a "preliminary meeting" of the committee.

Miss Flynn told the jury that Browder's plan was presented before 500 persons attending the first enlarged session of the committee meeting.

Mrs. Kaufman picked up a bulky volume of the trial record and read an excerpt from Budenz' testimony which said that Browder, addressing the meeting, stated the structure of the Communist organization should be changed and the question of socialism should not be set forth as in the past, so that it would appear "Communism was diminishing in the United States," and groundwork could thereby be laid for "American acquiescence to Soviet control of China."

"I never heard anyone in the Communist Party say that," Miss Flynn declared.

She summarized Browder's report to the 1944 meeting. Her summary, which further refuted Budenz, outlined Browder's anti-Marxist proposal of uniting with monopoly capitalists who, he said, would voluntarily double wages and work for peace and colonial liberation in the postwar period.

[DW, October 3, 1952, p. 1]

BRILLIANT SPEAKER LIST FOR GERSON, BEGUN RALLY

A star-studded array of speakers will lead off the salute to Simon W. Gerson and Isidore Begun, the two acquitted Smith Act defendants, at St. Nicholas Arena, Monday at 7 p. m.

Conducted by the Citizens Emergency Defense Conference, the victory salute will open up a new intensified nationwide drive to win freedom for all Smith Act victims.

Coming in for a major share of the salute will be Mary Kaufman, James Wright, Frank Serri, and John T. McTernan, the four defense attorneys at the Foley Square trial.

A ticker-tape greeting will be accorded to Gerson and Begun, and to Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Pettis Perry, speaking for the 13 remaining defendants. The four will speak over WMCA beginning at 10:05 p. m., in a broadcast from the arena stage.

Among the speakers will be B. Z. Goldberg, Jewish Day, columnist; I. F. Stone, Compass, columnist; Abner W. Berry, Daily Worker columnist; and John T. McManus, National Guardian editor.

Sharing the stage with them will be William Patterson, Mrs. Halois Moorhead Robinson, Howard Fast, Dashiell Hammett, and Ben Gold, president of the International Fur and Leather Workers Union.

[DW, November 14, 1952, p. 3]

STRAIGHT REPLIES TO TWISTED QUERIES AT SMITH ACT TRIAL

(By Harry Raymond)

"I'm not a quiz kid," Elizabeth Gurley Flynn sharply informed the Federal prosecutor yesterday in the Foley Square Smith Act trial. Her quick-witted remark, which evoked laughter from the long rows of spectators' benches in Judge Edward J. Dimock's courtroom, followed tricky questions by Prosecutor David L. Marks.

Miss Flynn, one of the 13 defendants and the second defense witness, testified under cross-examination.

Marks questioned her about the exact time and place of Communist Party national committee meetings 1938 to 1947.

Whenever she made an error in the number of meetings held in a given year or the time of a meeting, Marks would remark sarcastically her memory was "better under direct examination."

She replied that during direct examination there was continuity to her testimony, and that prior to each session she was able to refresh her memory from her old datebooks, news clippings, and resolutions.

She testified she thought the party constitution required two national committee meetings a year. When Marks noted the requirement was for three, she replied:

"I'm not a quiz kid on these things. I was not connected with the organization department of the party and do not know every detail."

STALE TRICKS

Marks resorted to all the old tricks of a police-court lawyer, but Miss Flynn remained calm under the razzle-dazzle questioning.

Defense Attorney Mary Kaufman at one point remarked that two new men had appeared at the prosecutor's table. She requested the newcomers to be identified, and they were formally introduced as Joseph D. Tekulsky, a newly appointed assistant prosecutor, and John Kennedy, a special FBI agent.

Marks asked Miss Flynn if representatives of the Communist International were present in this country up to 1940, when the United States Communist Party disaffiliated with the Communist International. She said she did not know of any such representatives.

[DW, July 1, 1953, p. 3]

SIXTEEN'S ATTORNEYS GRILL STOOLIE ON TRUTHFULNESS

(By Harry Raymond)

Credibility of the testimony of an FBI informer went under the attack of 2 defense lawyers when the Smith Act trial of the 16 New York Communists resumed yesterday after a 2-week adjournment.

John Lautner, the informer who had been expelled by the Communist Party in 1950, was a balky witness when questioned under cross-examination by Defense Attorneys James Wright and Mary Kaufman. His replies to the attorneys' questions revealed much of his direct testimony offered earlier in the trial to be pure fabrication.

Lautner, who "remembered" under direct examination minute details of alleged remarks and teachings in a 1930 study class, could not remember, when questioned yesterday, accurately recorded events which took place when he was in West Virginia during 1939-40. His memory likewise failed when questioned by defense counsel about the Communist Party's teachings as late as 1945.

Marion Bachrach, a defendant, was not in court yesterday. When her absence was noted, defense and Government attorneys were called into Judge Edward J. Dimock's chambers. A telephone call to her home revealed she was ill and preparing to go to a hospital for treatment.

Discussion of counsel and the court in chambers was apparently on Mrs. Bachrach's inability to attend court. The record of the discussion was sealed by the judge. But when the trial continued without her, it was believed defense counsel agreed to go ahead with the trial with the possible understanding that a motion would be offered to sever her case if her illness requires long hospitalization.

Attorney Wright's cross-examination went directly to Lautner's truthfulness as a witness. He asked the witness if it was not a fact that when he was assigned in the late 1930's as West Virginia Communist Party organizer he established his headquarters in Charleston in the office of Harold Houston, an attorney. Lautner said that was so.

Wright then reminded the witness he had testified during direct examination that he had no headquarters in West Virginia and "carried my office in my vest pocket."

Question. Was Mr. Houston's office swallowed up and carried in your vest pocket?

Answer. I had space in his office.

Wright continued to question Lautner about his West Virginia days. Lautner said he recalled organizing 4 or 5 meetings for defendant, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in that State in 1939.

But under Wright's prodding, the witness admitted that during April and June 1939, Miss Flynn addressed some 30 meetings in the State, including 1 organized by a United Mine Workers local across the river in Auburn, Ky.

* * * * *

[Daily Worker, New York, Friday, September 26, 1952]

"13" OPEN DEFENSE AT FOLEY Sq.

(By Harry Raymond)

The defense in the Smith Act trial of the 13 New York Communists opened yesterday, nearly 6 months after the trial began, with 2 defense attorneys telling the jury that testimony of defense witnesses and documentary evidence would expose the prosecution's "conspiracy" charge as a shabby hoax.

Opening defense statements were made by James Wright, Washington, D. C. Negro attorney, and Mary Kaufman, New York labor lawyer who served on the prosecution staff in the Nuremberg trial of the Nazi war criminals.

Wright launched the defense by outlining the activities and beliefs of George Blake Charney and Arnold S. Johnson, the defendants he represents.

Mrs. Kaufman, representing defendants Louis Weinstock and Betty Gannett, charged they and their codefendants were victims of a "political trial." She is scheduled to conclude her opening today, when the first defense witness is expected to be called.

JOHNSON'S LIFE

Wright told how Johnson, a native of Seattle, attended the University of California, the National University Law School and the Union Theological Seminary. After being a lumber worker in the Northwest, Wright said, Johnson became director of religious education in Mount Holley College and later, in the 1930's became an organizer of the unemployed in the Unemployed League and the Workers Alliance.

It was during this period, in 1936, that Johnson joined the Communist Party, the lawyer stated, where he functioned as a legislative director before State and Federal legislative bodies, and later became chairman of the Ohio party.

"The evidence will show that Johnson's one 'overt directive' was an article he wrote for the magazine, Political Affairs, dealing with the Communist fight for the tradition of the Fourth of July," Wright said. "The evidence will show Johnson and his codefendants carried forward in that tradition, the democratic tradition of Jefferson, Paine, Washington, and Lincoln."

Charney, Wright said, was born in the Ukraine, in Czarist Russia, in 1905, and became an American citizen through the citizenship of his father who emigrated with his family. The son of a Bronx dress-goods store operator, Charney received his education in the New York public schools, becoming president of his class in Morris High School, the lawyer recounted. He told how Charney graduated from the University of Pennsylvania, later studied at Harvard, and was admitted to the bar after receiving a law degree from New York University.

JOINED CP IN 1933

Wright said Charney later worked as a credit statistician and was co-counsel for a dress firm, joining the Communist Party in 1933. Charney's lawyer said the defendant was "impressed by the fight of the Communists against Hitler

in Europe and the Communist Party's role in the Scottsboro case in the United States."

Charney's first activity as a Communist was also an organizer of the unemployed, his lawyer added, and he later became an organizer of dining-car workers and was elected to party leadership in New England, where he represented the party at legislative hearings.

In addition, Wright told the jury, Charney in 1936 helped to build the CIO. The jury heard how he campaigned for the needs of Negro and Puerto Rican workers in Harlem and then became the leader of the Queens County party organization.

FOUGHT IN WAR

Charney served in the Pacific for 3 years as a technical sergeant in New Guinea, Hawaii, and the Philippines, and was awarded the Bronze Star, the lawyer said.

Wright said: "The lives of both Johnson and Charney are the lives, of typical Americans. They believe socialism would lead to a better and more abundant life for all Americans."

The evidence will show, Wright declared, that the defendants "did teach Marxism-Leninism in the most devoted manner. But," he said "they did not understand Marxism-Leninism to mean violent overthrow of the Government as speedily as possible."

AIMS CLEARLY TOLD

Wright said the defense would show the defendants have "no blueprint for revolution," as claimed by the prosecution, and that their aims are clearly outlined in the Communist Party constitution which is in no way in conflict with American democracy.

He said the evidence would show the falseness of the charge that the Communist Party's fight to end Jim Crow, discrimination against Negroes, the poll tax and lynch law was "window dressing."

Wright pointed out he disagreed with many points in the Communist program, but he firmly believed they had a right to teach and advocate that program.

Mrs. Kaufmann, in her presentation, was interrupted several times by Assistant Prosecutor, David L. Marks when she referred to the case as a "political trial" and when she referred to the defense as "fighting for civil rights."

Mrs. Kaufman assailed the prosecutors' contention that "Marxism-Leninism means force and violence" and that repudiation of Earl Browder's anti-Marxist policies constituted "conspiracy."

Earlier, Judge Edward J. Dimock heard argument on the Government's motion to quash a defense subpoena for Attorney General James McGranery to produce records of money paid by the Justice Department to the 10 Government witnesses. He withheld final decision until October 2.

The trial will continue for half-day today. It will be recessed Monday because of Yom Kippur.

[DW, December 3, 1953, p. 1]

ELIZABETH FLYNN FACES JAIL TODAY

(By Harry Raymond)

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn concluded her 32 days of hitting testimony in the Foley Smith Act trial yesterday. The court then, on motion by the defense, granted her a brief respite from a frameup 30-day "contempt" jail sentence until 10:30 a. m. today.

When the courageous Communist woman leader wound up a long recital at 12:15 p. m., Judge Edward J. Dimock questioned her briefly. For the second time she bravely refused to identify a man and a woman as Communists, as demanded November 20 by United States Attorney Myles J. Lane. And she vigorously attacked the "deliberate" motive of the prosecutor in engineering the "contempt" action.

The judge ordered her committed at once to serve the "contempt" sentence in the Women's House of Detention.

But following a conference with counsel, he rescinded the order and gave her until this morning to confer with defense lawyers and her 12 codefendants.

After the conference, it was announced defense counsel had advised the court it had reached a point where an important decision had to be made which would determine the length of the trial, now in progress for 9 months.

It was further announced the defense told the court it hoped the conference of defendants and counsel may result in shortening the trial. The brief deferment of Miss Flynn's jail sentence was granted so she could be present at the important defense conference.

Miss Flynn, who is acting as her own counsel, finished her testimony following a brief badgering session of recross-examination by Assistant Prosecutor David L. Marks. She appeared exhausted from the long days of grueling examination. But she faced the court and the pending jail sentence calmly and with a pleasant smile.

Judge Dimock asked her if she would now reply to the prosecutor's two questions hurled at her last month, which she then refused to answer.

"Will you now state if you know a man named Lou Diskin?" the judge asked, reading the question from the trial record. Miss Flynn stated again she would not act as an informer and identify persons as Communists, thus subjecting them to harassment and persecution.

"Will you now state whether a woman named Clara Bodian attended meetings of the (Communist Party) National Women's Commission between 1947 and 1951?" the judge inquired, repeating the second unanswered question.

"I have testified she was not a member of the National Women's Commission, and she was not chairman of the State Women's Commission," Miss Flynn replied. She said she believed she had sufficiently replied to the prosecutor's questions concerning the work of the State and National Women's Commission of the Communist Party.

She again refused to state whether Clara Bodian attended meetings of the national commission.

Judge Dimock said he believed it would be a trivial matter to answer the question.

"It isn't trivial to me," Miss Flynn declared. "I stated I will not identify a person as a member of the Communist Party."

Judge Dimock noted he had granted a stay of the 30-day contempt sentence on November 20 until Miss Flynn had concluded her testimony.

A woman deputy marshal appeared on the scene and the judge ordered Miss Flynn committed. Defense Attorney Mary Kaufman asked that sentence be deferred until the trial ends. She said Miss Flynn was her own attorney and that to confine her in a cell each night would deny the defendant access to the mountainous piles of legal documents and to conferences with counsel and defendants.

"It would shut her off," the attorney declared, "and deny due process."

Defense Attorney John T. McTernan argued that the questions Miss Flynn refused to answer had nothing to do with the search for the truth. He said he did not think he would be able adequately to defend his clients if Miss Flynn was jailed and made unavailable for consultation.

"I ask Your Honor to ponder this very carefully," McTernan declared. "I ask modification of the sentence or a stay of execution so as not to interfere with the right of a vigorous defense."

Defense Attorney James Wright noted other judges had deferred similar contempt sentences until the conclusion of the trial.

Postponement of Miss Flynn's sentence, Attorney Frank Serri declared, would give the judge a further chance to consider this case.

"You are attempting to force her to violate a great American tradition, never to be a spy, never to be an informer," Serri said.

Pettis Perry, defendant acting as his own counsel, reminded the judge Miss Flynn was the only member of the party's national committee among the defendants. He said it was necessary to consult constantly with her on matters of the case. To jail in the midst of the trial, he argued, would impose a heavy hardship on each defendant.

Miss Flynn vigorously attacked the bad motives of the prosecution for precipitating the contempt action. She charged it was done deliberately.

She refused, however, to ask for withdrawal of the sentence, but requested that it be deferred until the end of the trial.

"It would be much easier for me to go to the House of Detention and stay there for 30 days," she said. "But to go there daily involved things very obnoxious and repulsive to a woman of my age. This is as though I was sentenced 30 times over."

Counsel explained Miss Flynn was objecting to the jail routine of being stripped of her clothing each day she arrives from court and examined minutely like a common criminal for narcotics.

Mr. SOURWINE. In view of the testimony before this committee by Mr. Joseph Starobin, an article from the Worker of October 10, 1954 entitled "Mao on 'The Living Soul of Marxism,'" reviewed by Joseph Starobin.

(The article referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 130" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 130

MAO ON "THE LIVING SOUL OF MARXISM"

(Mao Tse-tung: Selected Works, Vol. I and II, International Publishers, \$2.50. Reviewed by Joseph Starobin.)

Here are two books (the third and fourth volumes are promised as soon) which are bound to make a deep impression in our country. The big press, and its Sunday magazine reviewers, may ignore them, thus exercising their terrible power to misinform the public by simply keeping it in ignorance. Yet, I think that Mao's works will constitute a sort of underground stream—that will bubble up again and again throughout the winding courses of American life, and will refresh its muddy and stagnant waters.

No one who reads these essays, which begin at the critical moment in Kuomintang-Communist relations during the first revolution in 1928, and closed in 1938, when the united front had been reestablished on a new basis, can fail to be deeply affected by them. The whole canvas of China's titanic revolution is here, in its ebb and its flow. And the many-sidedness of Mao's leadership is equally striking. He is able to dissect the different class groupings in his native province of Hunan, and write profound studies of the tactics of guerrilla warfare, and also contribute essays on philosophy (both the famous studies, On Contradiction, and On Practice are here) and at the same time deal with problems of morality, history, and government.

What stands out is Mao Tse-tung's prolonged and persistent battle against the sectarianism which afflicted the Chinese Communists over the whole formative period covered in these two volumes. Mao was in constant battle with opportunism in all its varieties. Six or seven years went by before his ideas won out. Again and again, he comments on how costly were the mistakes which led to so many defeats before victory could become possible.

What was the heart of his ideas? "The most essential thing in Marxism, the living soul of Marxism," he says, quoting Lenin, "is the concrete analysis of concrete conditions." Without a concrete study of China, of her peculiarities, of her actual relations, nothing could be accomplished, Mao insists again and again. "Communists are internationalist-Marxists," he says in 1938, "but Marxism must be integrated with the specific characteristics of our country and given a national form before it can be put into practice."

Later in the same essay: "how to turn Marxism into something specifically Chinese, to imbue every manifestation of it with Chinese characteristics, that is, to supply it in accordance with Chinese characteristics becomes a problem which the whole party must understand and solve immediately."

From these precepts followed his own proposals for a protracted warfare of a guerrilla character, carried out by an army which would arouse and express the agrarian revolution, and unite all the other revolutionary forces, including the national bourgeoisie of China, for the establishment of a people's power under the leadership of the working class and its Communist Party. Each proposition had to be fought for. Some took years to establish.

Mao Tse-tung stressed another proposition, of which his own work was an example. We are "mere schoolboys," he says at one point, in assimilating China's historical legacy. "The China of today has developed from the China in history, and as we are believers in the Marxist approach to history, we must not cut off our whole historical past. We must make a summing-up from Confucius down to Sun Yat-sen, and inherit this precious legacy."

He urges that abstract and doctrinaire talk be stopped, in order to make room for the fresh and lively things of Chinese style and Chinese flavor which the common folk of China love to see and hear.

His own style follows this advice. He is constantly referring to the classics of China's literature and theater. His prose is well argued without ever losing its dignity and assurance. It is strong and sharp without ever becoming invective. It is clear and simple without ever being oversimplified.

The importance of these volumes goes far beyond their academic value and I should not forget the excellent and informative notes in each book. All of us, whether students of China or not, can study them with profit. And their importance is also not a partisan one at all. I noticed the other day that a correspondent, describing the much-traveled John Foster Dulles, reports the Secretary of State to be a devoted reader of Stalin's Problems of Leninism, a classic of Marxism to which Mao's works make an excellent companion piece.

I doubt whether everything that is good for Mr. Dulles is the best for the rest of us. But surely we can all keep up with his reading.

International Publishers, as so often in its history, has performed a service of national value in giving us Mao's works. Mr. Dulles will read them for his own purposes. But for all those Americans, whether they are partisans of Mao's thought or not, who want to see our country find the basis for stable, normal, peaceful and fruitful relations with China, one-fourth of humanity, these books will be useful and stimulating. Our highest interests as a people and a Nation will be advanced by reading and studying them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a letter addressed to the chairman of the subcommittee from Mr. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the memorandum enclosed therewith.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 131" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 131

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, March 16, 1955.

HON. JAMES O. EASTLAND,

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

DEAR SENATOR EASTLAND: Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of March 11, 1955, relative to Harvey M. Matusow.

In compliance with your request, I have had Donald T. Appell, an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities, prepare the enclosed memorandum reflecting the steps taken by him and the staff of the committee to verify the reliability of Mr. Matusow prior to his public appearance before the committee in 1952.

While the enclosed memorandum deals with the appearance of Matusow only, you are advised that no witness is permitted to testify before the Committee on Un-American Activities, during which testimony he is expected to identify individuals as current or prior members of the Communist Party, unless the committee has conducted a thorough investigation for the purpose of determining the reliability of the witness.

With kind personal regards, I am
Sincerely yours,

FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman.*

MEMO

MARCH 16, 1955.

To: Hon. Francis E. Walter, *Chairman.*
From: Donald T. Appell, *Investigator.*
Subject: Harvey M. Matusow.

In September 1951, John J. Edmiston called from Dayton, Ohio, to advise that he had interviewed Sgt. Harvey M. Matusow, who was stationed at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio. Edmiston advised that, during his interview with him, Matusow brought out that he had been a member of the Communist Party in New York City for several years; further, that, because of Matusow's membership in the Communist Party, Matusow was unable to receive desirable assignments within the Air Force; and that, therefore, Matusow desired to make public the fact that he had been a member of the Communist Party and

had made his knowledge of the Communist Party available to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

In late September 1951, upon direction of the Committee on un-American Activities, I proceeded to Dayton, Ohio, for the purpose of interviewing Sgt. Matusow. Prior to contacting Matusow, I interviewed his superior officers at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base and reviewed Matusow's personnel files. One form contained in Matusow's personnel files listed Communist organizations in which Matusow claimed previous membership. The list, starting with the Communist Party, contained the names of nearly 40 organizations or practically all Communist organizations in existence following World War II.

Staff officers at Wright-Patterson were assured that the committee was interested in Sgt. Matusow only as a former member of the Communist Party. The committee was not interested in the fact that Matusow was in September 1951 on active duty with the Air Force.

Arrangements were made, due to the lack of facilities at the base, for Matusow to be interviewed by me in my hotel room in Dayton. In view of the fact that the committee had no facilities for reimbursing Matusow for his travel from the base to Dayton, the Air Force agreed to supply him with transportation from the motor pool.

During the initial interview with Matusow, he broadly outlined the circumstances under which he joined the Communist Party, his activities within the Communist Party, and the circumstances under which he left; namely, an expulsion by the Communist Party itself.

Matusow, at this interview, also named the Communist-front organizations in which he was active as a member of the Communist Party. His activity in connection with many Communist-front organizations was merely in the form of a paper membership. His knowledge with respect to these organizations was very restricted. Matusow then named individuals about whom he claimed to have knowledge with respect to their membership in the Communist Party.

Matusow named many individuals as members of the Communist Party and, in order to test his knowledge of these persons, he was requested to prepare for the committee a history of his life and a detailed description of each individual with whom he was acquainted.

Matusow was placed under subpoena, as the committee had directed. He was advised at the time of service, however, that it would be necessary for the committee to check his statements and that, therefore, he should not report as directed in the subpoena unless further notified by the committee.

In compliance with this request, Matusow prepared a 71-page document which detailed his life, his relationship with the Communist Party and its front organizations, and his knowledge of individuals with whom he met as a member of the Communist Party. This 71-page document was later supplemented by a 35-page document which dealt only with his description of individuals.

In October 1951, prior to and following the receipt of Matusow's documents, an investigation was conducted to verify the information submitted by him. This investigation substantiated the fact that Matusow had been a member of the Communist Party, was expelled by the Communist Party on charges, and that during the last year of his membership in the Communist Party he was a source of information for the FBI.

The documents submitted by Matusow dealt in the main with his associations within the Communist Party, American Youth for Democracy, the Labor Youth League, People's Songs, the Jefferson School, and camps such as Camp Unity and Camp Arrowhead.

The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities reflected that all the organizations listed above had a direct tie with the Communist Party and were, in fact, Communist-controlled organizations. People's Songs, with which Matusow had a direct association, including employment of a sort, was cited as a Communist-front organization by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

Matusow physically described a majority of the individuals to whom he referred. Regarding others, he recited incidents and events which could have resulted only from personal knowledge. These individuals were then made the subject of an investigation. This investigation disclosed that all of the individuals mentioned by Matusow fell in one of the following categories:

- (1) They had previously been identified as members of the Communist Party.
- (2) They were publicly known as members of the Communist Party.
- (3) They associated with Communist organizations.
- (4) They associated with known members of the Communist Party.

After this determination, Matusow was advised to appear before the committee on November 27, 1951. Authority was given to Matusow to proceed to his home, en route to Washington, D. C., for the purpose of obtaining additional documentary evidence relating to his associations with certain individuals and organizations.

On November 27, 1951, Matusow testified in executive session. During his appearance before the committee, Matusow presented photographs which he had in his possession of individuals about whom he was testifying. Many of these photographs were personal snapshots made at Camp Unity, during a Communist Party-sponsored trip to Puerto Rico, and/or at other Communist gatherings.

During the course of Matusow's executive testimony, he was asked about individuals affiliated with People's Songs, AYD, and LYL. These individuals were known to the committee to have had Communist Party affiliations. These individuals were, however, in addition to the names volunteered by Matusow and, in almost every instance, Matusow denied knowledge of Communist Party affiliations of every one not included on his list.

As a result of interviews and this executive testimony, the committee found Matusow to possess limited knowledge of the Communist Party and its members. His knowledge dealt mainly with the youth activities of the Communist Party, its front organizations among youth, and the leadership of the Communist Party which reached into all levels of Communist life.

The committee, having determined the reliability of Matusow with respect to those items about which he had testified in executive session, ordered him to again appear before the committee in open session in February 1952.

Matusow's public testimony was nearly identical to the testimony which he gave in executive session. He was a witness in open session for a shorter period than he was in executive session, because his public testimony was restricted solely to those individuals he swore were, to his knowledge, members of the Communist Party. In addition, through an oversight on the part of the committee, Matusow was not asked about, nor did he volunteer testimony in open session relative to, many individuals whom he had identified in executive session as members of the Communist Party.

Matusow's testimony was printed, and has been released to the American public for over 3 years, during which time the committee has had no correspondence or messages of any sort from any individual denying or refuting the testimony given by Matusow.

Matusow's only other appearance before the Committee on Un-American Activities was in July 1954, when he was subpoenaed to answer, under oath, questions relating to his alleged statements to the effect that he had lied in his testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities in 1952. At this appearance in July 1954, Matusow swore that his testimony before the committee in 1952 had been the truth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a letter from Harvey Matusow to Dick O'Melia, dated July 25, 1953.

(The document was marked exhibit No. 132 and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 132

LETTER FROM MATUSOW, DATED JULY 25, 1953, AT LAS VEGAS, NEV., TO DICK O'MELIA, AT SUMNER, MD., AND ENCLOSED IN AN ENVELOPE OF THE TWIN LAKES LODGE, AT LAS VEGAS

July 25, 1953—Las Vegas, Nev.—H. Matusow

Number 1—

A story was published in the Las Vegas Sun, this morning, on the statement of A. Eisenhower on McCarthy. It was through this story that I got to meet H. G. At first he didn't know who I was, or at least said he didn't know the name.

I went out to his home on Huston Drive about noon and had lunch with him and his wife (Huston Drive). The books in his library are not of a political nature. The only one there was "McCarthyism—Man Senator etc." by Drew Pearson's man, Jack Anderson. H. G. said he received the book from Drew Pearson a few days before McCarthy arrived here during the 1952 election campaign.

During lunch I told H. G. who I was and what I had been doing in the past year. When I did he became a little nervous and had a puzzled look on his face. He then said "I don't care what they do (McCarran and McCarthy), they can't pin anything on me."

I told him that I hate communism but I don't like McCarran and McCarthy, for they are not helping in the fight against communism. I told him that I only worked for McCarthy and the committees so that I could fight them, just as I had done when I was in the Communist Party working for the FBI.

H. G. didn't know what to say at this point. He told me that he needed a good investigator but didn't know if he could trust me or not. But he is willing to try me out.

He told me that most of his information of McCarran and McCarthy that comes from Washington, is received from Drew Pearson who he, H. G. has weekly contact with. I told H. G. to contact Jack Anderson, of Pearson's staff, who I have pulled this same deal with. Up to date I haven't given Pearson any information, but they think that they can count on me. (The story about Billie and I in January and May was not my doing but I have been in contact with Anderson for same reasons as present situation.)

H. G. told me that Dorothy Schiff of New York Post is his money contact in the East. He said that she helped raise the money he needed to fight the suit against McCarran.

He also told me that his interests at the Desert Inn, are 30 percent of the hotel, and 1 percent of the gaming, as well as a percentage of the new TV station here.

It is going to take a few weeks before I get any real information from him, but I'll watch out, and work at it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, an article from the Daily Worker of February 16, 1955, recounts the fact that the president of the Mine, Mill Union has urged an investigation of what he calls "professional witnesses."

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 133" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 133

SMELTER UNION ASKS CONGRESS PROBE STOOLIES

DENVER, February 15.—A request for a congressional investigation of all "professional witnesses" was sent to every Member of the United States Senate and House by John Clark, president of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers.

Clark's letter was accompanied by a four-page newspaper, giving the story of Harvey Matusow's recantation of the testimony on which Clinton Jencks, a Mine-Mill organizer, was convicted on Taft-Hartley affidavit charges in 1954.

Clark called the attention of Congressmen and Senators to the January 28 column of Stewart Alsop suggesting that "Matusow's confession is likely to initiate a serious investigation of this new postwar profession of the informer."

"We respectfully urge," Clark wrote, "that such an investigation by the appropriate committees of Congress be undertaken immediately. We agree with Mr. Alsop that it could 'have good results for the political health of the United States.'"

Mr. SOURWINE. Next a column from the Daily Worker by George Morris, entitled "The World of Labor" and subheaded "Matusow Confessions and the Frameup System."

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 134" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 134

[Daily Worker, February 2, 1955, p. 5]

WORLD OF LABOR

(By George Morris)

MATUSOW CONFESSIONS AND THE FRAMEUP SYSTEM (1)

In the past few days we saw some significant developments on the civil liberties front, but the most important of them is the dramatic confession of the much-used professional informer Harvey Matusow, that he lied deliberately on the many witness stands in thought control trials and hearings in which he figured

prominently. Stoolpigeon Matusow pointed a finger at an estimated 180 persons and many organizations.

This informer unveiled in 1952, will tell the story of his career of lies in a book to be put on sale by Cameron & Kahn in March. Meanwhile, however, he gave just an inkling of what we are in for, with an affidavit in support of the defense for a new trial for Clinton Jencks for whose conviction and sentence to 5 years Matusow supplied the basic testimony. Jencks is a leader of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. He lists the items of his testimony one by one and unequivocally admits he lied deliberately.

He admits in a second affidavit that he lied in the case of the 13 New York Communist Party leaders, Flynn, Perry, et al.

I don't know what made Matusow into a stool in the first place and what made him turn about to a point that he so openly and unequivocally confesses his abominable role in the camp of McCarthyism and wants to "remedy the harm," as he puts it. But the confessions are there, and they were put before a Federal judge and will figure in a hearing on motions for new trials.

As you read the affidavit (it will run in the next issue of the weekend Worker) you see how framed evidence is made so it looks "legal" and fits the law like a glove. The big question still remains to be answered: has someone framed that evidence to fit the law and parceled it out among witnesses to be parroted off on the witness stand? Who is it? Matusow already named Roy Cohn as one of the operators in the frameup machinery.

Under normal conditions, a confession like Matusow's would explode with a bang heard in every State. It would be the scandal of the year. That affidavit goes to the heart of McCarthyism. It exposes the whole pattern of framed evidence and professional informers upon which the theses of "Communist conspiracy" and the alleged objective of "overthrow by force and violence" rests.

Prosecutors can't find anything in programs, speeches or activities to build up a "force and violence" case, but they can get all the informers paid-for to deliver framed testimony to fit the law.

This has been said thousands of times since the first thought-control trial was staged. But Matusow is the first of the parade of witnesses to confess to the dirty game and thereby open up the whole question of the role of the paid professional FBI informer in a way it has not yet come to the attention of the public since thought control became a part of the "American way of life."

A number of cracks in the frameup machinery drew public attention before. It will be recalled that in the first trial of the Communists, before Judge Medina, jury tampering for the prosecution was clearly exposed but nothing was done about it.

In the Hawaii case, long before the trial, two FBI agents propositioned one of the defendants, a leader of the Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, that if he withdrew the island's organization from the union headed by Harry Bridges, he might escape prosecution. The only reason we know that is that the union leader had a recording taken of the interview in the basement of his home while it was in progress, and it was later played on many radio broadcasts and printed. But it was not admitted as evidence in the trial.

Then we had the exposure first by the Alsops of the contradictions in the testimony of Paul Crouch at various of the trials that came to light in the Philadelphia Smith Act case. That received a great deal of public attention but Crouch has not confessed.

More recently we had the confessions of David Brown, executive director of the Los Angeles Civil Rights Congress, who for 4 years was an FBI plant.

But while these cracks keep appearing in the Department of Justice frameup system, and at times the truth comes out with explosive force as in the Matusow confessions, the Government keeps on using its discredited stools.

Only a few days before the Matusow affidavit was made public, a Chicago court convicted Claude Lightfoot for "membership" in the Communist Party on the basis of testimony from a parade of witnesses—some of the old discredited informers and some new FBI plants.

Two of the newly unveiled FBI plants that drew our particular attention, are or were, officials of unions in Milwaukee. This points to an alarming situation affecting the unions. The labor movement now faces the question of deciding its attitude on professional informers because the FBI plant is now becoming entrenched in trade union ranks. More on this in our next column.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, an editorial from the Daily Worker of February 27, 1955, and entitled "Probe the Spy System."

(The editorial was marked "Exhibit No. 135" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 135

[Daily Worker, February 27, 1955]

PROBE THE SPY SYSTEM

The revelations by Harvey Matusow have put the masters of the frameup system into panic.

The former paid informer, whom they once played up as a national hero, they now want to gag and intimidate in order to save their rotten methods of framing innocent men and women and destroying the Bill of Rights.

Thus the Justice Department is seeking to rush through grand jury proceedings against Matusow at a time when he is a party to motions for new trials for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and her colleagues, and for Mine, Mill and Smelter official, Clinton Jencks, in El Paso. The Jenner committee proposes to investigate—not Roy Cohn, of course, whom Matusow implicates in his revelations—but Cameron & Kahn, publishers of Matusow's story of his evil doings.

On the other hand, the New York Times, for example, says this is a lesson against accepting uncritically the "accusatory statements of the professional informer."

This is very true. But the real lesson of the Matusow case—and one which the beneficiaries of the informer system are so anxious to hide—is this: as an inevitable part of imprisoning people for their ideas, speeches, and for the books they read, the Justice Department has deliberately cooked up perjurious and false testimony! What is needed is an investigation by some Senate body of the entire informer system itself and of the part played in it by the Justice Department.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next an article by Rob F. Hall entitled "Brownell Rushes to Save Informer Racket," from The Worker of February 13, 1955.

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 136" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 136

[The Worker, Sunday, February 13, 1955]

BROWNELL RUSHES TO SAVE INFORMER RACKET

(By Rob F. Hall)

The Justice Department last week was fighting frantically, and with its customary knee-in-the-groin tactics, to save its already shaky informer system. For the system was clearly in danger of being completely discredited by the revelations of Harvey Matusow, formerly one of the Justice Department's star performers, not only that his testimony had been a tissue of lies but that the lies had been manufactured in collusion with the Department's officials.

Chairman Francis Walter (Democrat, Pennsylvania), of the House Un-American Committee which earlier had lionized Matusow and publicized his lies declared that if the professional informer's testimony had "tipped the scales" against innocent persons, then "there must be another trial" for those persons.

The New York Times agreed that Matusow's confession obligated the Justice Department to "reexamine all the cases in which this man's testimony did play a significant part." The Times called the profession of informer a "shabby business" and said the Matusow revelations afforded "a new warning against the unquestioned acceptance by political and judicial authorities alike of the accusatory statements of the professional informer."

The Washington Post and Times Herald demanded bluntly, "How many Americans have been unjustly convicted on the basis of Matusow's perjured testimony? How many others have been sent to prison or condemned before congressional investigating committees by other former Communist perjurers who like Matusow decided to make witnessing a lucrative career?"

In the New York Post there appeared a cartoon by Herbert Block entitled, "This could spoil the whole racket, men," which showed four men in an office displaying the following signs:

Association of Professional Ex-Communists; We Can Remember Anything to Fit—Word Rates; Testimony to Order; You Name the Victim, We Do the Rest. The four men are huddled over a newspaper bearing headlines about Matusow's confession.

Many readers could have supplied names for the four men—Louis Budenz, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, John Lautner, for instance, all of whom have figured as star performers for the Justice Department in framing those whom the Attorney General for his own reasons wanted to imprison. But this is far from exhausting the list.

Wilbur H. Baldinger, a virulent anti-Communist himself, writing in the Progressive (February 1955) said there are 35 such informers on the payroll of the Immigration and Naturalization Service as "contractors." Another 50 work parttime for the Justice Department at \$25 a day basis, he said.

Among those mentioned by Frank Donner in a survey of the informer system in The Nation (April 10, 1954) were George Hewitt, Benjamin Gitlow, Joseph Kornfeder, Whittaker Chambers, Elizabeth Bentley, Herbert Philbrick, Max Cvetic, Mary Markward (who was used by Senator McCarthy to harass Mrs. Annie Lee Moss), Angela Calomiris, Lloyd Hamlin, Bernice Baldwin, Daisy Van Dorn and Leonard Patterson. A perusal of the transcripts in the Smith Act prosecutions would add many more names of professional informers. And so too would the proceedings in deportation cases and hearings before the McCarthy, Jenner and Un-American Committees.

Their testimony did more than "tip the scales" against innocent persons. It brought about the conviction of more than 100 persons on charges of conspiring to advocate and teach the violent overthrow of the Government, although, as Matusow now freely admits, there was no "conspiracy" in the Communist Party. It brought about the conviction of Claude Lightfoot on the charge that he was a "knowing" member of the Communist Party.

Testimony from these informers similarly brought about the deportation of hundreds of foreign-born persons, breaking up families and sowing heartbreak and sorrow. Such testimony before congressional witch-hunting committees led to the ruin and imprisonment of Alger Hiss and subsequently William Remington who paid with his life for the lies of the informers.

It has seriously damaged certain trade unions and has meant the loss of jobs and livelihood to scores of workers in industrial plants, not to mention teachers, actors, artists and other professional men and women. Such testimony, with the accused never even learning the identity of their accusers, has resulted in hundreds of Government employees leaving Federal employment, often with their reputations sullied.

The Matusow confession merely emphasizes what objective observers had already concluded—that honest men and women were being ruined or imprisoned on the dubious testimony of professional liars. Joseph Alsop, the columnist, had already pointed out that Paul Crouch (who has testified in 60 proceedings of this sort) had contradicted himself in the cases of Harry Bridges, Jacob Burck and the Philadelphia Smith Act defendants. George Hewitt was even indicted for perjury (although never prosecuted) because of his obvious lies in the Rader case in Washington State. And Manning Johnson was revealed in the Bridges case to have perjured himself in placing the longshore leader in New York at a time when other documentary evidence put him in Stockton, Calif.

Budenz, whose testimony sent Eugene Dennis, Ben Davis, Editor John Gates of this paper and other Communist leaders to jail, was described by Alsop as "misleading and untruthful * * * inherently incredible. Senator Dennis Chavez (Democrat, New Mexico) speaking on the Senate floor characterized Budenz as a "devious, conspiratorial warped personality." This Catholic layman and statesman said, "I do not think he knows truth from falsehood any more."

Despite the growing revulsion against these informers even in conservative circles, the Justice Department has not ceased to defend them. These witnesses have "extraordinary qualifications," assistant attorney general Warren Olney III stated recently. And to defend the entire system of using professional informers to persecute a political party and persons with opinions offensive to the Justice Department, Attorney General Brownell has plunged feverishly into the Matusow case. Last week he sent his assistant, William F. Tompkins to New York to take charge in a futile effort to prevent Matusow from testifying in a hearing before

Judge Edward Dimock on the falseness of his testimony in the case of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and 12 other Communist leaders.

Tompkins and United States attorney J. Edward Lumbard subpoenaed Matusow to appear before a Federal grand jury, hoping thereby to prevent his disclosure in the Flynn case. But on the motion of the 13 defense attorneys, Judge Dimock ruled that Matusow need not appear before the grand jury until after the hearing in his court.

Tompkins and Lumbard then moved swiftly to strike at Angus Cameron and Albert Kahn, members of the publishing firm which will bring out Matusow's book, "False Witness" next month. They subpoenaed the two publishers before a special grand jury and demanded they turn over text of the book.

Cameron and Kahn refused to comply. Appearing before the grand jury they branded this move as an attempt to keep them from the public, Matusow's disclosures, "some of which implicate the department itself."

Kahn was sentenced to 6 months in jail for contempt of court and a similar sentence was threatened against Cameron. The sentence was held up pending an appeal to the Federal circuit court.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next an article from the magazine, *This Week*, entitled "Breaking the Communist Spell," by J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

(The article was marked Exhibit No. 137 and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 137

[This Week, November 1, 1953]

BREAKING THE COMMUNIST SPELL

A message from J. Edgar Hoover

In America today, there are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people, once duped by communism, who have since broken with the party. This article has been written in a sincere effort to reach them and enlist their help in wiping out the Soviet conspiracy which threatens our country.

With a few exceptions, most of the former Communists have remained silent. Here are some of the reasons: First of all, the individual may be fearful—either of revenge from the Communists or criticism by loyal Americans.

Then, in many cases, he may still be striving to break the bonds which have enslaved his mind. When one has believed that the course he wholeheartedly followed in the past was the right one, he cannot change everything overnight. The awakening may be slow and painful.

WHICH DUTY?

And, even when his eyes are fully open to the truth, he may feel that he cannot break silence. He may feel that he owes a duty to those persons whom he recruited or encouraged to join the party. He may feel that his motives in joining the party were good, that he never wilfully violated any law but rather was pursuing a course which he then considered normal. He cannot morally bring himself to the point of furnishing incriminating information about those former associates with whom he shared beliefs. Here he faces the test—the emotional struggle between his duty or sympathy to former associates, and his duty to his country, humanity, and his God. What should he do?

The question is a moral one. Each ex-Communist must decide for himself where his duty lies. We of the FBI have known and talked with many who were going through this painful process of decision. Once his eyes are open, the ex-Communist sees the evils which Communism has forced upon individuals and nations. But at the same time, he may feel a sense of loyalty to those persons who, like himself, entered the Communist movement with certain ideals. They, like him, refused to accept passively the injustices and prejudices of their society. They gave themselves passionately and wholeheartedly to the movement which claims to be the only cure for the world's social and economic ills.

Can he now turn his back on his former associates and furnish information concerning their activities which may incriminate them? Can he now become an example of what he has been taught in the party to hate—a "stool pigeon" and "informer"? The very idea may be morally distasteful to him.

On the other hand the ex-Communist has, through a slow, agonizing process of disillusionment, had the foundations of his faith shattered. He has come to realize that the Communist conspiracy stands for the social evils he deplored. If this conspiracy is successful in the achievement of its objectives, he and his friends and their children will be the tragic victims of the evils they erroneously thought they were fighting.

So now the ex-Communist faces this question: Is he actually "protecting" his former associates by withholding the information he possesses? Or is he not in reality endangering them, as well as his family, himself and his society? His silence enables the party to continue without detection its evil designs.

Where lies his higher loyalty—to his former Communist associates who, by their adherence to the party line, willfully or unwittingly would destroy the freedom and liberties he cherishes? Or, to his country which, with its admitted imperfections, remains the ultimate hope of freedom among all nations of the world?

If the ex-Communist is sincere and has truly come to realize that the "good" cause to which he had formerly given himself is in fact an evil, his moral duty is clear. He must combat the evil principles and the evil consequences. These principles not only hold his friends in mental bondage; they are also constantly drawing new victims into the slave pit. The choice must be made.

A BIG WEAPON

The ex-Communist holds in his hands weapons which can strike a mighty blow against a terrible evil. He inflicts a minor wound by leaving the Communist party. (Such a wound is partly healed with the addition of a new member to the party.) But, when the ex-Communist withdraws and at the same time makes a full disclosure to the proper authorities, he does irreparable damage to the cause. He places his change of philosophy, conscience and action on the record. He is restoring himself to the ranks of good citizenship and is making amends for his wrongs against America resulting from his party activities. He is protecting now and in the future his family and our way of life.

And the FBI needs his help. Citizenship carries with it certain obligations. Some people, however, while claiming their rights, completely ignore their duties. This lack of responsibility is reflected in the attitude of those who say flatly: "It's the FBI's job to catch spies. Why should I tell them anything?"

The logic of such a person is like that of the man who sees an escaped leopard stalking his child and does nothing because it isn't his job to corral animals!

MENACE EXPOSED

Those individuals who place information they have regarding the Communist conspiracy in the proper hands are making a contribution of great value to the security of their country. The events of the recent past bear witness to this fact.

The information given by former Communists has alerted the public to the terrible menace by exposing the very nature of the Communist underground and by revealing the manner in which the Communists operate. Such information has disclosed the frightening fact that some channels of public opinion have been infiltrated, and that some faculties of some educational institutions have been penetrated by Communists. Such information has enabled labor unions to learn of the conspirators' tactics and to thwart them. It has put the plain label of Communist on some party members who long served the conspiracy behind the respectable title of "liberal."

In similar fashion it ripped the cloak of innocence off numerous Communist fronts. Through first-hand experience the negative features of communism are revealed and Americans, by contrast, gain a deep and humble appreciation of our free democratic way of life.

Former members of the Communist Party have testified before loyalty hearing boards regarding individuals known to them as present or past members of the Communist Party. Others have presented information in hearings where individuals were seeking to become United States citizens, as well as in instances where the authorities had instituted denaturalization proceedings. The testimony of former Communists has been utilized in unmasking Communist individuals before congressional committees and in proving perjury in court.

But it is in the field of general intelligence information that former Communists have made their greatest contribution to the security of America. Data furnished by former Communists to the FBI has afforded a more detailed and enlarged picture of past Communist activities. This information serves further

as a guide to the FBI not only in keeping abreast of subversive activity, but also in foreseeing and preparing against future plans of those who would destroy America.

TRIP OLD MEMBERS

The Federal Bureau of Investigation would not have its broad knowledge of the formidable Soviet underground had it not been for numerous Communist defectors. Contributions of former Communist Party members to the security of the United States are obviously of the greatest present value. The full extent of those contributions may not be generally apparent until some time in the future. Information furnished by them on past membership in the party often is as valuable as information on present membership, for this reason: the old member who may give every indication of having dropped out of the party may actually be operating in an underground assignment.

The outraged cries of the Communists against defectors would be humorous were the situation less serious. The Communists imply that the use of informants began with the Federal Bureau of Investigation and denounce the FBI for spying against them. They forget that spying has always been an integral part of Soviet life, and that American Communists apply this same principle within the party. The Communists include secret entry and search of members' personal property, and reporting on the results of the search.

The individual contributions of former members of the Communist Party to the security of our way of life are shining examples of people who have recognized their mistakes and are doing all within their power to rectify them.

DESERVE RESPECT

These people deserve the nation's respect, and their neighbor's fair-minded forgiveness for their past devotion to communism. Their means of livelihood must be protected, and loyal Americans must accept their sincere repentance as a return to the full scope of citizenship. All great religions teach that the sinner can always redeem himself. Who, then, shall sit in judgment on the ex-Communist? Who dare deny him the promise held out to those who repent of the evil they have done and who try to make amends?

For our part, at the FBI, we have always sought to recognize the very real human and personal problems facing the ex-Communists who have come to our offices to make such amends. We have assured them, if they have asked us to keep their confidence, that all revelations will be regarded as confidential until they are willing—as they will be if their repentance is sincere—to use their knowledge as testimony in trials or loyalty hearings.

In discussing the ex-Communist, those who piously say that the leopard never changes its spots forget that they are speaking of human beings—mortal creatures with immortal souls. And those who say "Once a Communist, always a Communist" are simply advertising their ignorance. To deny that men can change is to deny the truths which have eternally guided civilized man.

"But," the shout is raised, "how can you believe an ex-Communist!"

The answer lies in the fact that many former Communists have been tested by vigorous cross examination. They have withstood critical observation. Those most interested in producing evidence which would contradict their testimony have failed to do so. On the other hand much of the testimony of ex-Communists has been verified by corroborating evidence.

COLD WAR

Today there exists a bitter ideological conflict. The Communists themselves assert that the world is divided into two fundamentally different and opposing camps. Only one, they maintain, will survive. In a crisis we must face reality. With American freedom and the lives of American citizens at stake, where does the individual who has been drawn into the Communist net stand? He cannot be neutral. He is either for or against the United States.

If, having knowledge of persons and activities detrimental to his country, he breaks from the Party, yet maintains silence, he is still aiding the enemy. The moral obligation involved cannot be met by silence. The choice is simple: help the United States. The man who does this is preserving freedom under law. He is protecting the American way of life for free men and women—including his family and himself.

Now is the time for those who love America to step forward and be counted. Now is the time for those who erred and once joined the Communist cause to declare themselves. Now is the time for free men to do their part to retain our freedom.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, a letter dated August 24, 1953, written by Matusow to Senator Joseph McCarthy.

(The letter was marked exhibit No. 138 and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 138

HARVEY M. MATUSOW, RENO, NEVADA,
P. O. Box 2241, Santa Fe, N. Mex., August 24, 1953.

Sen. JOE McCARTHY,
Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR JOE: What I intend to tell you in this letter, I would have preferred telling you in person. But circumstances change my plans. Also what I am about to tell you, I have told to Billie, and to JB—I asked them both not to tell you, for I wanted to do that myself.

Next month I will be twenty-eight—twenty-eight years of being a coward and being dishonest. Or should I say most of the time. I have gone through life hurting the things I love and believe in . . . being dishonest with them for I was afraid that if I were honest I would be hurt by them—I was wrong.

I did one honest thing, and that was when I went to the FBI in relation to my activities in the Communist Party, and also when I testified before the Committees in Washington. . . . When I married Billie I was only partly honest . . . for my love for her was and is to this day (the day before she gets divorce) HONEST.

I don't know if I have the courage or guts to go on with life . . . or if I have the courage or guts to end my dishonest life. . . . They both seem to take courage—there is no middle ground—I wish there were.

When I testified at the trial of the 13 Communist leaders in New York, the defense lawyer said "You'd do anything for a buck." I denied it, but he was right. My testimony was honest, but that was about the only thing in my being there that was.

A few weeks after I left the witness stand in December I did "anything for a buck." I sold a story to Drew Pearson. . . . The story about Billie and me going to Nassau. . . . I didn't believe it would hurt you . . . and at that time I didn't seem to care. For I had no principles. I don't apologize for it . . . for I don't think it will do any good . . . but I know I was wrong . . . I do believe in your cause . . . one that I should not be associated with . . . I received 250.00 for the story . . . A foot note to this is that I DID NOT give anyone the story about the fight Billie and I had on May 9th.

I am not sure where I will be when you get this letter, but that doesn't seem to matter. . . . If I decide to go on with life I'll probably be in Santa Fe, working at a radio station there (KTRC).

If I go on—I don't want to go near politics ever again, and I never want to be part of the Communist question—pro or con. It might be that you look at this as the cowards way out . . . but if I am to go on as an honest—honest with myself—human being I have to use saltpeter in my living. . . .

I have to tone down the temptations that made me dishonest. I realize now that I can be happy with a job of any nature . . . so long as it is honest work.

During the six months of my marriage to Billie, I have hurt her. I have been with her in Reno for the past three weeks trying to reconcile the marriage . . . and up until about an hour ago it looked as though we could . . . She was going to go to Santa Fe with me . . . on my money, with me working. . . . But now she says no . . . and with the divorce I don't know which course I'll take . . . I still wish there were a middle course. . . .

Goodbye, and Godspeed in your crusade. . . . I know now that I am with you. . . . Thanks for your honesty with me—I didn't deserve it.

Yours,

[s] HARVEY.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, an article by Angus Cameron, entitled "The Crisis in Books," published in the California Quarterly, spring issue of 1952.

(The article was marked "Exhibit No. 139" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 139

[California Quarterly, spring 1952]

ANGUS CAMERON: THE CRISIS IN BOOKS

For some time now it has been the practice of the critics of book publishing in the United States to look upon the crisis which deepens hourly in the profession as a business or commercial crisis. Research committees and investigating boards created or supported in part by publishers have been bringing in stale reports for 2 decades about what was and is wrong with book publishing in America. The faces change but the findings are familiar. From the reports of these expert investigators, the trade is plagued by the same old ghosts—poor distribution and, more lately since the uncontrolled war inflation, by a brother ghost more terrifying, high costs. Between the two the business of publishing books is perpetually haunted. As a result, the dark forebodings of a creeping form of bankruptcy make their dreary way among the men who own and operate publishing.

Now while the old-line publishing houses slowly die by strangulation in a market which will not expand as fast as costs increase, it is time for the people of this country who know the social value of books to look at the question through eyes other than the somewhat dimmed ones of men in the trade. The truth is that the problem is not the one discussed and investigated—how to keep traditional publishing going. Rather the problem is how to keep a free press at all; how to keep our culture informed of its nature, its changes, the social and scientific demands of an atomic world, through books. The question really is how to insure that the publishing of books containing the truth about our times shall continue at all. The thoughts of publishers, critics, writers, and nonprofessional people have too often turned in the small commercial circle; pursuit of the trouble has been only a kind of tail-chasing around the problem of how to keep going a business which cannot and indeed should not be kept going in its old limited fashion.

There was a time in the capitalist "free" market order of things when the demand of society for the truth through books and the opportunity for supplying those demands at a profit seemed to meet. There was at least a half-truth in the folklore of capitalism that the demand for books in an expanding economy would always be met by some obliging and profit-hungry investor. For a good many decades, hard-backed publishing of relatively expensive books was a profitable enterprise for a smallish number of well-off middle-class intellectuals who made a profession of this most respectable pursuit. The middle and upper classes with enough money to buy these relatively expensive items were insured of a steady supply of more or less freely published books about the world they lived in, where it came from, and where it was going. While the truth about the world was more or less a luxury byproduct of the way books were published and sold, there was a time when capitalist publishing did produce both a profit and the opportunity for the writer-critic to tell the truth. But publishing was always a class operation; its social benefits were a byproduct of what was essentially a commodity attitude toward art. Even at its best, it was a profession which produced art for those who could afford the going prices; it was a middle-class profession with a middle- and upper-class audience. The great majority of the population could neither afford books at hard-backed prices nor were they reached by the distribution methods of the trade.

For at least 20 years now it has been clear to many critics of book publishing that the blight of poor distribution was in reality a reflection of the class nature of publishing. As long as books were priced beyond the reach of the average American, and as long as they were distributed through the typical bookstore, there was little chance that the increasing demands of an increasingly literate audience could be met. For a while it looked as if these demands might be met by the so-called pocketbook. Just before and after World War II the demand for cheap books and the resurrection of the paper-backed book made it look as if the twin problem of distribution and costs would be solved by the inexpensive and utterly ubiquitous pocket-size book. Like locusts, they overran the country. And more, it seemed as if the pocketbook might bail out of their economic doldrums some of the worried old-line publishers, for the two largest operations, Bantam and Pocket Books, were owned and operated by

publishing houses which were finding it difficult to make a profit and keep in business by supplying books to people with the income level to absorb \$4 novels and \$6 nonfiction books.

But it soon became evident that the 25-cent houses were merely commercial palliatives, not social solutions. They solved the problem of distribution by using magazine distribution methods, and they showed that there was a mass audience for inexpensive books. But they did not solve the social problem of publishing. They merely reflected in 25-cent form the same contradictions which existed in the old-line houses who published the hard-backed editions of the books which eventually made their way into pocketbook form.

Here it is proper to stop a moment and examine more closely just exactly what the social problem of publishing really is. Book publishing, as now practiced, in spite of its pious and often hypocritical protestations to the contrary, is fundamentally one thing and one thing only—a capitalist enterprise in which considerations of profit outweigh any and all other considerations. If one has the slightest doubt of this, all one needs to do is to spend some time in a publishing house. A day for an acute observer would be all that is needed. I have never met the head or near-head of a publishing house who would not freely and proudly admit this; in fact, who didn't preach it in the counsel of daily decisions. This is not at all surprising. The publishing of the truth about the world we live in, and the distribution of books of historical, scientific, social, philosophic criticism, depend entirely upon the anarchy of the market and the profitability of such books to the men who publish them. As long as the customers of the book publishers, the class that could afford to buy books, had pride in its own progressive nature and confidence in its manifest destiny, it did, in truth, absorb all kinds of books. Indeed, partly out of its tradition of liberal intellectualism and partly because it felt socially and economically secure, this market and its suppliers did not exert a strict censorship over radical thinking and writing. The demand among upper-class intellectuals was large enough to keep the upper-class intellectuals who ran book publishing in business profitably. The Dreisers, the Veblens, the Londons, the Sinclairs and their successors got their work into book form through the tolerance of a class which felt it could afford a free press.

Now, however, the situation is entirely changed. Social crisis has caused the market and its suppliers to take a new view of a free press. The same social crisis, with its attendant "solution" by war inflation, high costs and shrinking profits, has had and is having a profound effect on the whole concept of what should be permitted circulation in book form. The same loose-at-the-seams economy which must have a guns-not-butter way of life to stave off depressions (which would follow if peace were assured without a reform of production policy) now has a dread of viewpoints and opinions which are critical of the war-production "solution." A free culture is a powerful antagonist, and the modern Bismarcks are beginning to reach, as he did, for their pistols when the word culture is heard. A critical literature is to them not only a luxury now; it is an outright extravagance. A big-business economy, based on maintaining the old colonial past abroad and operating with the McCarran and Taft-Hartley Acts at home, needs a free press like it needs a hole in the head. The culture which once got an intellectual titillation out of a free-book press, or looked upon criticism with a tolerant contempt when its own values and precepts seemed like a divine order of things, now begins to look upon the free ideas of free writers with a new eye. The businessman's world doesn't look as secure as it is did even a decade ago. Change, that dread bogey of the conservative, is everywhere afoot. It stalks not only through the colonial world, sick to death literally and figuratively of the famine status of perpetual agrarianism and slavery to the industrial powers, but it stalks through the channels of the home economy itself. Nothing is like it was. Socialism, and worse, is around the corner. The solution which the German businessman found after the crisis of World War I appeals more and more to the American businessman after World War II. The phony threat of "communism," for which one must read any ideas of social reform, is a convenient means of saving the status quo through the fraudulent claim that a war economy is a necessity for "defense"; and any writer who sees through the danger of these bankrupt policies can be smeared by the convenient Nazi techniques of red-baiting and racism.

It is not the intention of this paper to recount the official measures and unofficial hysteria which have been directed against freedom of thought, speech and press in our country. It is not necessary to run the whole gamut from

Winston Churchill's Fulton speech to the imprisonment of Hollywood artists—from the ineffable performances of the Committee on Un-American Activities and the judicial witchhunts to the present situation in which to criticize an undemocratic and often venal officialdom is tantamount to treason. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that now, as in the past, the rich man's treason is the poor man's patriotism in many a social crisis.

It is enough to say further that now the "haves" and the "ins" think of a free press as one which preaches the anti-cultural sermons of a rampant and exclusive nationalism backed by a slavish acceptance of the status quo. Thoughts or writing which suggest change, motion, or reform are looked upon as an ailment to be extirpated root and branch.

No, the luxury of a free press is obviously one which a militarist-businessman society can no longer tolerate. Long a tragic joke as far as the newspapers are concerned, since they have become merely the trade journals of the business world which keeps them profitable through the direct commercial bribe of advertising, a free press can now no longer be permitted in book publishing either. As the hysteria of the times increases from official sources, and as various obscurantist unofficial organizations join in this mad medley, the publishers of books have become more and more jittery. The crisis in the businessman economy has hit book publishing a twin blow. Inflation on the one hand and ignorant and hysterical red-baiting on the other are met at last around the council tables of book publishing.

The need for volume, the only solution to the rampant rise in costs, and the shameful urge to conform to the McCarthy-Acheson view of the world, combined to produce a single trend in book publishing. It was an easy and inevitable next move for publishers to lump all progressive books in the category of the impossible-to-sell. Book publishers, at first with some distaste, but finally with desperate eagerness, embraced the same "safe" solution which the motion picture industry had long since found to be no solution at all. More and more "safe" and "popular" books poured off the presses. Trash fiction, pseudo-science, exposés by convicted spies and informers, sensational books of one kind or another (most of which sold no better than their betters) became the tendency. Books with vitality, critical books of all kinds, literary novels (so-called), and first books by new authors were the categories which suffered. A wonderful opportunity seemed to be at hand: all the publisher had to do was to be respectable and conform to the ignorant standards of warmakers and anti-democrats and he would escape the criticism of the hysterics and at the same time solve his volume problem by these "mass appeal" and "popular" books. It was simple: just not publish the "difficult" books (for which read "scholarly," "progressive," "critical," or "leftist"), but concentrate on "popular" books and all would be solved. It was a wonderful moment: all this and heaven too; he could qualify as a "patriot" as defined by McCarthy and such fine critical journals as Counter-attack.

It must not be thought that this surrender was immediate or without soul-searching and inner conflict, for even the men in publishing who had little immediate concern with the social aspect of publishing felt subconsciously the proud tradition of their profession. The events which culminated in the writer of this paper resigning under pressure from the publishing house with which he was associated were full of conflicts for the men who brought them about. Even after the first surrender to the Counterattack-engendered hysteria, when they publicly apologized for some of the best writers they had on their lists, the capitulation was against the grain of some of the beliefs of some of the men. But the development, indeed, the business aspect of the crisis, has produced a new type of man to head publishing houses in the last decade or so. The intellectual and scholar is still to be found among the top men but he is getting to be a rarer and rarer bird. In most of the great houses he has been relegated to nonexecutive roles which may be the most creative publishingwise, but he is considered too "impractical" or "theoretical" to deal with the new business problems. It is a lesson never learned by the "new" type of businessman-publisher that year in and year out the most successful commercial ventures are also for the most part the best books, in the best critical sense, published.

The question may then be: what can be expected from the "new" publisher in the twin commercial and social crisis under which publishing suffers? An English publisher of reputation and taste once told me that he was astonished to see the change that had come over American publishing in the past 25 years and especially in the last 10. He contended that it was becoming now (1951) increas-

ingly difficult to find the head of an American firm who was a publisher-editor in the sense that English publishers, in his view, still were. Said he, "One simply cannot find out anything really about a publisher's list of authors by talking with the head of the house. One can learn a great deal about paper prices, salary levels and business overhead, but absolutely nothing about books or writers." His tone of voice was querulous. He named names, recounted with nice irony some of his recent conversations, and doubted that this was a healthy sign.

It is true that most top figures in American publishing today either represent the controlling financial interest in the company, or they are there because they have talent for organization, selling, or production, men whose only real stake is a financial one in the profitmaking possibilities of books. The commodity nature of their activity has, for the most part, obliterated the social function of producing books, and the average American publisher is just like his average upper-middle-class audience, a conservative for whom culture is a means to social kudos. This new businessman-publisher, usually far removed from the editorial give-and-take relationship with the men and women who write books, is the man who now faces the twin threat to publishing which our soldier-businessman economy has brought about. It is not a natural habit for this kind of man to think often of the fact that an important part of his responsibility is the dissemination of truth. He'll tell you that he leaves such matters, when he can, to the editorial department. He will freely admit that he is not "an editorial man." He will not freely admit, however, that by habit, background and experience he is just as suspicious and fearful of "ideas" in books as are his brothers who run the aircraft, tank, and munition factories in the country.

In most hard-backed publishing houses there are many men and women of intellectual understanding and sophistication with a full sense of the social aspects of producing books. And this awareness in a watered-down form exists as a contradiction in many of those who have now all but capitulated to the hysteria of our times: but by and large hard-backed American publishing has become "safe," as that term is understood by the men who own the newspapers that review their books. Even the most distinguished houses in America are falling over themselves to publish books which prove their loyalty—to a loyalty-oath mentality.

My own experience in the past 10 years showed me a steady drift, most noticeable since the end of the war, toward a tightening of the self-censorship of publishers now so prevalent. A variety of pressures, official, newspaper, social, from the trade, have made even the most liberal-minded and responsible men pull in their horns. In the past 2 years not only have liberal and radical books found a cool reception, but any kind of critical manuscript has found the going difficult. After a midyear sales conference in one of the big houses last year, the salesmen in camera with two of the administrative heads of that house made the statement that no "critical" book should be published whether it was "political" or not. This attitude becomes more and more the prevalent one. The critical books of the thirties and forties are rapidly giving way to the safe books. The liberal, the critical, the forward looking manuscript, whether fiction or nonfiction, creates an immediate problem in most houses today. Colophons which formerly graced some of our finest literature are now to be found on books containing the arrogant lies of unregenerate Nazis or the neurotic and crazy maundering of paid spies and informers. An atmosphere of censorship exists today in the higher echelons of publishing management, and under the surface with many of the staff members who loathe their roles but fear to be themselves at a time when every manuscript must be scrutinized for fear it may be considered subversive by a cringing management or "kept" reviewers. This frame of mind immediately conveys itself to writers of all kinds and all shades of opinions. I could recount a score of editorial conferences in the past few years in which, either consciously or unconsciously, the writer showed his fear of the atmosphere around him. The cry of "Subversive" has stilled many a fine research project or penetrating novel idea. The prospective writer of a scholarly study of Abolitionism is just as apt to censor himself today as the novelist who may wish to write a novel about a labor organizer.

In this atmosphere art becomes completely a commodity, and too often the artist either accepts this vulgarization of art and suppresses his critical insight for commercial reasons, or joins the equally antisocial little clique of those who retire to the ivory tower, where what they write may be considered by themselves to be a plague on both your houses but where, in fact, the most dangerous enemy of art really lurks, the belief that art is not a social function but a private therapeutic.

Proving that art is a social function ought to be as unnecessary as proving the earth revolves around the sun, but there are those who still need to have it demonstrated—unlettered folk like Sherlock Holmes, for instance, who astounded Watson by not knowing the first principle of post-Copernican science. Although this may not be the place for it, a few words on the subject may not be amiss. If modern anthropology and etymology, combined in such scholars as George Thomson, have proved nothing else, they have demonstrated the social origins, at least, of poetry, the epic, drama, music, painting, and the dance. They have established that the totemic ritual of a hunter society gave way to the agricultural festival of the neolithic community, which in turn developed under civilization into poetry, the choral ode, and, finally, with Aeschylus adding a second actor to the dithyramb, into the drama itself. Similarly the evolution of music, painting, and the dance has been traced from primitive magic ritual. The fact that art, now, as then, arises out of the "tension" as Caudwell puts it, between the artist's consciousness and changing society on the one hand, or the artist's changing consciousness and the static elements in the dying order of things on the other, is self-evident. If it were not evident from scholarship, it would be evident from a study of a thousand examples of how the old order in every society has viewed art and artists in the past when the knowledge that the old order was dying and the new order aborning became the possession of the artist. Everyone knows a score of examples of bookburning in times of social crisis. Indeed bookburning is older than paper itself. Whether it be the work of Brown Shirts or of an ancient and reactionary priesthood obliterating the free thoughts of an Akhnaton from the columns of ancient temples, it is the same thing: the inevitable defense of the past by suppressing the future as seen in art.

Literature, like language itself, is a social function, not a private therapeutic. The artist in the ivory tower may deny this truth, but the men who use society for their own selfish purposes know and act accordingly. By a thousand influences in daily life, criticism, pressure, and finally outright suppression and blacklist, the attempt is made to form, shape, and mold the artist to find "truths" which are safe for the status quo and to ignore, deny, or hide those truths which suggest change. Those whose function it has been to disseminate the product of the artist in any culture have invariably acted in the long run to sift, censor, select, and suppress, so that art may serve the forces they do homage to, that class whose interests are their interests. When the burghers of north Europe sought to disseminate their notions about how society should be organized, they did not depend on the illuminated hand-written books of the clergy intended for the churchmen and potentates who controlled feudal society in their own interests. They found that a printing press was as necessary to a trading class who sought to supplant a feudal one as was an accurate compass or a reliable clock for determining longitude. In order that the masses of the people in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries be informed of new ideas in social and political relationships, the Scriptures, for one thing, had to be widely disseminated. Familiarity with Scripture was a means of spreading individual criticism of a static society which had, for centuries, interpreted those same Scriptures to bolster and support its own ideas of the relationship between God and men and between men and men. As long as the new businessman class was a progressive class its literature served to spread the truth. And the truth in science and art was a useful adjunct to that class's rise to a point at which it could end feudalism and set up the freer mercantile-trading society which eventually brought on the industrial revolution. The notions of a Bacon or a Hobbes were useful only when disseminated widely enough to change the old order. Their potent leverage against feudal idealism, against the hierarchy of medieval church and state, could not be limited to the means and intents of monkish copyists.

Today truth in literature is as alien and dangerous to the so-called bipartisan policy of the old order in America as *Novum Organum* ever was to the hierarchy of a Stuart conception of church and state. By a thousand pressures the author and publisher are intimidated into conformity. A pack of critics who know which side their bread is buttered on stand side by side increasingly with the whole publishing mechanism, ready to ridicule and discredit those ideas in books which do not suit the loyalty-oath apparatus. The culture of the ages has become the property of a handful of men who hate change, fear social reform, detest socialism, and would have us believe that it is their duty to "democracy" to maintain the horrors of colonialism abroad and a business elite at home rolling in "defense" profits.

The modern enemy of art does not like to censor literature outright as yet; censorship is too patently against the very democratic principles in whose name his antidemocratic policies are carried through and justified. For the present, the modern Bismarck must utilize other means to suppress the truth. Social persuasion and pressure, official intimidation by investigating committees, with the active support of the crackpot fringe, like Counterattack—all these are brought to bear on the last few free thinkers among the old-line publishers. And class pressure need not bear down very hard on the publisher-businessman to bring him into line. Thousands of voices among writers feel the grip. Books of vitality and courage, novels critical of the values of the modern Bourbons, scholarship whose searching light on history is embarrassing to reactionary interpretations, all are "propaganda" to the modern publisher. His editors find that "the market is limited for books about anti-Semitism or 'the Negro problem'"; or he discovers that a novel of ringing evangelical passion about the American tradition of freedom "won't appeal to women"; or that this or that kind of book "never sells." Gradually, what has always been a class business comes to discover that its salvation lies in hearkening to the tastes and shriveled values of its steadily declining audience of well-off people who can afford a \$4.50 novel but can't afford the truth about what is going on in Korea. Works of disillusionment, cynicism, decay, perversion, couched in a bad imitation of Henry James and liberally splashed with the findings of Krafft-Ebbing, become "current fiction." The class that knows something is wrong with itself hopes to discover by reading Truman Capote or James Jones that it is a universal malaise. The guilt of the "haves" and the "ins," catered to increasingly by publishers, is salved by reading books which infer that man himself is tainted, evil, demoralized, and damned. The mincing maunderings of social misfits are applauded as "truth" by cynics who, hating the world and its injustice and the guilt around them, seek solace in the thought that human nature is "that way." Humanitarian concerns in the subconscious of men and women who know of the brutal excesses in Korea are stilled by books whose central theme is the indignity, the worthlessness, the vileness, and stupidity of man.

The simple fact is that publishing in America is fast becoming the monopoly of a class which cannot afford the truth in any form. Its function now is to spread the internal policy of guns-not-butter and justify the external policy of suppressing the very struggle for freedom in whose name the crimes of the new colonialism are perpetrated.

But, as always in man's history, the truth will out. It has a powerful champion in another and vastly larger segment of American life. The culture of man, the long process of extending truth through scientific and artistic criticism, now is the concern of the mass of the people in this country and other countries. The time has passed when it can be left either to the conscience of upperclass intellectuals who control its dissemination or to the anarchy of an inflation-ruined business apparatus which is throttling it. Telling the truth about the real world which surrounds us all, whether it be the world of the atom or the world of social relations, must now be assumed as the obligation of the only class in whose interest the truths of art and science can still work. The class of men and women who have long since learned that they cannot depend on the newspapers to tell the truth about their struggle for a decent standard of living must and will learn that neither can they depend on the old publishing apparatus to spread the more basic truths on which their aspirations for a better, more equitable world rest. Science has made possible a new world; it is the function of the artist to criticize the old and the new; it is the obligation of the people to see to it that his words are read.

As a disseminator of truth, businessman publishing, with art as a pure commodity, is dead. A labor press for books is now as necessary as a labor press for pamphlets and labor news. Organized labor in America must and will realize that the cultural past and its offspring, the cultural future, are begging at the doorstep for nourishment. The interests of mankind in truthful books can no longer be left to the untender care of men whose private interests are alien to truth. The people's assumption of this obligation to culture is as inevitable as the shedding of it by its former protectors.

Not only is the apparatus for a labor book press at hand, but experiment in the United Electrical Workers has shown that that apparatus can find a vast market for books which the traditional publisher would declare impossible to sell. This trade union, by successfully marketing 25,000 copies of an important critical book, has proved that its members are eager to read in paper-back form something other than escape fiction. Other such organizations must, in their own

interest and in the interest of culture itself, be made available to the creative artist, who, increasingly censored by the old-line publisher has already demonstrated in thousands of books and stories his growing knowledge of the identity of his own interest with those of laboring people. Both he and they can afford the truth.

The powerful upsurge of the so-called proletarian writers of the thirties and forties who carried forward with them the free cultural inheritance of the democratic past of our country must not be allowed to wither on a vine cut off at its root. The natural union of artist and worker as an unbeatable alliance for the spread of truth must be given practical organization. The techniques of businessman publishing, the book club, the paperbound book must be adapted by organized labor to the distribution of books which tell the truth about the world they struggle in. The businessman-owner of a big book club would give a king's ransom for a sales organization as numerous, as widespread, and as eloquent as the tens of thousands of shop stewards across the Nation.

Such a sales organization, with its numerous group distribution points, will combine with the interest of its members in social and scientific truth to bring about labor publishing of books, just as sales and distribution techniques and the needs of a businessman society came together to create capitalistic publishing. The class which can afford the truth is discovering for itself that Publishing with a big P can no longer be left to those for whom truth is an intolerable luxury, for whom books are a commodity whose prime value lies in profit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Next, an address by the Hon. William F. Tompkins, Assistant Attorney General, delivered at Glen Ridge, N. J., on February 15, 1955, which will be made a part of the record by reference.

(A copy of the address was marked "Exhibit No. 140" and may be found in the subcommittee files.)

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