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**TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE REGARDING
COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES**

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

EIGHTIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122

BILLS TO CURB OR OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST
PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

Public Law 601

(Section 121, Subsection Q (2))

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TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE REGARDING COMMUNIST ACTIVITY IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, JULY 21, 1947

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

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order.

The record will show that a subcommittee is sitting, a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Nixon, Mr. Vail, and Mr. Thomas.

The subcommittee will suspend for a few minutes.

(Pause.)

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say for the benefit of those who are in the room that the committee will sit either as a subcommittee or a full committee throughout this week. We have a heavy schedule, and due to the fact that Congress is in session and it will be necessary for various members of this committee to be on the floor of the House, we have made arrangements within the committee so that there will always be one member of the committee here to act as chairman.

Now, the committee will conduct the hearings during the entire week. We will hear 14 witnesses, all of whom will testify concerning Communist activities.

The first witness this morning will be Mr. Walter S. Steele, who is appearing before the committee in the capacity of chairman of the national security committee of the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies. Mr. Steele is also appearing as the managing editor of the National Republic magazine. Last March the committee held rather extensive hearings on two bills, H. R. 2122 and H. R. 1884, which bills seek to curb or outlaw the Communist Party. At that time Mr. Steele and his organization requested to be heard. However, Mr. Steele became ill and was unable to appear. Since these two bills are still pending before the committee, we are affording Mr. Steele an opportunity to present the views of his organizations on these two bills and also to hear his testimony of the various ramifications of the Communist Party of the United States, a subject upon which he is well qualified to testify.

Mr. Steele, will you take the stand and raise your right hand and be sworn, please?

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

Mr. STEELE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE, CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL SECURITY COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC, CIVIC, AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, will you state your full name and present address?

Mr. STEELE. Walter S. Steele. My home address is 2916 Twentieth Street NW., Washington, D. C. My business address is 511 Eleventh Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. When and where were you born?

Mr. STEELE. Louisville, Ky., June 2, 1890.

Mr. STRIPLING. What is your occupation?

Mr. STEELE. I am managing editor of the National Republic magazine.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are you appearing before the committee as a representative of any other organization?

Mr. STEELE. I am.

Mr. STRIPLING. What organization?

Mr. STEELE. American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies, with offices in the Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you explain to the committee just what the American Coalition is?

Mr. STEELE. The American Coalition is a coalition of 84 patriotic, civic, and fraternal societies, to which these societies delegate two delegates, two official delegates, one of which is the high officer of the society, the other is a delegate selected from the body. The coalition meets once each year in Washington to consider matters pertaining to patriotism. It does not appear on legislation that affects industry or labor and such matters that have any commercial slant to them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who are some of the present prominent officers of the organization?

Mr. STEELE. Mr. John B. Trevor, of New York, former special deputy attorney general of the State of New York, chief counsel of the New York Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Subversive Activities, associate counsel for the subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate (1920), and an officer in the Military Intelligence Division of the United States Army during the First World War, is president.

First vice president is Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau—

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me. Did you give the name of the president?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. John B. Trevor.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STEELE. Mrs. Grace L. H. Brosseau is first vice president. She is a past president general of the DAR, an officer of several of the societies on the list I wish to submit as an exhibit—the list of organizations, Mr. Stripling.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. We would like to have it. Thank you.

Mr. STEELE. And second vice president is Messmore Kendall, past president general of the Sons of the American Revolution.

The third vice president is Mrs. Frederic G. Bauer, past national president of the DAR, and associated with many of the societies listed.

The treasurer is Frank B. Steele—who, by the way, is no relation to me—secretary general of the Sons of the American Revolution, and member of other societies listed.

The secretary is Mrs. Flora A. Walker, a member of a number of the societies on the list.

The executive board, of which I am a member, is composed of the following: Col. Edward S. Bettleheim, Miss Alice D. Butterfield, Victor E. Devereaux, Charles H. Hall, Mrs. Mary J. Love, Hon. Smith L. Multer, Mrs. Frank L. Nason, Mr. C. H. Paul, Mr. Perry F. Ramey, W. W. Stearns, Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, former Members of Congress from Kentucky, Mr. Edson L. Whitney, and Roscoe C. Walker, all members and/or officers of one or more of the societies mentioned. The board of directors is made up of 1 executive officer and 1 member of each of the 84 societies.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, is that sufficient identification of the organization?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that you ought to place in the record at this point the list of organizations that are either affiliated or cooperating with the American Coalition.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is the list of 84 organizations which you mentioned, Mr. Steele.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. They will be made a part of the record.

(The list referred to is as follows:)

EXHIBIT I¹

SOCIETIES COOPERATING WITH THE AMERICAN COALITION

Americanism Defense League.
 American League for Good Government, Inc.
 American Vigilant Intelligence Federation.
 American War Mothers.
 American Women's Legion.
 Associated chapters, Order of DeMolay of Pennsylvania.
 Associated Farmers of California, Inc.
 California Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 Colonial Order of the Acorn, New York Chapter.
 Congress of States Societies.
 Connecticut Daughters of the American Colonists.
 Dames of the Loyal Legion of the United States.
 Daughters of America, National Council.
 Daughters of America, District of Columbia Council.
 District of Columbia Commandery, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War.
 District of Columbia Society, Order Founders and Patriots of America.
 Eugenics Society of Northern California.
 First Motor Corps Unit No. 12, Massachusetts State Guard Veterans.
 Fraternal Patriotic Americas, State of Pennsylvania, Inc.
 General Court, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 General Pershing Chapter, American War Mothers.
 General Society of the War of 1812.
 Illinois Society of War of 1812.
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, New Jersey.
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, New York, Inc.
 Junior Order United American Mechanics, Pennsylvania.
 Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic.
 Massachusetts Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery in Chief.

¹ See appendix at end of hearing for list of all exhibits given in this testimony.

Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States Commandery of the District of Columbia.
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of New York.
 Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Commandery of the State of Pennsylvania.
 Military Order of the World Wars.
 National Camp, Patriotic Order Sons of America.
 National Commandery, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War.
 National Constitution Day Committee.
 National Council, Sons and Daughters of Liberty.
 National Society, Daughters of the Revolution.
 National Society, Daughters of the Union, 1861-1865.
 National Society for Constitutional Security.
 National Society for Constitutional Security, Chapter I.
 National Society of New England Women.
 National Society, Patriotic Women of America, Inc.
 National Society, Service Star Legion.
 National Society, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims.
 National Society, Sons of the American Revolution.
 National Society, Sons of the American Revolution in California.
 National Society, United States Daughters of 1812.
 National Society, United States Daughters of 1812, State of New York.
 National Society, Women Descendants of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.
 National Woman's Relief Corps.
 New Jersey Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 New Jersey State Society, Daughters of the Revolution.
 New York City Colony, National Society of the New England Women.
 New York Society, United States Daughters of 1812.
 Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America.
 Order of Independent Americans, Inc., State Council of Pennsylvania.
 Order of Three Crusades 1092-1192, Inc.
 Pennsylvania Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 Philadelphia Protestant Federation.
 Regular Veterans Association.
 Rhode Island Association of Patriots.
 Rhode Island Daughters of the American Colonists.
 Rhode Island Society, Order of the Founders and Patriots of America.
 Society of Colonial Wars in the District of Columbia.
 Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York.
 Society of New York State Women.
 Society of Old Plymouth Colony Descendants.
 Society of the Daughters of the United States Army.
 Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
 Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War.
 Southern Vigilant Intelligence Association, Inc.
 State Council (District of Columbia), Sons and Daughters of Liberty.
 State Council (Massachusetts), Sons and Daughters of Liberty.
 Tax Evils Committee of Council Bluffs, Iowa.
 The Federation of Huguenot Societies in America.
 The Wheel of Progress.
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Department of Delaware.
 Veterans of Foreign Wars of United States, Morley S. Oates Auxiliary, No. 701.
 Westchester Security League.
 Wisconsin Chapter, Daughters of Founders and Patriots.
 Women's National Defense Committee of Philadelphia.
 Women of Army and Navy Legion of Valor, U. S. A.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, for how many years have you been active in combating subversive activity in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I began by exposing the IWW as a newspaperman specializing in that field, and in 1924 I came to my present position to study the other subversive movements that might have sprung up, including the Communist Party movement.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you over that period of time assembled considerable files on the subject of communism in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. I have. I have enormous files on the subject.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you also have files on Fascist activity in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. I do; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have your files ever been used by any of the investigative agencies of the Government?

Mr. STEELE. I venture to say that there is not an agency in the Government that hasn't used my files, and I might say that during the war, particularly, I spent approximately 50 percent of my time serving the Government. But I want it understood that I have never been an agent of the Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. All that service was gratuitous on your part?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you state some of the agencies which used your files extensively?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. The FBI, Military Intelligence, I would say G-2, and ONI, State Department, Treasury, Civil Service, and the various special branches of the Government that were set up during the war. There were numerous special branches set up, and I think it safe to say that I served all of those departments. I have also served congressional committees, police departments, State legislative committees, security departments of war industries, labor unions, veterans' organizations, civil and patriotic societies and associations, editors, et cetera.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I believe Mr. Steele has prepared testimony, and I suggest that he proceed in his own way to submit the views of his organization on the two bills which are now pending before the committee and also any information which he has compiled on the subject of communism in the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a statement, Mr. Steele?

Mr. STEELE. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. If you care to, you may proceed.

Mr. STEELE. For many years, the American Coalition and the National Republic have supported the continuation of congressional investigations of subversive menaces within our country, and at its last annual conference, held on January 24, 1947, at the Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C., a resolution was passed commending the work of this committee. The societies represented at this conference have continued over a period of years to request that the Congress of the United States deprive the Communist Party, as well as any and all other subversive movements, of its legal status. The following resolution was adopted by the American Coalition at its January 1947 convention:

Whereas it is demonstrable that the doctrines of Marxian socialism, which constitute the creed of the Communist Party, contemplate the creation of a dictatorship by violence if necessary; and

Whereas dictatorship under any form or under any name is utterly repugnant to the ideals of the American people: Be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition, in annual convention assembled, urges Congress to take appropriate steps to deprive the Communist Party of legal status, or any party which directly or indirectly suggests the use of violence for attainment of power; and be it further

Resolved, That the Congress be urged to take appropriate steps to deprive of civil rights any citizen who acts as the agent of a foreign power or political party seeking the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

I wish to submit a copy of this resolution, please.

Mr. STRIPLING. It will be received as exhibit No. 2.²

(Exhibit No. 2 was received.)

Mr. STEELE. I have carefully studied all the resolutions dealing with the Communist menace that have been presented to this Congress, and any one and all of them can be endorsed, since the intent of each is the same. H. R. 2122 and H. R. 1884, now under consideration, had not been introduced at the time of the January convention of the American Coalition, and they were not, of course, discussed at that time. However, I feel that they are in line with the resolution adopted at the convention and the sentiments expressed by the delegates on the subject. H. R. 2122 deals with the Communist Party, and it supports a law which, in effect, would at least cripple its solidarity activities. H. R. 1884 deals with party activities and its fronts, its penetration in our schools, and its propaganda sent through the mails.

I wish to take this opportunity to present to this committee evidence of the all-inclusive ramifications of the movement these and other resolutions are intended to either control or to outlaw entirely. These ramifications are so extensive that, while the two resolutions referred to above and others have been presented to this Congress previously are definite steps toward the elimination of the menace, much broader legislation must be passed. State legislatures will have to pass much of the legislation controlling the activities of subversive forces.

Although the Communist Party has already been outlawed as such in 12 States which have barred it from the ballot, it continues to operate in those States. It has apparently found no trouble in circumventing laws by nominating candidates as independents without party label or in forcing its candidates on legitimate party tickets. In California where the party is barred from the ballot, Communists maintain their second largest section. They ran a Communist as an independent in the last State election, and they freely nominate them for local office. Communists in Indiana have even changed the emblem of the party, originally the hammer and sickle.

The CHAIRMAN. May I interrupt there?

Then it is your opinion that if the Congress should approve one of these bills and enact it into law, to outlaw the Communist Party, that the Communist Party would circumvent the law and nothing would be gained?

Mr. STEELE. I think that you would set a precedent for the States, but under the election laws, I believe, you will find that the States control the ballot, and for that reason I don't think that a law by Congress itself would be sufficient. Each State would have to follow suit.

In most States they continue to run their own candidates in elections for local posts. They are now pushing for a coalition of leftists, with the expectation of forming a major third party.

You understand, of course, that the Communist Party is set up on a National, State, and local organizational basis. There is an over-all national organization, under which are district organizations. These, in turn, supervise State organizations. Under them come the section organizations and, finally, the local unit organizations.

I submit herewith the break-down of this set-up, together with the names of the leaders and organizers of these movements. It includes

² See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 2.

the names of some 500 leaders of the Communist Party, with notations of the positions they hold in the party and the addresses of the National and State headquarters thereof. It also names the personnel of various party committees which direct the diverse functions or party activity.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Steele has compiled the breakdown according to States of the various officials of the Communist Party. The length of the list is some 10 or 12 pages long, and unless the Chair would like to hear the officials of any particular State, I suggest that the list be not read but that the entire list be included in the record, not as an exhibit, but included in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. We will include it in the record at this point.

Mr. STRIPLING. I also suggest, Mr. Chairman, since the committee is not going to have Mr. Steele read the list, that if he has an extra copy that he make it available at the press table in the event anyone with the press would like to take any of the names.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an extra copy, Mr. Steele?

Mr. STEELE. I brought an extra copy along; yes, sir.

(The list referred to above is as follows:)

COMMUNIST PARTY, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

National headquarters: 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y.

Chairman—William Z. Foster

General secretary—Eugene Dennis (Waldron)

Administrative secretary—John Williamson

Treasurer—Vacant since the death of Charles Krumbein

National secretariat:

William Z. Foster

Eugene Dennis

Robert Thompson

John Williamson

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

John Gates

Gil Green

Gus Hall

Irving Potash

Jack Stachel

Carl Winter

Henry Winston

National committee:

William Z. Foster

Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.

Rose Gaudin

Mickey Lima

John Williamson

Nat Ganley

Bella Dodd

James Jackson

Louis Weinstock

William McKie

Nat Ross (South)

Fred Blair

Jack Stachel

Gus Hall

Nat Cohen

Ferdinand Smith

Abner Berry

Alexander Bittleman

Claudia Jones

Alexander Trachtenberg

David Davis

Herb Signer

Irving Potash

Max Weiss

Lem Harris

Hal Simon

National review board:

Chairman—Ray Hansborough

Vice chairman—Vacant since the death of Charles Krumbein

Secretary—Saul Wellman

William McKie

National labor commission:

Chairman—John Williamson

Secretary—William Albertson

Administrative secretary—Robert Minor

Al Blumberg

Pat Toohey

National women's commission:

Chairman—Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

Assistant Secretary—Claudia Jones

- National Negro commission:
 Chairman—Josh Lawrence
 Secretary—Henry Winston
- National groups commission:
 Chairman—Steve Nelson
- National farm commission:
 Chairman—Max Weiss
 Secretary—Lem Harris
- Organizing commission:
 Secretary—Henry Winston
 Assistant Secretary—Betty Gannett
- Coordinating Committee, National Maritime Field—
 Al Lannon.
- Jewish Commission:
 Secretary—Moses Miller
 General Secretary—Alexander Bittleman
- Veterans' commission:
 Director—John Gates
 George Blake
 Joseph Clark
 Louis Diskind
 Irving Goff
 Howard Johnson
 Herbert Kurzer
 Carl Reinstein
- Student's commission:
 Director—Marion Shaw.
- Legislative commission:
 Chairman—Arnold Johnson
 Secretary—Robert Minor
- Educational Agit-Prop. and publicity commission:
 Chairman—Jack Stachel
 Secretary—Max Weiss
- Leon Strauss
 Robert Thompson
 Carl Vedro
 George Watt
 Saul Wellman
 Herbert Wheeldin
 Henry Winston

DISTRICT AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

Northeast district, 80 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

(States included: Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont)

- Chairman (district)—(Manny) Emmanuel Blum
 Secretary (district)—Fanny Hartman
 Chairman (Massachusetts section)—Otis A. Hood
 Committee members for Massachusetts:
 Jack Green
 Hy Gordon (trade union secretary, Massachusetts).
 William E. Harrison
 Arthur E. Timpson (husband of Anna Durlak)
 Joseph C. Figueiredo (Bristol organizer)
- Organizer, Boston—F. Collier
 Secretary-treasurer (district)—Hugo Gregory
 Educational director, Massachusetts—Alice Gordon
 State (Massachusetts) campaign committee—Frances Hood (Mrs. Archer Hood)
 Chairman, New Hampshire section—Elba Chase Nelson
 Labor secretary and Massachusetts organizer—Daniel Boone Schirmer
 Chairman (Maine)—Lewis Gordon

*Eastern Pennsylvania-Delaware District, 250 South Broad Street,
 Philadelphia, Pa.*

(States included: Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware)

- Chairman (district)—Phil Bart
 Secretary (district)—Bob Klonsky
 Committee members:
 Tom Nabried
 Estelle Shoben
 Carl Reeve
 Jules Abercaugh
- Bill McKane
 Jessie Schneiderman
 Sam Donchin
 John Devine

Secretary, thirty-sixth ward (Philadelphia)—Bill Brockman
 Financial secretary (district)—Ben Weiss
 Organizer, Wilkes-Barre section—Joseph Dougher
 Organizer (district)—Sam Rosen
 Member, labor committee—David Davis

Western Pennsylvania district, 417 Grant Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

(Western Pennsylvania)

Chairman—Roy Hudson
 Secretary—Dave Grant
 Organizer—J. G. Eddy
 Chairman, Lehigh Valley section—Charles Spencer
 Chairman, Lawrenceville section—Matt Cortich
 Organizer, Lawrenceville section—Eleanor Sacker
 Organizer, Jones & Laughlin Club of Communist Party (Pittsburgh)—Sam Reed
 Youth organizer, Pittsburgh—Mike Hausik
 Executive secretary (district)—Peter Edward Karpa

Committee members:

Joe Godfrey	Ben Careathers
Elmer Kish	Gabor Kist
Dave Grant	

Maryland-District of Columbia district, 210 West Franklin Street, Baltimore, Md., and 527 Ninth Street N.W., Washington, D. C.

(Maryland and Washington, D. C.)

Chairman (district)—Phil Frankfeld
 Secretary (district)—Dorothy Blumberg
 Chairman (District of Columbia section)—William Taylor
 Vice chairman (District of Columbia section)—William S. Johnson
 Secretary (District of Columbia section)—Elizabeth Searle
 Treasurer (District of Columbia section)—Mary Stalcup
 Literary director (District of Columbia section)—Casey Gurewitz
 Cumberland organizer—Mel Fiske
 Director, membership committee—Constance Jackson

District of Ohio, 2056 East Fourth Street, Cleveland, Ohio

(State of Ohio)

Chairman—Gus Hall
 Secretary—Martin Chancey
 Organizing secretary—Frieda Katz
 Organizer—A. Krehmarek

Committee members:

Gus Hall	Carl Guilood
Abe Lewis	Elmer Fehlhaber
Edward Chaka	Martin Chancey
Bernard Marks	Mike Davidow
Robert Hamilton	

Chairman, Cedar-Central section—Abe Lewis
 Chairman, Cuyahoga County section—Gus Hall
 Chairman, Cleveland County section—Elmer Fehlhaber
 Secretary, Cleveland County section—Mike Davidow
 Organizer, Toledo section—Nat Cohn
 Organizer, Cincinnati section—Robert Gunkel
 Organizer, Akron section—Bernard Marks

Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota district, 1216 Nicollet Street Minneapolis, Minn.

(States included: Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota)

Chairman (district)—Martin Mackie (Minnesota)
 Secretary (district)—Carl Ross
 Assistant secretary (district)—Rose Tillotson
 Chairman, Hennepin County section (Minnesota)—Robert J. Kelly
 Secretary, Pine County, Minn., district—Clara Jorgensen

District of Indiana, 29 South Delaware Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind.

(State of Indiana)

Chairman—Elmer Johnson

Secretary—Henry Aron

Legislative director, Indiana and Illinois—William Patterson

Committee members:

Elmer Johnson

Benjamin Cohen

Morris Porterfield

Imogene Johnson

Sylira Aron

District of Michigan, 902 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Mich.

(State of Michigan)

Chairman—Carl Winters

Secretary—Helen Allison

National committee representative—James Jackson

Educational director—Abner Berry

Youth director—Robert Cummings

Daily Worker representative—Mabel Mitchell

Organizer—Fred Williams

Committee members:

Hugo Beiswenger

Joe Brandt

Geneva Olmsted

Chairman, Ypsilanti, Willow Run section—Thomas Dennis

Chairman, Flint section—Thomas Kelly

Chairman, Hamtramck section—Thomas Dombrowski

Secretary, New Haven—Joseph Gonzales, Jr.

State literature director—Byron Edwards

Chairman, Flint—Berry Blossinghame

Chairman, Michigan Avenue, Detroit section—John Hell

District of Illinois, 208 North Wells, Chicago, Ill.

(States included: Illinois and Kentucky)

Chairman, Illinois section—Alfred Wagenknecht

Chairman (district)—Gil Green

Vice chairman—William L. Patterson

Assistant secretary—Victoria Kramer

Legislative director, Illinois section—Edward Starr

Labor secretary, Illinois section—Fred Fine

Chairman, East Side Chicago section—Claude Lightfoot

Section organizer—Jim Keller

Chairman, Communist Party Club section—Paul Robeson

Organizer—Henry Davis

Section organizer, Ninth Congressional District—Ethel Shapiro

Organizer, South Chicago section—James Balanoff, Jr.

Chairman, twenty-eighth ward—Sylvia Woods

Chairman, third ward—Ishmael Flory

District of New York, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y.

(State of New York)

Chairman—Robert Thompson

Vice chairman—Rose Gauden

Organizing secretary—William Norman

Organizer—Donald MacKenzie Lester

Director of education—William Weinstone

Secretary of education—Sam Coleman

Legislative director—Bella Dodd

Farm organizer—George Cook

Youth director—Lou Diskin

Secretary, legislative committee—Lillian Gates

Director, industrial section—Ben Gold

Chairman, Negro committee—Charles Lohman

- Director, veterans' committee—John Gates
 Assistant director, veterans committee—Howard Johnson
 Director, Daily Worker veterans' committee—Joe Clark
 Assistant organizational director—Charles Lohman
 Chairman, Communist Party Club, New York City—Leon Beverley
 Water front organizers—Tom Christensen and Al Rothbart
 Italian section organizer—Antonio Lombardo
- State secretariat:
- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Robert Thompson | Israel Amter |
| Hal Simon | William Norman |
- Committee members (in addition to above):
- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Nat Slutsky (sectional organizer) | Elwood Dean |
| Michael Salerno | George Watt |
- Harlem section:
- Chairman—Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.
 Executive secretary—Robert Campbell
 Administrative secretary—John Lavin
 Industrial section director—Rose Gaulden
 Organizing director—Anselo Cruz
 Organizing secretary—Bonita Williams
 Educational director—Carl Dorfman
- Committee members:
- | | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Bob Campbell | Maude White |
| Bonita Williams | Cyril Phillips |
| Rose Gaulden | Fern Owens |
| Larry Washington | Theodore Bassett |
| Leon Love | John Lavin |
| Carmen Lopez | Letty Cohen |
| Horace Marshall | Herb Whiteman |
| Benjamin J. Davis, Jr. | Oscar James |
| Sam Patterson | |
- New York County section:
- Executive secretary—George Blake Charney
 Membership director—Clara Lester
 Educational director—Rebecca Grecht
- Executive committee members:
- | | |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| James Tormey | Robert Campbell |
| Louis Mitchell | Ester Letz |
| Howard Johnson | David Greene |
| Esther Cantor | Evelyn Wiener |
| Tom Christinsen | Alvin Warren |
- Queens County section:
- Chairman—Paul Crosbie
 Organizer—Dave Rosenberg
 Secretary—James A. Burke
 Educational director—Helen Stuart
 Organizing secretary—Fay Collar
 Sectional organizer—Milton Goldstein
- Bronx section:
- Chairman—Isidora Begun
 Organizing secretary—Bob Appel
 Press director—Bob Alpert
 Educational director—Robert Klonsky
 Assistant educational director—Henry Kuntzler
- Kings County section:
- Chairman—Peter V. Cacchione
 Chairman, women's committee—Margaret Cowl (Krumbein)
 Sectional organizer—Carl Vedro
 Press director—Mickey Langbert
- Essex County section:
- Chairman—Martha Stone
- Manhattan County section:
- Executive secretary—George Charney
 Press director (industrial)—Al Reger
- Brooklyn section:
- Organizing secretary—John White

Miscellaneous sections:

Chairman, Buffalo—Lloyd Kinsey
 Organizer, Buffalo—Nicholas Kosanovich
 Assistant to chairman, Buffalo—Norman Ross
 Chairman, Rochester—Gertrude Kowal
 Chairman, Syracuse—George Sheldrick
 Chairman, Utica—Murray Savage
 Chairman, Schenectady—Harold Klein
 Chairman, Binghamton—Irving Weissman
 Chairman, Yonkers—Edna Fried
 Chairman, Astoria, Long Island—Esther Signer
 Secretary, Nassau County—John Lavin
 Secretary, Coney Island—William Albertson
 Organizing secretary, eastern New York—Morris Smith
 Director, Nassau County—Jim Faber
 Chairman, Melrose—Joe Jackson
 Literature director, Middletown—Rose Walsh
 Organizing secretary, Williamsburg—Leon Nelson
 Organizer, Brownsville—Abe Osheroff
 Organizer, Nassau—Sam Faber
 Chairman, Westchester—Herbert L. Wheeldin
 Section organizer—Leon Nelson
 Press director, Bright Beach—Harry Klein
 Organizer, Morrisania—Morris Stillman
 Organizer, Allerton—Bernard Schuldiner
 Organizer, Parkechester—Sparky Friedman
 Organizer, Jamaica—Charles Evans

Northwest district, 1016½ Second Avenue, Seattle, Wash., and 916 East Hawthorne Street, Portland, Oreg.

(States included: Idaho, Oregon, and Washington)

Chairman (district)—Henry Hreff
 Labor secretary (district)—Andre Remes
 Secretary, Pierce County section—Clara Sear
 Director, People's World, Seattle—Marx Blashko
 Committee members (in addition to above):
 C. Van Lydegraf
 Barbara Hartle
 Edward Alexander
 Chairman, Spokane section—William L. Cumming
 Chairman, Oregon section—Ead Payne
 Secretary, Oregon section—Mark Haller

District of California, 9½ Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

(State of California)

Chairman—William Schneiderman
 Organizing secretary—Loretta Starvis
 State treasurer—Anita Whitney
 State field organizer—Mickey Lima
 State educational director—Celeste Strack
 People's Daily World circulation director—Leo Baroway
 Chairman, youth commission—George Kaye
 Chairman, Jewish commission—A. Olken
 State press director—Ida Rothstein
 State youth director—George Kaye
 Labor secretaries—Archie Brown and Leon Kaplan

Committee members:

John Pittman	Loretta Starvis
Louise Todd	Nemmy Sparks
Ray Thompson	Clarence Tobey
William Schneiderman	George Lohr
Pettis Perry	Mickey Lima

State political editor—Douglas Ward
 Secretary, water-front section—Herbert Nugent

Los Angeles County section:

Chairman—Nemury Sparks
 Labor secretary—Ben Dobbs
 Press director—Elizabeth Ricardo
 Chairman, minorities commission—Pettis Perry
 Organizing secretary—Dorothy Healy
 Editor, People's Daily World—Sidney Burke
 Chairman Sixteenth Congressional District—Emil Freed
 Section organizer—Alvin Averbuck
 Legislative director—Harry Daniels
 Harbor section organizer—Jim Forrest
 Veterans' director—Merel Brodsky
 Youth director—Phil Bock
 Secretary, Carver Club section—Mort Newman
 Candidate, board of education—La Rue McCormack
 Candidate, councilman—Henry Steinberg—Ninth District
 Candidate, councilman—James C. McGowan—Eleventh District
 Candidate, councilman—Elsie M. Monjar—Eighth District
 Director, West Adams Club of Communist Party—Joe Klein
 Social activity secretary, 62 AD, Communist Party—Ida Elliott

Northern California section:

Chairman, San Francisco section—Oleta Yates
 Legislative director, San Francisco section—Herb Nugent
 Labor director, San Francisco—Leon Kaplan
 Water-front organizer—Alex Freskin
 Educational director, San Francisco—Aubrey Grossman

San Diego County section:

Chairman: Enos J. Baker

Alameda County section:

Chairman—Lloyd Lehman
 Labor director—Wesley Bodkin
 Organizer, Ben Davis Club of Communist Party (Alameda)—Buddy Green
 Trade-union director, Harriet Tubman Club of Communist Party (Alameda)—Helen Bodkin

Miscellaneous section:

President, Santa Monica Club of Communist Party—David Grant
 Chairman, Contra Costa County—Mildred Bowen
 Chairman, Hollywood section—John Stapp
 Press director, East Side Youth Club (Los Angeles)—Libby Wilson
 Organizer, North Oakland section—George Edwards

District of Arizona, 716½ North Washington Street, Phoenix, Ariz.

(State of Arizona)

Chairman—Morris Graham

Committee members:

Lewis Johnson

Karl M. Wilson

Chairman, Maricopa County—M. Dallen

District of New Jersey, 38 Park Place, Newark, N. J.

(State of New Jersey)

Chairman—Sid Stein

Organizing secretary—Larry Mahon

Section organizer, Plainfield—Al Muniz

Committee members:

Martha Stone (Scherer)

Joseph Magliacana

Tom Scanlon

Elwood Dean

Irving Glassman

Mrs. Gaetana Mahan

District of Connecticut, 231 Fairfield Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.

(State of Connecticut)

Chairman—Joe Roberts

Secretary—Mike Rosso

Committee members (in addition to above):

Rudolph Gillespie

Roy A. Leib

Chairman Hartford section—Roy A. Leib

Chairman New Haven section—Sidney S. Taylor

District of Wisconsin, 617 North Second Street, Milwaukee, Wis.

(State of Wisconsin)

Chairman—Fred Blair
 Secretary—E. Eisenscher
 State committee—Sigmund Eisenscher
 Chairman Milwaukee section—G. Eisenscher
 Chairman sixth ward—Joe Ellis
 Secretary Milwaukee section—Clarence Blair (alias Clark)
 Organizer, Milwaukee—James Phillips

District of Colorado, 929 Seventeenth Street, Denver, Colo.

(States included: Colorado, New Mexico, and Wyoming)

Chairman—William Dietrich
 Secretary—Arthur W. Barry
 Organizational secretary—Tracy Rogers

District of Missouri, 1041 North Grand Street, St. Louis, Mo.

(State of Missouri)

Chairman—Ralph Shaw
 Secretary—Nathan Oser

District of West Virginia, Charleston, W. Va.

(State of West Virginia)

Chairman—Ted Allen

Southern District

(States included: Texas, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Oklahoma, North Carolina, and South Carolina)

Chairman, Texas—Ruth Koenig, 305 Herman Building, Houston, Tex.
 Executive secretary, Texas—James J. Green.
 Chairman, Houston section—William C. Crawford
 Chairman, Louisiana—James E. Jackson, Jr.
 Secretary, Louisiana—Kay Davis, Godchaux Building, New Orleans, La.
 Chairman, Florida-Georgia—Alex W. Trainor, 1546 Loma, Jacksonville, Fla.
 Organization secretary, Florida-Georgia—Homer Chase
 Chairman, Virginia—Alice Burke, 102 North Eighth, Richmond, Va.
 Chairman, Alabama-Mississippi-Tennessee—Harold Bolton
 Secretary, Alabama-Mississippi-Tennessee—Andy Brown
 Press director, Alabama-Mississippi-Tennessee—Harry Raymond
 Organizer, Alabama-Mississippi-Tennessee—Mary Southard
 Chairman, Oklahoma—Allen Shaw
 District organizer, Oklahoma—H. Smith, Oklahoma City, Okla.
 Organizing secretary, Oklahoma—Al Lowe
 Organizing secretary, North and South Carolina—Sam Hall

District of Montana, 2117 Fourth Avenue South, Great Falls, Mont.

(State of Montana)

Chairman—Ira Siebrasse

District of Nebraska, 415 Karback Building, Omaha, Nebr.

(State of Nebraska)

State chairman—Warren Batterson

District of Utah, 75 Southwest Temple Street, Salt Lake City, Utah

(State of Utah)

State chairman—Wallace Talbot
 State secretary—Joseph Douglas

MR. STEELE. Let us consider, as an example, the partial division of the party sections in one State—Pennsylvania. This State is divided into two districts: One is the western Pennsylvania district, which operates independently from the eastern section; the other the eastern Pennsylvania-Delaware district. It is the latter that I will break down.

There are 22 sections in eastern Pennsylvania, 2 in Delaware, and 1 in southern New Jersey. Thirteen are in Philadelphia and one in each of the following localities: Bucks County, Allentown, Reading, Lancaster, Chester, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, Minersville, Washington, Wilmington, and the Delaware County and Lehigh Valley sections. Each of these is broken down into smaller—club—units. In the Michigan district, Detroit, like Philadelphia, is but one of the sections, and the Detroit section is divided into 33 units or clubs. Los Angeles, as another example, is broken down into 62 units. In Oregon, a smaller State, there are only nine sections. In Washington, D. C., there are 16 units.

In my opinion—one which I think is possibly shared by members of this committee—the Communist Party is not a political party in the true sense of the word. It is camouflaged as such, not with the expectation of electing candidates to high office but rather for the purpose of agitating and propagandizing in behalf of communism and its plot to overthrow our Government. The Communist Party plank purports to uphold the so-called everyday needs of the masses. Through this ruse it hopes to gain sufficient following and strength with which to carry out its plans for a revolution when the time is deemed ripe. Its machine is kept intact in order to lead the revolutionary overthrow and to assume dictatorship of the Government at such time. By posing as a political party, by propagandizing, and by utilizing pressure tactics, it can also further step-by-step legislation toward Marxism. Communists hope to gain the balance of power in certain sections—for instance, through the American Labor Party—thereby neutralizing candidates on major tickets and forcing them to become defenders of the Communist Party, to lead its fronts, and to serve as its agents and mouthpieces. The Communists have admitted that this is their plan. As proof, I quote at this point from the Manifesto and Program of the Communist Party of America, as exposed by the State Department at a Senate hearing on July 9, 1930:

Communism does not propose to capture the bourgeois parliamentary state, but to conquer and destroy it. * * * The conquest of power of the state is accomplished by the mass power of the proletariat. Political mass strikes are a vital factor in developing this mass power, preparing the working class for the conquest of capitalism.

The power of the proletariat lies fundamentally in its control of industrial process. The mobilizing of the control against capitalism means the initial form of the revolutionary mass action that will conquer the power of the state. * * *

The Communist Party is fundamentally a party of action. * * * The Communist Party directs the workers' struggle against capitalism, developing fuller forms and purposes in this struggle, culminating in the mass action of revolution.

The Communist maintains that the class struggle is essentially a political struggle; that is, a struggle to conquer the power of the state * * * and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. * * *

Participation in parliamentary campaigns, which in the general struggle of the proletariat, is of secondary importance, is for the purpose of revolutionary propaganda only.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have been quoting from the Communist Manifesto?

Mr. STEELE. The Communist Manifesto of the United States.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask a question.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This list of clubs that you have there—

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What makes you believe that they are Communist clubs?

Mr. STEELE. I was speaking, Mr. Chairman, of the Communist clubs.

The CHAIRMAN. Are they avowed Communist clubs?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; avowed Communist clubs.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. STEELE. Just before the war, you recall, the party was changed to an association, and at that time they changed the units to clubs. They named each club, like the John Reed Club, and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. This list that you submitted is of what date?

Mr. STEELE. Is of the present date.

Mr. STRIPLING. What you mean, Mr. Steele, is that the Communist Party revamped its entire organizational set-up after the announced abolition of the Comintern?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And now, Mr. Chairman, the Communist Party functions as study groups, rather than as cells or sections, as they previously did, and their membership records and their financial records are paid and kept as such now, rather than into central headquarters as they were at one time; is that true?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. Their membership list, financial statement, and so forth, would be in the headquarters of each one of these clubs?

Mr. STEELE. The local statements; yes. I would say, however, that the sectional office would have a list of the clubs under that section—which I think I can prove by documentary evidence later—and that possibly the national office has the sectional office records.

The CHAIRMAN. Excuse me.

The record will show that Mr. McDowell is present.

Mr. STEELE. In testifying before a congressional committee in 1928, William Z. Foster, present national chairman of the Communist Party, said:

The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system and the confiscation of the social necessities of life. * * * I have stated that the Communist Party advocates the abolition of the capitalist system in this country and every other country; that this must develop out of the sharpening of the class struggle. * * * The conquest of power by the proletariat does not mean peaceful capturing of the ready-made bourgeois state machinery by means of parliamentary majority. * * * Our party, different from the Socialist Party, creates no illusions amongst the workers that they can vote their way to emancipation, that they can capture the ready-made machinery of the state and utilize it for the emancipation of the working class. On the contrary, we must utilize this campaign to carry on widespread and energetic propaganda to teach the workers that the capitalist class would never allow the working class peacefully to take control of the state. The working class must shatter the capitalist state. * * * No Communist, no matter how many votes he should secure in a national election, could become, even if he would, President of the present Government. When a Communist heads a government in

the United States, and that day will come just as surely as the sun rises, that government will not be a capitalistic government but a Soviet government, and behind this government will stand the Red Army to enforce the dictatorship of the proletariat. * * *

Upon being further questioned with regard to the purposes and aims of the Communist Party, Foster stated at that time:

The Communist Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist system * * * and the Communists of the United States owe no allegiance to the Government of the United States or to the American flag. Communists of this and all countries look upon the Soviet Union as their country, and they recognize only one flag, the Red flag.

Foster described the Red flag as "the flag of the proletarian revolution."

Many similar statements have been made by Communist leaders from time to time, all of which prove the charges I have made. Another pertinent statement appeared in the pamphlet, *A Talk About the Communist Party*, issued in 1943 by the Workers' Library Publishers, one of the official Communist publication houses. This boasts of the manner in which a comparatively small movement, such as the Communist Party, can influence a large number of people into the following of the party. The statement reads as follows:

The Communist Party represents a coherent set of ideas. * * * The second characteristic of our party is that, while being a small well-knit group, thinking and working collectively in a way that makes it act different from any other party and different from the masses, at the same time, if it is really functioning as the Communist Party, it is always in the closest contact with the masses. * * *

Our program is the most powerful thing in the political life of our country today, the most powerful thing in the world today. We are planting it in America so that it grows right out of the ground of our country and our community. Our party is strong because of this, strong beyond its numbers, because we grow slowly in numbers, we grow by leaps and bounds in our influence. * * * We are the ones who always know what we are doing and where we are going. * * * We work together, we think together, and this gives us a strength far beyond any individuals. * * *

In our agitation around these demands (everyday needs of workers) we must emphasize the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution. Our strategy is to utilize these immediate demands to educate and organize the masses in preparation for the final revolutionary struggle, which will abolish capitalism altogether. Reliance on immediate demands would lead us merely to reformism. Our party is a revolutionary party. It aims not simply to ease conditions a bit under capitalism for the workers but to abolish capitalism altogether. * * * The Communist Party is a Leninist, Marxist party. It knows how to participate in the daily struggles of the workers. It knows how to utilize all these struggles to develop class consciousness * * * and thus begin the mobilization for the eventual overthrow of capitalism.

In promoting these "everyday needs" of the people, as a means through which the Communist Party and its fronts may gain support while building for the revolution, the issues, as a rule, involve questions pertaining to youth, war, working classes, races, farmers, and international affairs. The Communists also agitate for the socialization of industry and professions, for government relief, and for special rights for special groups. They oppose deportations and laws which restrict immigration.

In two of his books, *The Russian Revolution* and *Towards a Soviet America*, William Z. Foster clearly outlined the ultimate purposes of the Communist Party—the creation of a Soviet America which would be allied with the Soviet Union. In the foreword of *The Rus-*

sian Revolution, Foster said, "The revolution is a bitter struggle, but I do not despair of the outcome." He explained that the program of the international Communist movement is "to lead this fight, in good times and bad, to broaden and deepen it until it ends in the overthrow of the whole capitalist system."

Two years ago, in the midst of the acute afterwar crisis, the world revolution seemed to be only a matter of a few months; now it may be a question of years.

Reference was to the First World War.

In Towards a Soviet America, Foster said:

The building of soviets is begun not after the revolution, but before. The soviets are not only the foundation of the future workers' state, but also the main instruments to mobilize the masses for revolutionary struggle. * * * The American Soviet government will be organized along the broad lines of the Russian Soviets. * * * The American Soviet government will join with other soviet governments in a world soviet union. * * * The American Soviet government will be the dictatorship of the proletariat. * * * The leader of the revolution in all its stages is the Communist Party. * * * The socialization program will be carried through on the basis of confiscation without remuneration. * * * Capitalism, it is true, makes a strong and stubborn resistance. The advance of the revolution is difficult: its pace is slow * * * but its direction is sure and its movement irresistible.

The Communist movement, which had reached its peak in the United States at the beginning of World War II, following the break between Hitler and Stalin, was forced to throw everything it had into the war effort in behalf of Russia. As a result, it changed its name to the Communist Political Association and, for propaganda purposes and to circumvent the Foreign Agent Registration Act, it allegedly severed its ties to the Communist International, which was months later also declared dissolved, and this with American Communist approval, although it had previously announced that it had severed affiliation with it.

The point I am making there is that although the Communist Party of the United States declared that it had severed its connections with the Communist International one year, the next year it took part in voting the Communist International out of existence.

At that time, the name of the Young Communist League was changed to American Youth for Democracy. The names of Communist schools and propaganda publishing centers were also changed. Front organizations which had previously been disguised as "peace" and "democracy" groups switched their activities to "civil rights," racial, and foreign fronts. Many of their other fronts were temporarily shelved, but hundreds of movements for the postwar period sprung up. Still others, already in operation, extended their spheres of influence.

Since the Second World War, Communists here not only accelerated the activities of these groups, but they have also been building new propaganda, agitational, racial, and cultural movements. We must not lose sight of the fact that many of these coordinate with Red activities in the countries to our south and in the Pacific.

It is my personal opinion that far more dangerous than the Communist Party itself are its tools—the fronts or, as Earl Browder once called them, "transmission belts" of the Communist movement in the United States. Here we have a strong chain, the links of which are composed of forces, operating under high-sounding and misleading

names, the actual purposes of which are carefully camouflaged. The leaders thereof are publicized as "famed" authors, "renowned" professors, "great" scientists, and "widely known" professional men. Ever increasing numbers join them. All gradually veer to the party line through the pulling of strings by the tireless workers among these forces who have party affiliations. The most alarming phase of the situation is the manner in which these forces penetrated our armed services, the ease with which they obtained sensitive positions, and the fact that our Government permits the functioning of a reserve unit of an international Red brigade whose loyalty is to another power.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, in connection with your statement that you consider the tools of the Communist Party to be more dangerous than the party itself, based upon your investigations and studies of the situation, how many tools of the Communist Party do you think there are in the United States?

Mr. STEELE. Do you mean individuals?

Mr. STRIPLING. Individuals.

Mr. STEELE. Or organizations?

Mr. STRIPLING. Individuals.

Mr. STEELE. Well, it is merely an estimate, you understand, but I would say approximately 5,000,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. Five million people who are affiliated or identified with the Communist Party in one way or another?

Mr. STEELE. That is, with the party or its fronts.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who serve the party purposes?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. It is very hard to get an exact figure on that because there is some duplication; in one organization there may be individuals that belong to another.

The CHAIRMAN. How would you break it down?

Mr. STEELE. Pardon me?

The CHAIRMAN. How would you break it down? How many members of the Communist Party and how many fellow-travelers, and how many members of the fronts?

Mr. STEELE. There are approximately 100,000 members of the party and we have no idea how many candidates there are. We overlook the fact that a person that is signed up with the Communist Party does not become a member of the party immediately. He becomes a candidate—as you have in Russia, for instance. You have something like 6,000,000 members of the party in Russia. You have something like 8,000,000 candidates waiting to become party members. Consequently, in this country we find that in their drives they sign a person up to the party, but he remains a candidate until he is sworn into the party—and I presume that he has to go through a certain test in party work. He possibly works more diligently than a party member during that period. As to the fronts, I have tried to estimate that on this basis: We have taken the leadership of the front organizations, and we find quite a duplication there, possibly 40 percent, so we have assumed that there is 40 percent duplication, maybe 50 percent duplication in the memberships, and so we have taken total members of the organizations as we could obtain them and divided it in half. I think that is a very liberal way of estimating it. It is possibly greater than that, but at least we are not overshooting the mark.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say there are 100,000 Communist Party dues-paying, card-holding members, and would you say there were 100,000 so-called candidates?

Mr. STEELE. I would say "Yes."

The CHAIRMAN. Then there would be 4,800,000 members of front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that the largest figure we have ever received, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe that is the largest estimate, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STEELE. I want to say this, that we obtained the election statistics several years ago from the States, and we took the total of those, eliminating in the cases where there was a candidate running State-wide, we used that figure. If there was no candidate running State-wide we used the top local candidate and if that top local candidate didn't overlap another candidate we added other candidates. We arrived at a figure of 232,000 in the election that year. And ordinarily the full vote of the party is never exhibited in an election—which statistics show to be true in other countries.

Evidence has been submitted to this committee which has shown that the Communists have sent men and women, boys and girls to study at the Lenin Institute in Moscow where they have received schooling in various phases of militant Communist action in order that they might engage in such Communist activities here in the United States. Witnesses who have appeared before this committee and before committees which have held hearings in the past have testified, under oath, that they were among those who had gone to Russia for such schooling. They admitted that they studied the philosophies of Marxism, Leninism, Stalinism, and communism in general, and that they also received instruction in sedition, sabotage, street fighting, conspiracy, barricading, and other types of guerrilla warfare.

One committee which held hearings in 1936. I am certain it was the Woodrum committee, found that our WPA had been infiltrated by agents who made maps of water mains, cable lines, subway lines, and other systems of vital importance, and that these maps had eventually found their way to Moscow.

Recently a member of this committee discovered that during the recent war, photos of our large power projects, war industries, and the terrain of important sections of our country had been taken and sent to Moscow.

Back in 1939 I testified before the Special Committee Investigating Un-American Activities, and I furnished proof at that time that the Communists had opened, in 1937, a "Red School of the Air" at Bennett Field, N. Y., at which scores of young men were being trained by the Reds in flying and ground work. This school was under the direction of the International Workers' Order. I also testified to the effect that the Communist Party had organized a Red front army training and recruiting school, and that the headquarters of this outfit were then located at 95 Avenue B, New York, N. Y.

I wish to submit at this point as proof of the above statement exhibit No. 3.

(Exhibit No. 3 was received.)³

³ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit 3.

Mr. STRIPLING. What happened to that?

Mr. STEELE. That was disbanded.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was it disbanded?

Mr. STEELE. Shortly after it was exposed before the Committee of Congress.

Mr. STRIPLING. What happened to the school at Bennett Field?

Mr. STEELE. It was also abandoned after I exposed it, and there were several licensed flyers whose licenses were revoked by the Federal Government.

I discovered later that the Communists maintained a "Red Annapolis" on the Hudson in New York where men were being trained in maritime work. These schools were short-term schools, and when I presented my testimony 80 students were enrolled in the "Red School of the Air." I was not able to ascertain how many were enrolled in other schools.

Party schools were popular in those days—short-term schools which were separate from their more public schools—they then operated and still operate. These party schools were secret schools, and while I have been advised from time to time that they dealt solely with ideologies and tactics of revolution, I personally have had only one piece of evidence to prove that the latter was the case. I presented that evidence when I appeared before the McCormack committee. It described the plan of inciting mutiny in the armed forces, of encouraging the workers to fight. It outlined the plan for centralization of party leadership in the revolts they hoped to create, and the plan for seizure of the White House and the Capitol. This document was seized in a raid on a Communist center in Minnesota, and copies were sent to me. This certainly indicated that there had been a connection between the special schooling of people from this country in Moscow and the party schooling and conspiracies in the United States.

Recently we have uncovered evidence to prove that party schools are being revived in this country, and that mass meetings and marches are again being emphasized. We understand that classes are being held in private homes, and that they are naturally limited to small groups. They have also been held in large halls, as have an increasingly large number of meetings and forums.

The Nelson Davis Educational Forum—

The CHAIRMAN. What was the name of that forum?

Mr. STEELE. The Nelson Davis Educational Forum.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. STEELE. The Nelson Davis Educational Forum is being held at this time in Detroit, Mich. Through forums the Reds are able to keep their labor-union member contacts. There they meet with them "off the job." They have assumed greater importance since some in the CIO seem to have suddenly revolted against Communist leadership.

Last December 1946, the National Committee of the Communist Party met in New York City, at which time it made plans for a resumption of what it called "party discussion meets" throughout the country. The Harlem Leadership School has since been opened. This is a short-term school. Two sessions of party schools were held in Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Okla., evidence of which I have submitted (Contact).

By the way, I thought that was so important that I brought that up to your committee, and your committee permitted Mr. Mandel to photostat that for your records. It is known as Contact.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. Very hard to obtain.

And I had five issues of the publication in which the school activities are mentioned—party school activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Which school is that?

Mr. STEELE. The Tulsa school, the Harlem school, and the Nelson Davis Educational Forum.

Classes of these schools were held on Sundays between the hours of 10:30 a. m. and 5 p. m. Unquestionably, other classes are being held in all sections of the United States. Oregon party leaders, in recently denying a charge that they maintained a regular school in that State, admitted they were holding sessions of party schools in various sections of that State.

Now, getting back to the military phase of this picture, we find that many Communists joined our armed forces after Russia and Germany had broken off relations, and Hitler's armies had marched on Russia. Prior to that time, you will recall, the Communists had organized Yanks Are Not Coming Committees and urged the American people to "oppose the imperialist war." They had even created strikes in our war-industry plants. I am submitting a list of hundreds of Communists and Communist frontiers who served in our armed forces.

The CHAIRMAN. How many are there in that list?

Mr. STEELE. There are about 2,000 names.

The CHAIRMAN. Two thousand Communists joined our armed forces?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I don't believe he testified, Mr. Chairman, that 2,000 Communists joined. He testified as to Communists and Communist frontiers.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. STRIPLING. On this list, you say, there are approximately 2,000 names?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. I assume the committee doesn't want to have all of the names read?

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask if this list has been turned over to the War Department.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. It was turned over by you to the War Department?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. When was it turned over by you?

Mr. STEELE. Turned over 2 months ago.

Mr. NIXON. You said that the names represented 2,000 people?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately 2,000.

Mr. NIXON. Who belong to the Communist Party or to Communist front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You included them in the list then if you found that they did belong to these organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; I mentioned the names of the organizations.

Mr. NIXON. You, of course, recognize the fact that all people who happen to belong to Communist front organizations may not in all cases be deliberate sympathizers with the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. I agree with you; yes, sir.

Mr. NIXON. You would also recognize it possible then that some of these names might be the names of people who were members of the organization but who might not be sympathizers with the party?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; in a few instances.

Mr. NIXON. You haven't checked the names to be certain that all the people who belong to the organizations were also sympathizers with the party?

Mr. STEELE. No; I have only checked the organization to determine that it is in direct connection with the party.

Mr. NIXON. What the list represents then is that, first, everybody on that list belongs to that organization, which is a Communist front organization?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. NIXON. And, second, that the organizations have been checked by you and to your satisfaction are Communist front organizations?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is important to keep in mind there, too, that a great many people have joined up or belong to one front organization and many times it means nothing, so until we check the names and check the organizations, why, it is just another list with us.

Mr. NIXON. That is the point I wanted to emphasize.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. I will say that a great many of these are—I have established that a great many of these are active in the party itself, and the bulk of the remainder of them are connected with the International Workers' Order, and I gave their lodge number in each case, the lodge that they belong to in the International Workers' Order.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of those on the list are actual members of the Communist Party?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately 60 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixty percent?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Some of these unquestionably distinguished themselves. Russia's victory depended upon our victory, both in the west and in the east, and Russia's battles became our battles. I can best emphasize this point by submitting a copy of a letter written by one of these boys, a party leader, who had been drafted. He explains that his interest rose only when the United States accepted Russia as an ally, and when the war was transformed from an "imperialist war" to a "people's war." I submit a copy of the letter herewith.

(Exhibit No. 4 was received.)⁴

Mr. STEELE. The list of Communists and frontiers who served in our armed forces during the war should be of great value in the event the United States and Russia should go to war against each other, or if the United States happens to become involved in a war against any of Russia's satellite countries. At such a time we may find ourselves in an extremely dangerous position, for here we have a great number of

⁴ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 4.

men trained in our type of warfare, many of whom have inside knowledge of our technique and operation. Some of them are former members of our OSS.

Together with this list, I wish to submit a chart showing the set-up of an organized regiment, the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. (Exhibit No. 5 was received.)⁵

Mr. STEELE. This is a part of a world Communist army which has been kept intact. It is composed of many Communists who served in our armed forces in various capacities. We all know that the OSS, with which many of these men were connected, was the so-called super-sleuth arm of our intelligence service. This chart indicates that that which appears to be a Red Army Reserve, made up of men who saw service in the revolution with the Red army of Spain, is actually an international brigade.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, you are speaking now of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; and the International Brigade, of which it is a section.

Mr. STRIPLING. The Abraham Lincoln Brigade is the American section of the International Brigade?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. It came into being during the war in Spain?

Mr. STEELE. That is correct.

Mr. STRIPLING. The chart that you are referring to, is that this map [indicating]?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Which shows the various units of the International Brigade and their leaders?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. In various countries?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you show this to the chairman and point out before you continue with your testimony just how the international set-up is described there and explain it?

(Exhibit 5 was exhibited to the chairman by the witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is important to point out that the date of this chart is November 1946. Is that correct?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Where did you obtain the chart?

Mr. STEELE. From the office of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in New York City. I am submitting the original here.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you outline for the record the countries in which they state they have a unit?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not clear in my mind whether this Abraham Lincoln Brigade, or the organization that includes the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—

Mr. STEELE. International Brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. [Continuing:] Is in existence now, or was it just back at the time of the Spanish Revolution?

Mr. STEELE. I will cover that point, Mr. Chairman. I might say that I will submit as proof of my statement the proceedings of the

⁵ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 5.

convention of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade at which a good many of these individual leaders from other countries were present. These are the proceedings of the convention which was held in November 1946, and at that time this map was published in this report. So you have the original here. This is merely proof of my statement.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, it is your opinion that this International Brigade of which the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is a unit serves as the Red Army Reserve?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Serves today as a Red Army Reserve?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Now, in what countries. I wish you would name the countries.

Mr. STEELE. The organization, the international organization, is set up in the Soviet Union, Germany—that is, the Russian-occupied section—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Poland, Norway, Italy, France, Belgium, England, Denmark, Canada, and the United States.

The head of the Canadian section is Dr. Bethune, who, I understand, is serving with the Chinese Eighth Army, which is the Red Army of China.

The head of the Bulgarian section is Dimitrov, who was for many years secretary of the Communist International and who is now dictator of the Bulgarian Government.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, is Dimitrov the same individual who adopted the so-called Trojan war policy?

Mr. STEELE. The same individual. There are two individuals in Bulgaria by the same name, but this happens to be the one that was with the Communist International.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will you continue with your testimony?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. This brigade has organized sections in Moscow, headed by General Rodimtsev, who wears the Lenin Medal of Honor for his activities in Spain. Another section exists in Poland under General Walter (whose real name is Swierczewski), of the Polish War Department. Artur Dorf, chief of security of the Russian-occupied section of Germany, heads a section in that country. The Albanian section is led by Colonel Hodza, chief of staff of the Albanian armed forces. Dimitrov, current Communist dictator of Bulgaria who formerly headed the Communist International, is in command of the section in his country. Heading sections in the respective countries are General Nadji, of Tito's Yugoslavian staff; Gallo, of Italy; Vadalis, leader of the warring Communist factions in Greece; Colonel Dispy, of Belgium; Colonel Tanguy, of France; Colonel Hansen, of Norway; Colonel Larson, of Denmark; Dr. Bethune, of Canada, now active with Chinese Red forces; and Clive Branson, of England. Information has it that the International Brigade has been recruiting nurses in the United States in preparation for renewed action in Spain. The brigade is also reportedly recruiting in France and elsewhere to strengthen the Greek guerrilla armed forces.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, do you have any testimony on the activities of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in this country?

Mr. STEELE. I have, following this.

Mr. STRIPLING. I think if you would give the committee the testimony concerning that rather than the international aspect of it.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

In the United States, the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a unit of the International Brigade, is headed by Lt. Milton Wolff, formerly with our OSS in Italy.

The CHAIRMAN. That is, at the present time he is the head of it?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; he is the head of it at this moment.

Wolff was known in Spain as El Lobo. It is reported that he was in charge of the sabotage school in Albacete, Barcelona. He was also political commissar. He was a lieutenant colonel in the Spanish Red forces. Milt Felson, another leader of the American section, which maintains national headquarters at this time at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., was formerly with the OSS in Germany. Irving Goff, now head of the veteran activities of the Communist Party in the United States, is also active in the brigade. He, too, was with our OSS staff in Italy. Among the officers of this brigade are Walter Garland, adjutant commander, who has been an active Communist for many years, and who saw service in our armed forces; Harold Smith, who fought with the Red forces in Spain, and Jack Bjoze, executive secretary. Garland is the leader of another Red front veterans' movement in the United States—the United Negro and Allied Veterans, to which I will refer more in detail later on in my testimony. Mention of Bjoze is found in the proceedings of the fifth convention of the International Brigade, which was held a few months ago in New York.

Those are the proceedings that I submitted.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. A portion of the statement reads:

On his shoulders and for the longest period of time have fallen most of the burdens of day to day * * *

Others active in the brigade are Bob Reed, connected with the Communist Michigan Herald in Detroit; Saul Wellman, at the present time active in Red circles in Detroit; Bill Bennett, connected with the Communist Chicago Star; Joe Dull, of New York, and Harold Smith, editor of Liberty, one of the brigade's publications.

It will be recalled that the recruiting of this brigade in the United States was conducted by Communist Party heads in violation of our Federal laws. The leaders were arrested, but they were later freed and the charges against them were for some unexplained reason dropped by the Department of Justice. Browder recently admitted in a radio address that this recruiting was a violation of our laws, and that he was among the violators. He declared he would willingly repeat the offense.

Mr. STRIPLING. You referred to the Volunteers for Liberty. That is the official publication of the organization. You don't refer to Liberty magazine?

Mr. STEELE. Oh, no.

Mr. STRIPLING. So that the record will be straight.

Mr. STEELE. No, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is the Volunteers for Liberty?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; which is the organ of the brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. How long ago were these men arrested?

Mr. STEELE. Shortly after the Spanish war started.

The CHAIRMAN. It wasn't recently?

Mr. STEELE. Not recently; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many persons are in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade today?

Mr. STEELE. How many members they have?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. They claim 15,000. They have Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is a membership organization, which aids the veterans' brigade. I am not positive as to how many members they claim are in the brigade itself.

The CHAIRMAN. Their headquarters, you say, are 55 West Forty-second Street, New York City?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Dr. Barsky, of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and Paul Robeson, both of whom were active in Spain, attended the fifth convention of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and they were decorated with the Dombrowski Medal by General Walter, of the Polish section of the International Brigade. The proceedings of the convention, a portion of which I present herewith—exhibit 6⁶—prove without question that it is a branch of an international Red Army Reserve movement, the purpose of which is more than the banding together for fraternal or social reasons of those who fought in Spain. Now that we have gone to the aid of Greece and Turkey in an effort to stem the tide of communism and Russian expansion in the Mediterranean, we may discover that Italy and Spain are very important to the Communists and to Russia in their attempts to stay entirely or to force a modification of our activities against Russian expansion and Communist penetration of the remainder of Europe, northern Africa, and Asia. There is more than a discussion of the Spanish situation to be found in the proceedings. In my opinion, the brigade constitutes an organized and trained force, operating as a nucleus of a world Red Reserve Army.

Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Inc., as it is known, was incorporated in New York on December 22, 1939, by Fred P. Keeler, Jr., who gave his address at the time as 1364 Sixth Avenue, New York, N. Y.; Paul Williams, 425 East Sixth Street, New York, N. Y.; Milton Wolff (e), 1794 West Twelfth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; David McKelvy White, 60 Clarke Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Joseph Francis Rehill, 24 Grove Street, New York. These were named as directors of the organization, the number thereof having been set at five in the incorporation papers. All claimed to be citizens of the United States at that time. The organization membership is Nation-wide.

(Exhibit 7 was received.)⁷

The CHAIRMAN. We will stand in recess until such time as a member of the committee returns.

(Recess.)

Mr. BONNER. The subcommittee will resume the session. The witness, Mr. Steele, will resume.

Mr. STRIPLING. The record will show that Mr. Bonner is chairman of the subcommittee presiding. Go ahead, Mr. Steele.

Mr. STEELE. The United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, to which I have previously referred, was organized January 8, 1946, at a joint meeting of 300 veterans which was held in the Harlem (N. Y.)

⁶ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 6.

⁷ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 7.

YMCA. The meeting was sponsored by the United Veterans for Equality, the members of the provisional committee of which included Hugh Mulzac, Sy Oliver, Walter Bernstein.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, in testifying on these names, unless they are very common names, will you spell them out?

Mr. STEELE. I will; yes, sir.

[Continuing:] Millard Lampell, Gilbert Sherman, Ray Robinson, Len Zimberg, and Ben Buroki—New Masses, April 29, 1947.

The United Negro and Allied Veterans of America claim to have approximately 10,000 members in 31 States. The original national commander of the group was Kenneth Kennedy, who led the march on the courthouse in Birmingham, Ala., in the 1946 election campaign. The organization has been active in other disturbances in Georgia, Mississippi, and New York. Walter Garland, Communist, and Howard "Stretch" Johnson, a teacher at the Jefferson School—Communist—in New York, headed the New York section.

West coasters who either sponsored or participated in the activities of this veterans' movement are Charlotta Bass, Angus Hawkins, Fritz Lang, Albert Maltz, Carlton Moss, Sy Oliver, Ray Robinson, Norman Smith, Michael Uris, Bette Davis, Robert W. Kenney, and Paul Henreid.

Kenneth R. Williams, a representative of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, was elected a short time ago to the Winston-Salem, N. C., City Council. He was recently feted in New York by Benjamin Davis, head of the Harlem section of the Communist Party and a member of the New York City Council.

Lou Heit is a member of the educational committee of this veterans' group in California. Bob Rondstadt is the organizer in that State among Mexicans. Ruth Johnson is head of the California auxiliary. Coleman A. Young is commander of the Michigan section.

Offices of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America in Washington, D. C., are located at 925 U Street NW.

The first national convention of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was recently held—May 30—June 2, 1947—at the Fraternal Club House, International Workers' Order Center, 110 West Forty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y. It was reported that 400 delegates attended from 31 States. The following officers were elected at the conference: Commander, George Murphy, Jr.; adjutant, Walter Garland; executive officer, Burton Jackson; finance officer, John Killanes; advocate, Thomas Jones; vice commanders, Catherine Godfrey, Howard Johnson, Charles Shorton, Aaron Williams, Catherine Overton, Dolphin Thompson, and Edward Ateman; committeemen, James Fitzbutler and Lester Davies.

The United Veterans for Equality issued a call for all independent veteran movements to affiliate in forming a national organization. Such groups as the Brooklyn Veterans' Organizing Committee, the Veterans Against Discrimination, United Veterans of Georgia, Veterans of World War II, League of Combat Infantrymen, and the Michigan League of Veterans responded to the call. A national convention was subsequently held in Chicago in April 1946, and the permanent name of United Negro and Allied Veterans of America was given to the group which was formed at the January meeting.

Supporting the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade is the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, with headquarters in New York City

and branches in principal cities all over the country. The national officers of the friends, according to the most recent records I have been able to obtain, include the following: Phil Bard, executive secretary, who was a contributing editor of *New Pioneer* and *New Masses*, Communist publications; Paul Crosbie, chairman, who has been a trustee of the Political Prisoners Bail Fund, Communist Party candidate for county judge in New York, 1935, a member of the advisory board of the United Citizens' Committee of the American League Against War and Fascism, 1936, a vice chairman of the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, 1937, and a member of the executive committee of the American Veterans' Council, 1936; William D. Lieder, treasurer; and Jack R. Miller, national organizer.

Sponsors of the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade included Helen Arthur, a member of the Mary Ware Dennett defense committee of the American Civil Liberties Union; John T. Bernard, Farm-Labor, Minnesota, sponsor of a mass celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, Communist, in 1937, and a speaker at a meeting of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy in Chicago on July 21, 1937; Muriel Draper, a member of the Advisory Board of *Woman Today*, 1937, and a sponsor of the "Mother" Bloor celebration in 1937; Lillian Hellman, member of the advisory board of the United Citizens' Committee for the American League Against War and Fascism, 1936; John Housman; Henry Hart, member of the Committee of the National Student Forum on the Paris Pact, 1932, the advisory council of the Book Union, 1935, Committee of Professional Groups for Browder and Ford, Communist Party candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, 1936, member of the board of directors of the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy, 1937; Fred Keating; Julia Church Kolar, former head of the Descendants of the American Revolution; Arthur Kober; Archibald MacLeish, contributor to *Common Sense*, sponsor of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy, 1936, board of trustees of New School for Social Research, 1937, and a supporter of the American Civil Liberties Union; William Rollins, Jr., a member of the League for Mutual Aid, 1936, and a member of the advisory council of the Book Union, 1935; Carl Sandburg, member of the Welcoming Committee for George Russell, prominent liberal; Wallingford Reigger; Isabel Walker Soule, advisory board of *Woman Today*, 1936, sponsor of the celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor, 1937, and a writer for *Labor Defender*, 1937; Upton Sinclair, member of the John Reed Club, national council of the League for Industrial Democracy, contributor to *New Masses*, member of the national committee of the International Workers' Aid, contributing editor of the *Friends of Soviet Union Magazine*, National Committee of the War Resisters' League, member of the American Civil Liberties Union, Socialist Party candidate for Presidential elector, American Committee for Struggle Against War, honorary president of the League Against Imperialism, national committee of the International Labor Defense, and a sponsor of the celebration in honor of "Mother" Bloor; and Donald Ogden Stewart. All the organizations and publications mentioned above are directly under either Communist or Socialist influence.

I will not go further into the Communist connection of other personnel of either the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade or the Friends of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, since I am confident this com-

mittee has already done that. I merely wish to emphasize the recently uncovered fact that the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade is a section of an international which is closely allied with the Communist movement, not only in the United States but also in Russia and Russian-controlled countries. I would like to add that a woman's auxiliary has been added to the International Brigade, of which Nan Green (Mrs. Blake) is secretary. This is known as the International Brigade Association.

Veterans Against Discrimination is a section of the Civil Rights Congress, which is unquestionably a Communist front, with national headquarters in New York City. I will refer to the Civil Rights Congress more in detail later on in my testimony.

WIVES—wives of servicemen—was formed in New York City in November 1945. At the meeting at which it was organized, held in Manhattan Center, there were 250 delegates, from 11 States, and some 2,000 participants. The outfit propagandized in behalf of the withdrawal of American intervention in China. It advocates the breaking off of relations with Franco. It is opposed to anti-Sovietism, to what it terms fascism at home, racial discrimination, State Department interference in the Balkans. In January 1946 it changed its name to Veterans and Wives, Inc. It was also known at one time as Wives and Sweethearts of Servicemen.

In November 1946 Veterans and Wives elected Naomi Nash and Larry Johnson as cochairmen. It maintains chapters in Minnesota, Illinois, New Jersey, the District of Columbia, and New York. They are being used at this time as the nuclei of a Nation-wide organization.

The Communist Party claimed on June 2, 1947—Daily Worker—that of 3,500 recruits in their recent drive in New York, 628 were veterans of World War II.

Mr. STRIPLING. In your opinion, this is a Communist front organization?

Mr. STEELE. It is; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is it your observation that they have consistently followed the Communist Party line?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is it your opinion, Mr. Steele, that the organization is gaining strength?

Mr. STEELE. Slowly; very slowly.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is it still the Wives and Sweethearts of Soldiers?

Mr. STEELE. It is now Veterans and Wives, Inc.

Mr. McDOWELL. It incorporated a rather broad field there.

Mr. STEELE. We realize that, and I think that some of the branches of the Government realized that during the war, because the American Youth for Democracy also organized a group of what they called Sweethearts of Servicemen clubs, and they established centers around the recruiting and training centers to pull some of the boys in, to entertain them, and possibly for the purpose of trying to win them over to the cause, but I don't know just how successful they were in winning them over to the cause.

Mr. McDOWELL. Didn't most Army posts qualify that sort of place as being out of bounds?

Mr. STEELE. I think so. For instance, they had one in Washington, and that was very close to the center; the boys came in from the camps,

training camps, to Washington; and I think that was the center that they picked, the center of the city, and the center of the training area.

Publishing houses and publications:

The Agit-Prop—agitation-propaganda—Division is the most important division to the Communist movement in the United States of America. It, its fronts and frontiers, operate many publishing houses and issue 122 publications, millions of pamphlets, bulletins, and books which are circulated throughout the country.

Mr. STRIPLING. Pardon me, Mr. Steele. Before you move on to that section of your testimony. Mr. Chairman, the witness has submitted a list here. How many names are there on the list, Mr. Steele?

Mr. STEELE. Approximately 2,000.^{7a}

Mr. STRIPLING. People who served, men who served in the armed forces, who were either Communists, he claims, or were members of front organizations. I believe that the largest list consists of members of the International Workers' Order, men who were members of that organization, and who then joined the armed services. He has listed here the lodge of the International Workers' Order in which they were members.

The Committee on Un-American Activities and the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in numerous reports has found the International Workers' Order to be a Communist inspired, controlled, dominated organization. In fact, the officials, all of the officials, of the International Workers' Order are also very prominent officials of the Communist Party.

However, in the case of these names, I would suggest that before such a list would be made public that the committee consider in executive session first whether or not they would want such a list made public, because the mere fact that a man belonged to one organization—namely, the International Workers' Organization—is certainly not conclusive that that person may be considered as a Communist, and I ask that this list be withheld from the public record until the committee can consider it.

Mr. McDOWELL (presiding). I agree with your point on that. Of course, the committee has one fundamental duty. We are seeking information on enemies of America. We are not trying to smear any person—except those people who are enemies of America. Is there objection?

Mr. BONNER. No. I think the suggestion is worthy.

Mr. STRIPLING. Then the committee will receive the list, but it is not to be included in the public record at this time.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. That concludes your testimony on the Reds as you tied it to the armed forces?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

As an example of the rapidity with which extensive coverage can be attained by the Communist Party, I refer to the recent "Don't tread on me" campaign waged against this committee of Congress by the party and its fronts. During this campaign the party printed and circulated 4½ million leaflets and 2 million pamphlets. It car-

^{7a} List made a part of record, but upon order of the committee is not included in this volume.

ried 150 advertisements, many full-page ads, in 125 newspapers with a total circulation of 10 million, and it made 110 local broadcasts. In addition, the campaign was given publicity in the Communists' own 122 publications. All this propagandizing covered a period within the past 2 months.

The largest of the Red publishing firms is New Century Publishers, Inc., 832 Broadway, New York. It was incorporated December 8, 1944. The incorporators were Joseph Felshin, 832 Broadway, New York City; Isidore Greenbaum, 207 Fourth Avenue, New York City; and Betty Greenbaum, of the same address. Morris Greenbaum served as its agent. The capital stock was set at \$20,000.

I wish to exhibit as proof of that statement the incorporation papers of the publishing house.

(Exhibit No. 8 was received.)⁸

Mr. STEELE. Two other publishing houses are International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., of which Alex Trachtenberg is president; and the Workers' Library Publishers, also of New York.

The current catalog of New Century Publishers, Inc., lists some 320 publications for distribution.

(Exhibit No. 9 was received.)⁹

The CHAIRMAN. Listing some 320 publications for distribution?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Among the authors of these publications are R. Palme Dutt, Clive Branson, Mao Tse-Tung, Emile Burns, Gerhart Eisler, Albert Norden, Albert Shreiner, Stanley B. Ryerson, Maurice Thorez, V. J. Jerome, Georgi Dimitrov, Eugene Dennis, Gino Bardi, V. M. Molotov, Sender Garlin, William Z. Foster, Joseph North, Philip Foner, Alex Trachtenberg, John S'eben, S. A. Lozovsky, Alden Whitman, Anthony Bimba, C. Todes, Grace Hutchins, Louise Mitchell, Moses Miller, Herbert Tark, Robert Friedman, George Marion, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, A. B. Magil, Louis E. Burnham, Carol King, Robert Minor, Doxey Wilkerson, Robert W. Dunn, Jack Hardy, K. D. Lumpkin, W. D. Douglas, Anna Rochester, Horace B. Davis, Bruce Minton, John Stuart, Henry Stevens, James S. Allen, Elizabeth Lawson, Francis Franklin, Herbert W. Morais, Isobel Cable Manes, Katherine Dupre Lumpkin, Earl Conrad, Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Lee Norton, James J. Green, Maxim Litvinov, A. Badayev, Joseph Stalin, Hugo Huppert, Professor I. Minz, Sergei N. Kournakoff, Hewlett Johnson, Maurice Dobb, Harry F. Ward, Andre Marty, D. Z. Manuilsky, Edwin E. Smith, Eugene Tarle, Corliss Lamont, Marcel Prenant, Ivan P. Pavlov, Jonathan Kemp, A. Landy, Howard Selsam, Jacques Ducloux, Ralph Fox, Max Weiss, John Williamson, V. Adortasky, F. M. Klingeder, John Lewis, H. G. Wells, W. H. Emmett, E. Varga, L. Mendelsohn, J. Beauchamp, Jurgen Kuczynski, T. A. Jackson, William Gallacher, Brian O'Neill, L. Beria, Ella Reeve Bloor, Henry Hart, Ben Field, James Steele, Myra Page, Edgell Rickword, Jack Lindsay, Michael Gold, Nicholas Ostrovski, Meridel Le Sueur, Sol Funaroff, Harry Slochower, Samuel Sillen, Albert Maltz, Richard Wright, Geoffrey Trease, Eric Lucas, Alex Wedding, and Langston Hughes.

⁸ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 8.

⁹ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit No. 9.

New Century Publishers, Inc., International Publishers, and the Workers' Library Publishers distribute their own publications, as well as other literature. For this purpose book stores are maintained in every large city in the country. The largest of these stores are as follows: Modern Book Shop, 180 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill., Sam Hammersmark, charter member of the Communist Party, manager; Tom Paine Book Store, 3539 West Lawrence Avenue, Chicago; Community Book Store, 1404 East Fifty-fifth Street, Chicago; Progressive Book Shop, 722 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles; People's Book Shop, 722 West Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.; Workers' Book Shop, 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City; Jefferson School Book Shop, 575 Sixth Avenue, New York City; Forty-fourth Street Bookfair, 133 West Forty-fourth Street, New York City; Russian Skazka, 277 West Forty-sixth Street, New York City; Library Book Shop, 321 Kasota Building, Minneapolis; Locust Book Shop, 269 South Eleventh Street, Philadelphia; Frontier Book Shop, 826 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland; International Book Store, 1400 Market Street, San Francisco; New World Book Shop, 413 Karback Block, Omaha; Victory Book Shop, 515 Southwest Eleventh Street, Portland, Oreg.; Modern Record and Book Shop, 216 Halsey Street, Newark; Detroit Book Store, 902 Lawyers' Building, Detroit; Washington Cooperative Book Shop, 916 Seventeenth Street Northwest, Washington, D. C., selling Communist books, and believed to be part of this system of propaganda; and Modern Book Shop, 1907 North Fifth Avenue, Birmingham, Ala.; Progressive Book Distributors, 305 Herman Building, Houston, Tex. Other book shops located in California are the following: Maritime Book Shop, 15 Embarcadero, San Francisco; 20th Century Book Shop, 2475 Bancroft Way, Berkeley; 20th Century Book Shop, 1721 Webster Street, Oakland; Progressive Book Shop, 1002 Seventh Street, Sacramento; Progressive Book Shop, 625 West Sixth Street, Los Angeles; Victory Book Store, 635 E Street, San Diego; Maritime Book Shop, 266 West Sixth Street, San Pedro; Walt Whitman Book Shop, 277 East Fourth Street, Long Beach; Lincoln Book Shop, 1721 North Highland Avenue, Hollywood; Modern Book Shop, 405 West De La Guerra Street, Santa Barbara.

Other Red publishing houses are the Four Continent Book Corporation, 253 Fifth Avenue, and Universal Distributors, 38 Union Square, both in New York City. The Reds also operate a book-of-the-month club, known as the Book Find Club. They have organized children's book clubs and youth record clubs in recent months, and Communist publications extensively advertise them.

In the field of newspapers, magazines, and bulletins, the Communists, Red fronts, and fellow-travelers are well represented. Some 122 such publications have been unearthed in recent months.

(Exhibit No. 10 was received.)¹⁰

Mr. STEELE. They include the following:

Daily Worker, published by Freedom of the Press, Inc., 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City. Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., is president; Howard Boldt, secretary-treasurer; John Gates, editor; Milton Howard, associate editor; Alan Max, managing editor; Robert F.

¹⁰ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit 10.

Hall, Washington, D. C., editor; Bill Lawrence, general manager; and George C. Sandy, assistant manager. David Platt is film editor.

The Worker, published only on Sunday, has the same management and publisher as the Daily Worker.

New Masses, a weekly publication, maintains offices at 104 East Ninth Street, New York City. It is published by New Masses, Inc.

(Exhibit No. 11 was received.)¹¹

Mr. STEELE. The editor is Joseph North; executive editor, A. B. Magil; managing editors, Lloyd L. Brown, Frederick V. Field, and John Stuart; Washington, D. C., editor, Virginia Gardner; art editor, Charles Humboldt; assistant editors, Joseph Fisher and Charles Humboldt; associate editors, James A. Allen, Herbert Aptheker, Richard Boyer, Howard Fast, William Gropper, V. J. Jerome, and Albert E. Kahn; editorial assistant, Betty Millard; business manager, Paul Kaye; field director, Doretta Tarmon; promotion manager, Beatrice Soskind; advertising manager, Gertrude Chase; circulation manager, Carmelia Weinstein; contributing editors, Louis Aragon, Nathan Ausubel, Lionel Berman, Alvah Bessie, Dyson Carter, W. E. B. DuBois, R. Palme Dutt, Philip Evergood, Sender Garlin, Barbara Gilles, Robert Gwathmey, Rockwell Kent, Alfred Kreymborg, John Howard Lawson, Meridel Le Sueur, Vito Marcantonio, Pablo Neruda, Anton Refregier, Paul Robeson, Howard Selsam, Isidor Schneider, Sam Silken, James Turnbull, Charles White, and Dorey Wilkerson.

Political Affairs, a monthly publication, is published by New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y. The editor is Max Weiss; associate editors, V. J. Jerome, Alex Bittleman, and Abner W. Berry, and Jack Stachel.

Morning Freiheit is published daily by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc., 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y. The president is Ben Gold; treasurer, J. Littinski; secretary, Alex Bittleman. Paul Novick is editor.

People's Daily World is published by the Pacific Publishing Foundation, Inc., 590 Folsom Street, San Francisco, Calif. Branches are located at 516 Wilcox Building, Los Angeles; 1723 Webster Street, Oakland, 432 F Street, room 321, San Diego; 602 Third Avenue, Seattle; National Press Building, room 954, Washington, D. C. The executive editor is Al Richmond; assistant editor, Adam Lapin; Los Angeles editor, Sidney Burke; business manager, Harry Kramer; and circulation manager, Leo Baroway. Doug Ward is political editor. Tara Jean Pettit is the agent in Los Angeles.

Soviet Russia Today, a monthly magazine, is published by the Soviet Russia Today Publications, Inc., 114 East Thirty-second Street, New York, N. Y. The editor is Jessica Smith; assistant editor, Andrew Voynow; business manager, Donald Schoalman; literary editor, Isadore Schneider; editorial board, Dorothy Brewster, Robert Dunn, Thyra Edwards, A. A. Heller, Langston Hughes, Dr. John Kingsbury, Corliss Lamont, George Marshall, Isobel Walker Soule, and Maxwell S. Stewart.

Fraternal Outlook is published monthly by the International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editor is Max Bedacht; managing editor, Eugene Konecky; art editor, Phil Wolfe; photographer, Paul Eiseman; staff writer, Sam Roberts; president,

¹¹ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit 11.

Rockwell Kent; vice presidents, John E. Middleton, Vito Marcantonio, Louise Thompson. Boleslaw Gebert, and Rubin Saltzman; secretary, Max Bedacht; and treasurer, Peter Shipka; executive secretary, Sam Milgrom; and recording secretary, Dave Green.

The Chart, with offices at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y., is issued by the National Organization and Education Commissions of the Communist Party of the United States. Jack Stachel is chairman of the education commission, and Henry Winston is chairman of the organization commission.

Mainstream is published at 832 Broadway, New York, N. Y., by Mainstream Associates, Inc.; the editor in chief is Samuel Sillen. The editors are Gwendolyn Bennett, Alvah Bessie, Milton Blau, Arnaud D'Usseau, Howard Fast, Mike Gold, V. J. Jerome, Howard Lawson, Meridel LeSeuer, W. L. River, Dalton Trumbo, and Theodore Ward.

People's Voice —Glos Ludowy—with offices at 5856 Chene Street, Detroit, Mich., is a semimonthly publication. It is a foreign-language paper, as well, known as Glos Ludowy. The editor is Thomas Dombrowski; contributing editor, Jan Kujawa, San Francisco; contributing editors, Cornell Z. Zagodzinski, Casimir T. Nowacki, Irene Piotrowski, Grace Nowacki, Walter Bills, Stanley Perry, Blanche Glinkski, John Piorkowski, Martin Darwin, Ted Pniewski, Katherine Giermanski, Jetka Dobrzynska, and Joseph S. Rabowski.

Railroad Workers' Link is published by the Communist Party at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y. It is a monthly publication. The editor is Robert Wood.

District Champion is published by the city committee of the Communist Party of the District of Columbia, with offices located at 527 Ninth Street N.W., Washington, D. C. It is published monthly. The editor is William C. Taylor; secretary, Elizabeth Searle.

Chicago Star is published weekly by the Chicago Star Publishing Co., Inc., 166 West Washington Street, Chicago, Ill. Members of the board of directors are Ernest De Maio, Frank M. Davis, William L. Patterson, Grant Oakes, and William Sennett. The executive editor is Frank M. Davis; managing editor, Carl Hirsch; and general manager, William Sennett. Howard Fast is a columnist, and Rockwell Kent is contributing editor.

Teeners' Topics, published irregularly, is an American Youth for Democracy publication, with offices located at 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Teen Life is published by New Age Publishers, Inc., 163 Pratt Street, Meriden, Conn., for American Youth for Democracy.

Crisis is the newly published organ of the East Pittsburgh section of the Communist Party.

Jewish Life, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York, N. Y., is published monthly by the Morning Freiheit Association, Inc. The editorial board is composed of Alex Bittleman, Moses Miller, Paul Novick, Sam Pevzner, and Morris U. Schappes. Managing editor is Samuel Barron.

Woman Power is published monthly by the Congress of American Women, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y. Members of the editorial board are Edna Moss, Bert Sigred, and Eleanor Vaughn. The president is Gene Weltfish; executive vice president, Muriel Draper; treasurer, Helen Phillips; and secretary, Josephine Timms.

Facts for Farmers is published monthly by the Farm Research, 39 Cortlandt Street, New York, N. Y. The editor is Charles J. Coe.

Facts for Women is published monthly by Facts for Women, Box 5176, Metropolitan Station, Los Angeles, Calif. The editor is Mary Inman.

Bulletin of Congress of American Women is published monthly by the Congress of American Women, 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y. The editorial board is composed of those on the Board of Woman Power.

The Lamp is published monthly by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, with headquarters at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y.

Student Outlook is published by the intercollegiate division of American Youth for Democracy at 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y. It is a monthly publication. The editor is Fred Jaffe.

Michigan Herald is published weekly by the People's Educational Publishing Association, 1419 Grand River, Detroit, Mich. The editor is Hugo Beiswenger; secretary-treasurer, Rosalie Berry. Beiswenger is also president of the corporation. Members of the editorial board are William Allen, Beiswenger, Abner W. Berry, Harry Fainaru, Nat Ganley, S. Gordon, and Carl Winter.

Negro Digest, published weekly at 5619 South State Street, Chicago, Ill., is published and edited by John H. Johnson. Contributing editors include Henrietta Buckmaster, Langston Hughes, Carey McWilliams, and Mrs. Paul Robeson.

Our World, is published monthly by John P. Davis, 35 West Forty-third Street, New York, N. Y. Contributors are Edward S. Lewis, Alphaeus Hunton, Yvonne Godfrey, and Frank Stanley.

World News and Views is published monthly by H. Bennett, 16 King Street, Covent Gardens, London.

Economic Notes is published monthly by Labor Research Association, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York, N. Y. The editor is Robert Dunn.

Action is published monthly by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, 802 F Street NW., Washington, D. C.

News of World Labor is published monthly by the Committee for A. F. of L. Participation in World Federation of Trade Unions, 101 Henry Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. The chairman is Courtney D. Ward; secretary-treasurer, Thomas Wilson; executive secretary, Allan Ross.

News on Spain is published monthly by the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 13 Astor Place, New York, N. Y. The editor is David McKelvy White.

People's Voice—Harlem—is published by the Powell-Buchanan Publishing Co., Inc., 210 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. It is a daily publication. Board of directors, Adam Clayton Powell; chairman, Charles P. Buchanan; secretary, Max Yergan; treasurer, Hope Stevens; and Ferdinand Smith. The editor in chief is Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.; general manager and editor, Doxey Wilkerson; contributing editor is Paul Robeson.

Action for Today, is published monthly by the Civil Rights Congress of New York, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York, N. Y.

Reporter, a biweekly publication, is published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., 114 East Thirty-second Street, New York, N. Y. The editor is William H. Melish.

Among Friends is published monthly by Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, 125 West Forty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. The editor is David McKelvy White; managing editor, Rex Pitkin. Contributors include Louis Fischer, Dorothy Parker, Ernest Hemingway, Grace Field, Lini Fuhr, Sam Kornblatt, Milly Bennett, and Herbert Hunter.

Amerasia is published monthly by Amerasia, 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editors are Philip Jaffe and Kate L. Mitchell.

Congress View is published monthly by the National Negro Congress, 307 Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y. The president is Max Yergen; executive secretary, Edward E. Strong; treasurer, Ferdinand C. Smith; secretary, Thelma Dale; labor and legislation director, Dorothy K. Funn; director of publicity, Mayme Brown; editorial board, W. Alphaeus Hunton, Frederick V. Field, Mayme Brown, and Elizabeth Catlett.

AYD in Action is published monthly by the national staff of American Youth for Democracy, 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y.

Youth, a bimonthly publication, is published by American Youth for Democracy, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

The Independent, a bimonthly, is published by the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Hotel Astor, New York. The executive director is Hannah Dorner.

Soviet Culture, issued irregularly, is published by the Committee of the American Russian Institute, 101 Post Street, San Francisco, Calif. The chairman is Louise R. Bransten.

Soviet Sports, issued irregularly, is published by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 East Thirty-second Street, New York. The editor is Eric A. Starbuck.

Salute is published monthly by the Veterans Publishing Co., 19 Park Place, New York, N. Y. The publisher is Jeremiah Ingersoll. The executive director is Max Baird; managing editor, DeWitt Gilpin; circulation manager, Ben Kaufman; and treasurer, Robert L. Soler.

Boston Chronicle is published weekly at 794 Tremont Street, Boston, Mass. The editor is William Harrison.

Report From Washington is published monthly by the Independent Citizens Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, Hotel Astor, New York, N. Y.

Voice of Freedom, 112 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., is published monthly by the International Coordination Council. The editor is Richard Storrs Childs; associate editor, Minette Kuhn.

In Fact, with offices at 280 Lafayette Street, New York, N. Y., is published weekly. The editor is George Seldes; associate editor, Victor Weingarten.

Information Bulletin, triweekly, is published by the Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington, D. C.

Hollywood Independent is published monthly by the Hollywood Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 1585 Crossroads, Hollywood, Calif. The editor is Hollister Noble. The editorial committee is composed of Carey McWilliams, Ann Daggett, Louis Harris, Robert Wachsman, and John B. Hughes.

Young Fraternalist is published monthly by the International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editor is Sol Vail; contributors include Bob Wagshol, Barbara Lord, H. Bergoffen, Joe Block, Bert S. Mangel, Anna Leone, and Aive Etela.

New Times is published semiweekly by Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, Moscow, Russia. It is distributed in the United States by the Four Continental Book Corp., 1253 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Industrial Journal is published monthly by James J. Boutselis, of Lowell, Mass.

Truth About Soviet Russia is published monthly by Contemporary Publishers, 165 Selkirk Avenue, Winnipeg, Canada. The editors are Sidney and Beatrice Webb and Anna Louis Strong.

L'Unita Del Popola, a foreign language—Italian—publication, is published by Italian-American People's Publications, Inc., 13 Astor Place, New York, N. Y. The editor is M. Salerno; manager, G. Altieri.

T and T—Trend and Times—is published monthly by Louis Adamic, Milford, N. J. Adamic is the editor and publisher.

New Africa is published monthly by the Council on African Affairs, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y. The chairman is Paul Robeson; vice chairman, William Jay Schieffelin; executive director, Max Yergan; treasurer, Edith C. Field; and educational director, W. Alphaeus Hunton.

Narodni Glasnik—foreign language—is published daily by the Narodni Glasnik Publishing Co., 1916 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pa.

People's Songs is published monthly by People's Songs, Inc., 130 West Forty-second Street, New York. The director is Peter Seeger; board of directors, Woody Guthrie, John Hammond, Jr., Lee Hays, Earl Robinson, Walter Lowenfels, Alan Lomax, and Bill Wolff; executive secretary, Felix Landau; editor, Peter Seeger.

German-American is published weekly by German-American, Inc., 305 Broadway, New York, N. Y. The editor is Gustav Faber.

Volunteer for Liberty is published monthly by the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, New York, N. Y.

Action Bulletin, a weekly, is published by the Civil Rights Congress, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

The Letter is published by The Letter, Inc., Denver, Colo. The editor is Phil Rino; editorial advisory board, David J. Miller, Reid Robinson, Joseph C. Cohen, and Isabelle Gonzalles.

California Eagle is published in Los Angeles. The editor is Charlotta Bass; Cyril Briggs, Communist official, is managing editor.

Eteenpain is published weekly by the Eteenpain Cooperative Society, Worcester, Mass. The manager is H. Paasikivi.

Health and Hygiene is published monthly at 215 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editors are Carl Malmberg and Peter Morell. Members of the editorial advisory board and contributors include Edward K. Barsky, Norman Bethune, Paul De Kruif, and Arthur Kallet.

Icor is published monthly by the Association for Jewish Colonization of the Soviet Union, 799 Broadway, New York.

New World is published monthly by the Free Press Publishing Corp., Seattle, Wash. The officers are Hugh DeLacy, Terry Pettus, and Berta Pettus. The incorporators are Hugh DeLacy, Eugene V. Dennett, Marion Carmozzi, George Bradley, Terry Pettus, William Dobbins, Irene Borowski, and N. P. Atkinson.

Ny Tid—foreign language—is published weekly by the Scandinavian Workers Educational Society, 930 Belmont Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Protestant is published monthly by Protestant Digest, Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editor is Kenneth Leslie.

Readers' Scope is published monthly by Picture Scope, Inc., 114 East Thirty-second Street, New York, N. Y. The officers are Arthur Bernhard, Morris S. Latzen, Leverett S. Gleason, A. E. Piller, George Kaplow, and Marion Hart.

Saznanie is published weekly by the Bulgarian Section of the Communist Party, 1343 Ferry Avenue, Detroit, Mich.

Science and Society, a quarterly is published at 30 East Twentieth Street, New York. It is edited by Bernhard Stern, D. J. Struik, Margaret Schlauch, and Edwin B. Burgum.

Report on World Affairs is published monthly in New York City. Its editor is Johannes Steel.

Fraternal Outlook is published monthly by the International Workers Order, 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. The editor is Max Bedacht.

Bulletin on Education, irregular, is published by the educational departments of the Communist Party in California.

Indonesian Review is published by the American Committee for Free Indonesia, 8706 Melrose Street, Los Angeles, Calif. The editor is Charles Bidiem; circulation manager, Peter Simatoepang.

Additional publications having definite radical characteristics are Contact, Negro Affairs, House Confabs, and Towards Tomorrow; Slav American, quarterly, published by the American Slav Congress, 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.; Spotlight, published by Stage for Action, New York, N. Y.; Negro Quarterly, published by Negro Publication Society of America, Inc., 1 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y., editor, Angelo Herndon; managing editor, Ralph Ellison; contributors, Langston Hughes, Henrietta Buckmaster, L. D. Reddick, Alfred Kreyborg, Charles Humbolt, Norman McLeod, and Louis Harap; Voice of 500, organ of the Lincoln Steffens Lodge, No. 500, of the International Workers Order, New York, N. Y.; editor, Simon Schacter, founder of the lodge and editor in chief of Guild Lawyer—New York Lawyer's Guild; and Germany Today, published in New York City.

The following are additional foreign-language publications: Magyar Jove, Hungarian, published in New York and edited by John Gyetvai; Glas Naroda, published in New York, of which Frank Sakser is president and Joseph Lupsha is secretary; Russky Golos, a Russian daily published in New York; Armenian Herald—Krapar—published triweekly in New York; Az Ember—The Man—published weekly in New York and edited by Ferenc Condos; New Yorke Listy, published daily in New York; Liberacion, a weekly published in New York, of which Aurelio Perez is editor; Bernardo Veda, managing editor; and Carmen Meana, business manager; El Boricua is published in Puerto Rico and circulated in the United States exclusively; Narodna Volya—People's Will—Bulgarian weekly, 5856 Chene Street, Detroit, Mich.; Uj Elore, published in New York by the Hungarian National Bureau of the Communist Party; Vilnis Lithuanian—The Surge—published in Chicago; Uus Ilm, an Estonian weekly published in New York; Puerto Rico Libre, a weekly circulated in the United States; Radnicki Glasnik, published in Chicago weekly, of which Joseph Grachen is editor, and contributing editors are Bob Allen, Marijana Dobrinec, Flash Dickson, Peter Guzvich, and Jennie Rezich; Der Arbeiter, organ

of the German Language Division of the Communist Party, published in New York; Ukrainian Daily News, published in New York; Cultura Proletaria, published in New York and edited by Marcelino Garcia; Hobinnup—Novy Mir—Russian paper published in New York; L'Unita Operaia, published monthly in New York and a foreign-language organ of the Communist Party; Greek-American Tribune—Bhna—published weekly in New York and edited by Demetrius Christopherides; New Life—Nailben—a Jewish monthly published in New York; Hoboe Bpemr, published in Russia for distribution in the United States; Tyomies, Karpatska Rus, Ludovy Dennik, Magyar Herald, Slobodna Rechnoradnawola, Romanul American, published in Detroit and edited by Harry Fainaru; People's Herald—Croatian—published in Pittsburgh and edited by Anton Majnaric.

The organ of Local 12 of the Communist Party is known as the Roxbury Voice. It is published in Roxbury, Mass.

In addition to the publications mentioned herein, propaganda distributing centers in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles carry other Communist and Communist Party organs printed in foreign countries in foreign languages for distribution in the United States.

Your World, a monthly magazine, is published in Toronto, Canada, 45 Avenue Road.

American Review of Soviet Medicine, published monthly at 58 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y., is edited by Dr. Jacob Heiman.

The American Review on the Soviet, Russian Technical Research News, The Soviet Union Today, The USSR in Construction, and Soviet Health Care are printed and circulated regularly in the United States by the American-Russian Institute, 58 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. Officers of the institute are Ernest J. Simmons, chairman; Basil Bass, secretary; and John L. Curtis, treasurer. Members of the national board of directors include Louise Bransten, Edward C. Carter, Robert S. Lynd, Samuel J. Novick, Henry E. Siegrist, and Maxwell S. Stewart. Its executive director is Fred Myers.

Morning Freiheit celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary a short time ago at a large gathering in New York City. Speakers at the affair were Alexander Bittleman, high up in Communist Party affairs; William Z. Foster, national chairman of the Communist Party; Moses Miller, Ben Gold, Paul Novick, all Communist leaders, some of whom are directly connected with Freiheit. The Communist Party extended greetings to the publication on the occasion.

Communists are masters of pamphleteering, and they maintain scores of publishing houses and distributing centers through which a continuous stream of agitational literature flows. Approximately 23,000,000 pamphlets are printed and circulated annually by the Communist Agit-Prop Division. These are in addition to the Red daily, weekly, and monthly publications.

Public Affairs Committee, Inc., with offices at 122 East Thirty-eighth Street, New York, N. Y., entered the pamphleteering field several years ago. It issues higher quality pamphlets on subjects related to those adopted for propagation by the Communist Party. Maxwell S. Stewart, former editor of Moscow News, and with other front connections, is editor of the pamphlet service. Violet Edwards is education and promotion director. Frederick V. Field, of New Masses—Communist organ—is a member of the board.

Ruth Benedict, a member of the East and West Association, and Gene Weltfish, a leader in the Congress of the American Women, have written pamphlets for the Public Affairs Committee. One of them, *Races of Mankind*, was barred by the War Department after Congress protested against its use in orientation classes of the Army, declaring that its aim was to create racial antagonism.

I list herewith a few of the pamphlets issued by the committee: *Why Women Work*, *Labor on New Fronts*, *Farm Policies of New Deal*, *How We Spend*, *How Can We Teach About Sex*, *Security or the Dole*, *Machines and Tomorrow's World*, *Who Can Afford Health*, *Safeguarding Our Civil Liberties*, *Read Your Labels*, *Radio Is Yours*, *For a Stronger Congress*, *What To Do About Immigration*, and *Will Negroes Get Jobs*.

The Negro Publication Society of America, Inc., was set up in New York on September 23, 1941, for the purpose of issuing propaganda for distribution among the Negroes. On its staff are Lawrence D. Reddick, Arthur Huff Fauset, Margaret Osborn, Herbert Aptheker, and Angelo Herndon, all widely active in Communist-front movements. The incorporation papers,¹² a copy of which I submit herewith, show that the following are the directors of the society: Bernhard J. Stern, Dorothy Peterson, Rockwell Kent, Harcourt A. Tynes, Alaine Locke, Henrietta Buckmaster, Marc Blitzstein, Arthur Huff Fauset, Lawrence D. Reddick, Margaret G. Osborn, Jean Muir, Dashiell Hammett, Angelo Herndon, and Herbert Aptheker.

The Allied Labor News Service is an international Communist service. It has correspondents in foreign countries, and it serves Communist publications. It augments, rather than competes with, the Federated Press, which deals with local and national events. Correspondents for the ALN Service include William Peters, Bob Travis, Remo Marletta, and Israel Epstein.

Associated Magazine Contributors, Inc., possibly an outgrowth of the Mainstream Conference, has recently made its appearance. It maintains offices at 68 West Forty-fifth Street, New York, N. Y. It is described as a cooperative enterprise, and will publish, among other things, a pocket-sized magazine. The following are officers: John Hersey, president; Jerome Ellison, vice president; William A. Lydgate, secretary; and Maxwell S. Stewart, treasurer. Directors include Christopher LaFarge, Robert St. John, John D. Rateliff, and Mortimer S. Edelstein. Initial contributors, in addition to the above, are John Steinbeck, Stuart Cloete, Pearl Buck, Margaret Culkin Banning, Clifford Fadiman, Robert Butterfield, Ernest K. Lindley, Raymond Gram Swing, Austin Briggs, Rene Robert Bouche, Richard Sargent, Dwight Shepler, Sam Berman, Alan Dunn, Jack Markow, Gardner Rea, Robert Disraeli, Andrew Kertsz, Herman Landshoff, and Gjon Mill.

I wish to again refer to the Washington, D. C., Cooperative Bookshop, which if not directly affiliated with the Communist book shops, is doing party chores. Chairman of the board of trustees of this bookshop is Joseph L. Pierce. Regardless of whether or not it admits it is a link in the chain of Communist-controlled book shops, it is cooperating in the distribution of Communist and Soviet Russian propaganda. Its current catalog, prepared by Bessie Weissman of the

¹² See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit 12.

shop, lists the following as "selective" material: Lenin: The Man and His Works; Joseph Stalin: Stalin's Early Writings and Activities; Maxim Litvinoff; Religion Today in U. S. S. R.; Socialized Medicine in U. S. S. R.; Women in the Soviet East; Russian Youth and the Present Day World; Red Virtue; The Great Conspiracy Against Russia; We Can Do Business with Russia; The Land of the Soviets; In Place of Profit; From Empire to Socialism; History of Communist Party of the Soviet; October Revolution; Ten Days that Shook the World; Soviet Communism; and New Civilization.

Reds and Red fronters control many of the publications circulated in labor circles. Their writers have taken over the editorial columns, and articles are contributed in many instances by outright Communists. Most of these publications are served by the Federated Press or the Allied Labor News Service, both of which have long been infiltrated if not actually controlled by the Communists. A recent addition to these services is the Trade Union Service, Inc., with offices in New York City. This owns and publishes 15 trade union papers for various CIO unions. Officers of the service include Corliss Lamont, Frederick V. Field, William Osgood Field, and James Waterman Wise. Lamont is the head of one of the largest Red front organizations in our country. Frederick Field is equally notorious, and he is on the editorial board of the Daily Worker. Wise and William Field also have Red front backgrounds.

The Labor Research Association, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York, N. Y., publishes monthly the Economic News, sold and distributed through Communist bookshops. The Communist press frequently quotes from it. The association occasionally issues books which are published and distributed by the International Publishers of New York, the Communist publishing house. Its releases, service, and books are consistently along the Communist Party line, and they are as a rule timed with the party's agitation and pressure moves. The service is received and widely read by CIO labor-union leaders, since it is considered the key to economic and labor issues. Heading the association is Robert W. Dunn, widely known in Communist ranks. He was prominent in the International Labor Defense, of which he was treasurer for many years. He was also active in the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Anti-Imperialist League. He was connected with Soviet Russia Today and the Workers' (Communist) Schools. His wife, Russian-born, has been a columnist for the Daily Worker.

(The list of contributors to five of the major Communist publications is as follows:)

The following have contributed to the Daily Worker and Worker within the past few months:

George Marion	Martin T. Brown	Milton Howard
Art Shields	Bill Marko	James S. Allen
Ben Field	E. Benson	Gerhart Eisler
W. E. B. DuBois	William Allan	George Marston
Harry Raymond	Abner W. Berry	Carl W. Scott
Samuel Sillen	Michael Singer	Dyson Carter
Frank Lesser	Joseph Clark	Olive Sutton
David Platt	Arnold Sroog	Michael Chicureli
Lester Rodney	Fred Vast	Robert Kelly
Robert F. Hall	John Hudson Jones	Louise Mitchell
Mike Lynn	Bernard Burton	Allan L. Fletcher

Dan Rogers	Frederick V. Field	Mike Gold
Moranda Smith	Hilda Weiss	Harold Hickerson
Joseph Starobin	Merle Nance	Joseph Leeds
Ted Allen	Otto Wangerin	Peter J. Cacchione
Bob Friedman	Murray Chase	Elizabeth M. Bacon
John Pittman	Milton Pokorne	Jean R. Beck
Aaron Kramer	Charles Stein	Barnard Rubin
William Z. Foster	Mary Southard	J. Kepner
Olive Mosby	Ruby Cooper	Peter Stone
Eugene Dennis	Martha Millet	Fred Vast
Morris Childs	Walter Lowenfels	Travis K. Hedrick
Pat Cush	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	

The following have been contributors to recent issues of New Masses:

Elizabeth Lawson	Isidor Schneider	George Morris
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	Elfriede Fischer	W. E. B. DuBois
Ralph J. Peters	Paul Kaye	William Auer
Walter M. Aiken	Gertrude Chase	Wilma Shore
Leon Josephson	Carmelia Weinstein	S. W. Gerson
Millen Brand	Richard O. Boyer	Dirk Struik
Vladimir D. Kazakevich	A. B. Magil	Eugene Dennis
Joseph North	Claude Ashford	Frederick V. Field
Charles Humboldt	Joseph Foster	

The following are staff writers for People's Daily World:

George Morris	Helen Simon	Walter J. Stack
Frank Mucci	Art Shields	Frank Pitcairn
Max Gordon	Joseph Starobin	Mirian Kolkin
James S. Allen	Kathleen Cronin	Herb Tank
Johannes Steel	A. R. Onda	Mike Quinn
Vivian McGuckin	William Allan	Mary Foote
Phillip Evergood	Memmy Sparks	Wes Bodkin
Dave Blodgett	John J. Abt	Pettis Perry
Robert F. Hall	Fred Vast	Sam Kutnick
Bill Mardo	Allan L. Fletcher	Al Ross
Eva Lapin	Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	Philip Bock
Jack Young	Frederick V. Field	Howard Fast
Hodee Richards	Kileen Taylor	Lloyd Lehman
Morris Schappes	Israel Epstein	Lena Epstein
Earl E. Payne	Otto Wangerin	Ken Howard
John Pittman	John Hudson Jones	Hildegard Level
Lee Coe	Merle Brodsky	Ben Levine
C. L. Rees	Woody Guthrie	Archie Brown
Zlatko Balokovic	Bill Whacker	Leon Kaplan
Samuel Sillen	C. F. Frost	Eric Webber
Jean R. Beck	Okey Giggins	Esther Miller
Elizabeth M. Bacon	Sid Partridge	Walter Lowenfels
Patricia Killoran	Edwin F. Ufheil	Lawson Milford
Tony Russo	Hugh Bryson	Abner W. Berry
Emil Freed	Anna Louise Strong	Dr. Holland Roberts
Sam Kutnick	Travis K. Hedrick	George Marion
Ruby Cooper	David Platt	John Williamson
Sondra Gorney	Bernice Carey	Yvonne Shepherd
Mason Roberson	Louise Mitchell	Leon Lee
Eric Webber	Jack Stachel	Barbara Leigh
William Z. Foster	Marcel Dubois	Morris Childs
Max Gordon	Al Richmond	Alan Max
George Kauffman	Joseph Clark	V. F. Coragliotti
John Steuben	Robert Minor	Pete Edises
Mary Hays	Jack Green	Hazel Grossman
John Stapp	Nat Low	Olive Sutton
Philip Murray	Robert Kobin	Harry Fainaru
A. F. Whitney	Jane Gilbert	Albert E. Kahn
Harry Raymond	Carl Williams	Michael Bankfort
Sidney Burke	Mary Thomas	Alex Treskin

The following have contributed in recent months to Political Affairs :

Eugene Dennis	Dan Stevens	George Blake Charney
John Williamson	Horris Childs	Fred Blair
William Z. Foster	Max Weiss	James Keller
Lillian Gates	Harry Haywood	Donald MacKenzie Lester
Joe Roberts	Joseph Starobin	Anna Long
Donald Freeman	Robert F. Hall	Elizabeth Curley Flynn
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	Joseph Clark	Robert Minor
Alpheus Hunton	John Pittman	Roy Hudson
James S. Allen	Howard Jennings	L. L. Sharkey
Abner W. Berry	Hugo Gellert	Adam Lapin
Alexander Bittelman	Frederick V. Field	Thelma Dale
Jack Stachel	Milton Howard	Max Gordon
George Phillips	Hal Simon	Carl Winter
Nat Ross	Meir Vilner	George Bernstein
Joel Remes	John Stuart	Etienne Fajon
George Morris	Stanley Ryerson	William Weinstone
John Gates	V. J. Jerome	Dan Stevens
Oleta O'Connor Gates	Henry Winston	Al Loew

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Steele, when was this front Tread On Me campaign conducted?

Mr. STEELE. Two months ago.

Mr. McDOWELL. With all of the advertising, the printing, and so forth, there was, obviously, a very large amount of money spent.

Mr. STEELE. Certainly.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you have any knowledge of the source of that money?

Mr. STEELE. I do not; no.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is my observation, as one Member of Congress, that with all of that activity, the propaganda, to berate the committee and cause it to be disbanded, or whatever they are trying to do, it has been almost a total flop, so far as the effects are visible here in Washington.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. That would be reflected, if it were reflected, in a Congressman's mail. I can recall no sudden upsurge or downsurge in my mail.

Mr. STEELE. The only thing I do know about the fund-raising angle is that each local section was given a quota of funds to raise, a portion of which quota was spent back in that local's territory and a portion of which went to the national office for the national campaign.

For instance, here in Washington the local was given a quota. A part of that was spent for advertisements in local newspapers, and I think one broadcast here, and a portion of that went to the national office for the national campaign.

I don't know whether that was the general plan or not, but that was the plan here in Washington. I assume it was the general plan.

Mr. BONNER. The list of magazine articles, the writings which you have just recently mentioned, who compiled that list?

Mr. STEELE. Pardon me?

Mr. BONNER. You just mentioned you had how many—300—names of writers?

Mr. STEELE. Who compiled the list?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. I did.

Mr. BONNER. Yourself, alone?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. I obtained those from the publications, and I wish to exhibit as proof the front cover of all the publications which I have listed there.

(Exhibit received.)

Mr. BONNER. I just wanted to ask you one or two questions. What did you say about these articles and writers?

Mr. STEELE. I say that the publications and the publishing houses are Communist, the newspapers and magazines I mentioned are either directly Communist Party publications or are front or party-line publications, and I listed the names of the publications, the addresses of them, I submit reproduction of the front cover of each, and the names of the staff writers in each case, taken from the publications.

Mr. BONNER. And it is your opinion that all of them are Communist?

Mr. STEELE. Communist or Communist front organs.

Mr. BONNER. Have you read all of the articles?

Mr. STEELE. Read all the articles, no; but I have read a sufficient number of them to determine that.

Mr. BONNER. And the purpose of the articles, then, is to build up sentiment or feeling for the party line?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; for the party line.

Mr. BONNER. Not having looked at the list of publications, are there any outstanding publications, such as the Saturday Evening Post—

Mr. STEELE. Oh, no.

Mr. BONNER. Or Collier's Weekly?

Mr. STEELE. Oh, no.

Mr. BONNER. I don't mean those particular publications, but in that category.

Mr. STEELE. No; none in that category; no, sir.

Mr. BONNER. They are just kind of fly-by-night publications?

Mr. STEELE. A good many of them, yes. The Daily Worker has been operating for many years, People's Daily World, Political Affairs, New Masses, and so on. That is the nature of the publication. Not legitimate—what I call legitimate publications—or representative American publications; no, sir.

Mr. BONNER. What is your feeling of the effect of these publications? Are there a certain—just certain types or groups in this country that just have to have that kind of literature?

Mr. STEELE. That I couldn't tell you, Mr. Congressman. All I know is that they are published and they are circulated and they are on the news stands in many cities, and they are purchased, and what the purpose of the reader is in buying them I couldn't tell you, because I don't know. What influence it has I don't know.

Mr. McDOWELL. Many of these are publications in various foreign languages?

Mr. STEELE. Some of them are.

Mr. McDOWELL. Would you have any opinion on whether the foreign-language papers, fellow-traveler papers, have more influence than those written in the English language?

Mr. STEELE. I would think so; yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. You would think they have more influence?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; because there are such a few publications printed in foreign languages that those who like to follow the news from their

fatherlands almost have to get it through these foreign-language publications, to a great extent.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is my observation that even with the outrageous falsehoods that are printed daily in the Daily Worker and various English-written Communist papers, they are faint compared to the things written in various foreign languages, particularly in the Slavish newspapers, Communist newspapers. The outrageous utterances that are fed to the people of America who are of Slavish descent in these foreign-language newspapers is just simply beyond belief.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't mean that all of these foreign-language papers—

Mr. McDOWELL. No; I am talking about Communist and fellow traveler papers. The great majority of the foreign-language newspapers of America are patriotic American newspapers printed in a foreign language.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, in making the study of the publications which you have termed as left-wing or Communist publications, isn't it true that every Communist-front organization has either one or two, sometimes three different publications?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. And that is the type of publication you are referring to here and which you have listed?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, for the benefit of the record, we had Mr. Steele submit a list of those publications which we in turn submitted to our research department. The research department checked them with our files and without a single exception all of them are either official organs of what the committee considers to be a Communist front organization or an outright Communist publication.

Mr. Chairman, I suggest that you let the record show the membership.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show that those present at this point are Mr. McDowell, Mr. Vail, Mr. Bonner, and Mr. Thomas.

Mr. BONNER. How much staff do you have to assist you in compiling this information, the data that you bring before the committee?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I might say that I did all the work on this personally, except the collection of the publications. I had one man out picking those up—there were a great many—and in other places I had subscribers to my publication, who I have become intimately acquainted with, go into the publishing house and get them for me, or some member of a veterans' organization—or various contacts that I have over the country. But insofar as the study of the data, I made the study personally, and wrote everything that is in the report.

Propaganda and agitation are major instruments of the Communist forces. Consequently, they devise many tools for those fields. One of these is the school. Others are publishing houses, publications, distribution centers, and camps. Through all of them the Communists carry on these important phases of activity.

One of the oldest of the Red mediums of propaganda is the Communist school for the training and orientating of new recruits. Under the guise of espousing the cause of "workers' education," these schools, located in the principal cities of the United States, have corralled not

only the sons and daughters of the workers in many instances, but they have also taken their toll of those in the middle and upper strata of our society. They have opened a field of operation for the leftist intelligentsia, many of whom have been shorn of their professorial affiliation with public schools, State, and privately operated universities and colleges because of their activities in behalf of the Communist cause.

Communist schools originally operated under the name "Workers' schools." They were directed as a chain from New York City by a board set up for that purpose by the Communist Party, members of which included highest officials of the party. Starting in 1940, these schools, as did all other Communist organizations, underwent a series of name-changing, changes in personnel, and changes, to an extent, in curriculum. However, a careful study shows that the only major changes occurred in the names of the schools, and that the purpose of each remained the same. The school faculties are manned with Communist functionaries, widely known leaders in the party ranks, a sprinkling of frontiers, and prominent members of the CIO. The curriculum has been adjusted only to the extent of the change in party-line and international policies of the Communists.

The largest of the schools are the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City and the California Labor School in San Francisco, although other Red schools of considerable size are operated in Hollywood, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, and elsewhere.

More than 6,000 students receive training at these schools annually. I wish to submit as proof at this time the catalogs of those schools. (Exhibits 13, 14, and 15, were received.)¹³

The CHAIRMAN. Which sets forth the topics and the names of the members of the faculty, the purposes of the schools.

Mr. STEELE. The Jefferson School of Social Science is located at 575 Avenue of the Americas, New York City. It has branches at 108 Watkins Street, Brooklyn; 3200 Coney Island Avenue, Brooklyn; 13 Graham Avenue, Brooklyn; 649 Britton Street, Bronx; and 838 East One Hundred and Eightieth Street, Bronx. The board of trustees is composed of the following: Lyman A. Bradley, chairman; Frederick V. Field, secretary; Alexander Trachtenberg, treasurer; Dorothy Brewster; William Howard Melish; Harry Sacher; Margaret Schlauch; Howard Selsan; Dirk J. Struik; Doxey A. Wilkerson; Max Yergan; and Ruth Young. Faculty representatives are Joseph B. Furst and Myer Weiss. The staff consists of Howard Selsan, director; David Goldway, assistant director; Louis Lerman; Harold Collins, curriculum; Benjamin Paskoff and Elizabeth Freidus, annexes. The staff instructor is Francis Franklin; registrar, Jette Alpert; librarians, Henry Black, Clara Ostrowsky, and Ethel Soschin; book shop, David Cohen.

Officials of the Jefferson School of Social Science claim that since its opening under the present name in 1944, "some 40,000 persons have taken its courses." In one of its documents the following statement appears:

The Jefferson School holds that the principles and methods of scientific socialism, developed over the past hundred years by the great theoretical leaders of

¹³ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibits 13, 14, and 15.

the working-class movement, give full expression to the needs and aspirations of all peoples. The application of the scientific approach to the problems of social life, the school believes, makes possible the utilization of the laws of social development for the achievement of a new social order * * * (Spring, 1947, catalog of the Jefferson School of Social Science, p. 5.)

To further substantiate the claim that the Jefferson School is communistic, I call attention to the announcement that it will lead off in the Nation-wide leftist commemoration this year (1947) of the one hundredth anniversary of the Communist Manifesto. Howard Fast, Harry Ward, Howard Selsam, Doxey Wilkerson, and Philip Foner have been named to play the leading roles in the commemoration.

This school provides courses for children as well as adults. It also maintains a summer camp at Arrowhead Lodge, Ellenville, N. Y.; a Jefferson School Theater work shop, and a Jefferson chorus. It accepts gifts and endowments. It has established a scholarship fund. The chairman of the committee on scholarships is Doxey A. Wilkerson, a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, and editor of the (Harlem) People's Voice. The school conducts forums through Seymour A. Copstein and Alan Max. It claims that over 5,000 people were taught in its trade union and extension division in 1946. Courses given at the school include the following: "The Soviet Union in World Affairs," "Principles of Marxism," "Science and Society," "History of the Labor Movement," "Political Economy," "Problems of the Negro People," "Problems of the Jewish People," "Psychology and the Social Order," "Literature and Society," and "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

"Science and Society," described as "an introduction to Marxism," is taught by Elisabeth Lawson, Harold Kirschnar, Isabella Bailin, Howard E. Johnson, Harold Collins, David Goldway, Albert Prago, Benjamin Paskoff, and Sue Warren. The subject is broken down into the categories of social systems and social change, capitalist society, capitalist democracy, and Socialist revolution.

Instructors in "Principles of Marxism" are Elisabeth Barker, Harold Collins, Sidney Gluck, George Woodard, Myer Weise, Frances Franklin, and David Goldway. This course deals with the "fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist theory"; the "theory of proletarian revolution, dictatorship of the proletariat, and the character and role of a Marxist-Leninist Party."

"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" is taught by David Goldway. It is described as a study of the "political lessons of the history of the Bolshevik Party up to the October revolution."

"Problems of the Negro People" is taught by Dr. Herbert Aptheker; "The United States as a World Power," by Dr. Philip S. Foner; "The Soviet Union" (nature of Socialist democracy and role of the Communist Party), by Vladimir D. Kasakevich; "The Current Problems of Jewish Life," by Morris H. Lipschitz; "Dialectical and Historical Materialism," by Harry Martel; "History of Religion" (which course will make a Marxist critique of religion), by Frances Franklin; "Psychology," by Ruth Burgess and Samuel Coe; "Psychiatry," by Dr. Joseph B. Furst and Dr. Joseph Wortis; "What Is Literature," by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Dr. Russel Ames, Seymour A. Copstein, and Morris U. Schappes. Among other lecturers are Abraham Unger, executive secretary of the New York Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, and Leonard Leades, educational director of the Furriers' Union in New York.

Courses in story writing, play writing, and the general subject of writing are conducted by Louis Lerman, Myra Page, Elisabeth M. Bacon, and Lajos Egri. Music and art are taught by Bernard Lebow, Mary Menk, Norman Casdan, Gwendolyn Bennett, and Inez Gerson. Waldemar Hills, of People's Songs, Inc., directs the schools, "People's Songs Work Shop." The Russian language is taught by Rashelle Fostenberg, and Spanish is taught by Nedda Broad. Other courses offered by the school include dancing, acting, sculpturing, and modeling.

Instructors and guest lecturers at the Jefferson School of Social Science are Frances Adler, Russell Ames, Rosemary Arnold, Herbert Aptheker, Elizabeth M. Bacon, Isabella Bailin, Elizabeth Barker, Frances H. Bartlett, Gwendolyn Bennett, Cleveland Bissell, Beth Blyn, Nedda Broad, Ruth Burgess, Norman Cazden, Lenore Chapman, Samuel Coe, Meta Cohen, Harold Collins, Seymour A. Copstein, Eva Desca, May Edel, Lajos Egri, Edith H. Epstein, Rashelle Fastenberg, Philip S. Foner, Francis Franklin, David Freundlich, Joseph B. Furst, Ines Garson, Sidney Gluck, Arthur Goldway, David Goldway, Aaron J. Goodelman, Miriam Green, Henry Hansburg, Abraham Harriton, Syed Sibtay Hasan, Roslyn Held, Waldemar Hille, Howard E. Johnson, Vladimir D. Kazakevich, Helen Kingery, Billie Kirpich, Harold Kirshner, Frank Kleinholz, Herbert Kruckman, Elizabeth Lawson, Bernard Lebow, Ellen Lebow, Louis Lerman, Norman Lewis, Morris H. Lipschitz, Harry Martel, Alan Max, Mary Menk, Golde Minchenberg, Clara Ostrowsky, Myra Page, Benjamin Paskoff, Ralph J. Peters, Judy Peterson, Albert Prago, Louis Relin, Sylvia Rosenfeld, Beatrice Roth, Betty Rosa Bowen, Annette T. Rubinstein, Morris U. Schappes, Moss K. Schenck, Henry Scherer, Marcel Scherer, Edith Segal, Howard Selsam, Ethel Soschin, Max Sparer, George Squier, Dick J. Struik, Elaine Swenson, Ruth Vinitzky, Sue Warren, Myer Weise, Lillian Wexler, Doxey A. Wilkerson, Beatrice Wiseman, Joseph Wortis, and Dale Zysman. In addition, People's Songs, Inc., supplies Pete Seegar, Bob Russell, and Woody Guthrie as instructors.

The Jefferson School of Social Science is organized as a nonprofit institution, and it is supposed that it is accordingly tax exempt. It is understood that it enjoys benefits of the GI educational fund of the Veterans' Administration. It may be of at least casual interest to members of this committee of Congress to know that Dr. Lewis Balamuth, formerly connected with the Federal Government's Manhattan atomic power project, has been teaching the rudiments of atomic power at this Communist school. It may also be noted that Vladimir D. Kazakevich was a member of the Army's special training faculty at Cornell in 1943.

Inasmuch as all Communist schools are set up and operated on the same pattern as the Jefferson School of Social Science, I will not go into detail in describing the balance of the schools. I will mention only the names and addresses of the schools, the officers, members of the faculties, and any major peculiarities of the schools.

The George Washington Carver School is located at 57 West One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, New York City. Edward Strong, organizational director of the National Negro Congress, and for many years active in the Young Communist League and the Southern Negro Youth Congress, is an instructor at the school. Members of the faculty

include Ray Hansborough, Henry Winston, and Max Weiss, all Communist Party leaders; Paul Robeson, Charles Burroughs, who in January 1947 returned to this country after a 17-year sojourn in Russia; Shirley Graham, Charles Loman, Charles A. Collins, Mayme Brown, Elizabeth Adams, Elizabeth Catlett White, Edith Roberts, Hermie Dumont, Norman Lewis, Esther Zolott, Ernest Crichlow, and Charles White. The administrative staff is composed of Gwendolyn Bennett, director; Mayme Brown, public relations secretary; Elizabeth Adams, librarian; Edith Roberts, registrar; Hermie Dumont, administrative assistant. This school was opened in Harlem in the fall of 1943.

Another school which operates in New York City at 13 Astor Place is the School of Jewish Studies. It was opened in October 1945. The following are on the board of directors: Frederic Ewen, chairman; Joseph Chromow, treasurer; Nathan Ausubel, Aaron Bergman, Rabbi Abraham Bick, L. Roy Blumenthal, Philip Cherner, Abraham Edel, Benjamin Efron, I. Fine, I. Goldberg, Henry Goodman, Maurice Grubin, H. Halpern, Minnie Harkavy, Harry Kessler, Samuel Liebowitz, Louis Lozowick, Dr. Raphael Mahler, Fannie Mendelson, Dr. Herbert Morais, I. Opockinsky, Sam Peysner, Eli Picheny, Rabbi Herman Pollack, Miriam Rosen, Ruth Rubin, Ernest Rymer, Morris U. Schappes, Morris Schneiderman, Bernard R. Segal, Judith Spevak, George Starr, Mildred Stock, Chaim Suller, Jennie Truchman, Menashe Unger, William Vulcan, and I. Wofsy. The administrative staff is composed of Chaim Suller, executive secretary; Abraham Boxerman, administrative secretary; and Jean Hillis, registrar. Sponsors of the school include Paul Novick, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Rose Russell, Rubin Saltzman, Howard Selsam, Ben Gold, William Gropper, Sam Jaffe, Albert E. Kahn, William S. Gailmor, Dorothy Brewster, Joseph Brainin, Alexander Bittelman, Gwendolyn Bennett, I. B. Bailin, Sholem Asch, Michael Alper, S. Amazov, Joseph Bloch, Herbert I. Bloom, Marc Chagall, Abraham Cronbach, Philip Evergood, Milton Goell, B. Z. Goldberg, Alexander Goldman, Max Levin, Kalman Marmor, Jesse Mintus, Max Perlow, Clara Rabinowitz, Duane Robinson, Raphael Soyer, Max Steinberg, Benjamin H. Tumin, John J. Taffer, Z. Weinper, Louis Weinstock, Joseph Wortis, Lester Zirin, William Zukerman, and Meyer W. Weisgal. Among the instructors are Samuel Barron, Abraham Boxerman, Vain Hirsch, Jacob B. Aronoff, Max Wiener, Morris U. Schappes, Herman Pollack, I. Goldberg, Pearl Shapiro, Reuben Paige, Aaron Bergman, Herbert Ivan Bloom, N. Buchwald, May Edel, Frederick Ewen, B. Z. Goldberg, Henry Goodman, Albert E. Kahn, Harry Kessler, Raphael Mahler, Moses Miller, Herbert M. Morais, Ruth Rubin, Chaim Suller, Mark Tarail, Rachel Wischnitzer, Lena Gurr, Valia Hirsch, Frank C. Kirk, Annam Kross, Solomon Landman, and Joseph H. Levy.

The majority of the students attending the School of Jewish Studies, according to the Daily Worker of April 16, 1946 (p. 6), "comes from the trade-unions, the International Workers' Order, and Jewish organizations." The school has an enrollment of 400 students. The school offers courses on "The Jewish People under Capitalism, Imperialism, and Socialism," "The National Question and the Jewish People," "Marxism, the Jews and the National Question," "History of the Jews in the American Labor Movement," "The Bible, a Social Analysis," and "American Jewish Life Today."

Other schools of lesser import located in New York, yet schools which should receive mention herein, are the following:

Robert Louis Stevenson School, 346 West Sixtieth Street, the principal of which is Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, sponsor of the School of Jewish Studies, and a writer for *New Masses*, a Communist publication. It has been reported that on posters advertising the school which are hung in New York subways is the notation that students are accepted under the GI educational plan.

School of Stage for Action, the faculty of which includes David Pressman and John O'Shaughnessy, teachers of action; Mary Grey Barnett, voice; Helaine Bok, dance; Max Miller, radio; and Millard Lampell, trade union theater.

Documentary Film School, 232 West Fourteenth Street; Downtown Music School, 68 East Twelfth Street; Downtown Community School, 235 East Eleventh Street. The Downtown Music School was organized in 1935. Max Blitzlein and Elie Siegmeister are on the faculty.

The Walt Whitman School of Social Sciences is located at 17 Williams Street, Newark, N. J. Florence Gerald is the Director.

The Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art was formerly located at 1704 Walnut Street. It is now located on South Twenty-first Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Among the instructors at the school are Sam Goldberg, Margaret Patton Cabell, Clara Clark, Eva S. Ellis, Elsie Levitan, S. Waldbaum, Nedra Chilkovsky, Allan R. Freelon, Nathan Shrager, and Claude Clark. Special courses are available exclusively to members of American Youth for Democracy. The directors are Madelin Blitzstein, Leroy Comanor, Barrows Dunham, Arthur Huff Fauset, James J. Fitzsimon, Elizabeth Frazier, Allan R. Freelon, Donald Henderson, Robert Hodes, Jules Link, Alice Liveright, Charles Simon, Saul Waldbaum, and Francis J. White. Members of the staff are Cortland Eyer, director; Bern Stambler, executive secretary; Mae Moskowitz, administrative secretary; Saul Waldbaum, chairman, board of directors; and Jules Link, treasurer.

The Philadelphia school was set up under its present name early in 1944. It claims to have enrolled over 2,000 students in the first 2 years of operation. It maintained two scholarships—one, the Paul Robeson scholarship, and the other, the Vincente Lombardo Toledano scholarship. Additional instructors are Bebe Alpert, Marion M. Astley, Sylvan Balder, Paul Benedict, Hans Blumenfeld, Arthur Cohn, Margaret DeRonde, William Drayton, Jr.; Paula E. Ehrlich, Cortland Eyer, Elizabeth Finkelstein, May Forbes, Francis Franklin, Marjorie Gammon, E. D. Gechtoff, Paulina Holstein, Harry Levitan, Wilbur Lee Mahaney, Jr., Adele Margolis, Mae Moskowitz, Sam Nempzoff, Benjamin Schleifer, Betty Schoenfeld, Elsie E. Smith, Bern Stambler, Libby Stambler, Winifred Stewart, Malvina Taiz, Ben Tarin, and Mrs. Ray Weiner.

The Samuel Adams School (a People's School for Social Studies) is located at 37 Province Street, Boston, Mass. The board of trustees is composed of David Alper, Alexander Brin, Angus Cameron, Albert Dieffenbach, George R. Faxon, Rev. Joseph Fletcher, Harrison L. Harley, William Franklin, Stephen Fritchman, Sarah R. Gordon, Margaret Gilbert, William Harrison, Kenneth deP. Hughes, Norman Levinson, Grace Lorch, F. O. Matthiessen, Samuel Mintz, John Mitchell, William Murdock, Walter O'Brien, Francis O'Connor, Mary E. Palmer, F. Hastings Smythe, Dirk Jan Struik, Sol Vail,

Colston Warne, James Whitehouse, Esther H. Wilson, and Harry Winner. Members of the administrative staff are Harrison L. Harley, director; Clive Knowles and Leslie Arnold, associate directors; Florence Castleman, public relations; Jean R. Davis, publicity; Mary Knowles, secretary; Harry Winner, treasurer; and David Alper, associate treasurer. The school holds summer classes at Camp Annisquam, July 13 to August 30, Gloucester, Mass. Courses offered by the school are similar to those offered by Communist schools throughout the country—Marxism, labor, public speaking, philosophy, planning, writing, racial problems, industrialism, literature, art, shop steward training, stage, and economics. It sponsors an amateur theater group which is affiliated with Stage for Action. The associate director of this is Leslie Arnold. The faculty includes Harry Winner, Joseph Weinreb, Clive Knowles, Dirk Jan Struik, Goldie Silverman, Rita Schuman, Melvin Rosensaft, Arthur Polonsky, Waldo Emerson Palmer, Mary E. Palmer, Melvin Maddox, Warren McKenna, Perry Miller, Evelyn G. Mitchell (UERMWA-CIO), John Michail (United Packing House Workers, CIO), S. S. Olans, Vincent Ferrini, Guy Albert D'Amato, Samuel Cauman, Leslie Arnold, Leo Berman, Voltairine Block, James E. Braxton, Vangel L. Misho, and Ernest Wasser. The school promoted the appearance of Paul Robeson in Boston June 22, 1947, for its fund drive.

The Abraham Lincoln School in Chicago is located at 180 West Washington Street. Faculty members are Morris Backall, Michael Baker, Frank Marshall Davis, Horace Davis, David Englestein, Morton Goldsholl, Pat Hoverder, Alfonso Iannelli, Leon Katzen, Ludwig Krube, Herschel Meyer, Henry Noyes, William L. Patterson, Fred Ptashne, Eleanore Redwin, Boris M. Revsine, Frank Sokolik, William Rose, Herman Schendel, Bernice Targ, and Morris Topchevsky. A notice appearing in a catalog of the school stated that "prominent citizens participating in our efforts" include Paul Robeson, Rockwell Kent, Lee Pressman, Howard Fast, Albert E. Kahn, and Henrietta Buckmaster. A South Side annex to the school has recently been added. It is located at 4448 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago. Dr. Walter S. Neff is director. Instructors include Albert George, Charlie Mitchell, Lester Fox, Geraldine Lightfoot, Ishmael Flory, David Englestein, Irving Herman, Earl Durham, Claude Lightfoot, and Walter Miller. Other annexes are at 1225 South Independence and 2409 North Holsted.

The Summer Training Institute of the Abraham Lincoln School will open on July 6 and end August 24 at Covert, Mich. Instructors will include Mary Himoff (Neff), Henry H. Noyes, Herman Schendel, and Walter S. Neff. Schendel is now the director of the trade-union department of the Abraham Lincoln School, and Pat Hoverder is assistant director. Schendel is author of some of the school's study courses, one of which, *Why Work for Nothing?* is violently anti-American, militantly pro-Soviet, pro-Communist, and pro-CIO. I submit it herewith as evidence.

The California Labor School, with headquarters at 216 Market Street, San Francisco, has branches in Oakland, 2030 Broadway; and Palo Alto, 560 Manlo Drive. The school has been known as the Workers' School and the Tom Mooney School. It adopted its present name (California Labor School) in August 1942. At that time it

boasted of 12 teachers, 15 classes, and 135 students. Today it has 75 teachers, 133 classes, and 817 students. This school has become one of the largest of its kind in the country. It is surpassed only by the Jefferson School in New York. Its original location was in a loft located at 675 Turk Street, San Francisco. It now occupies a five-story building, and it has launched a \$50,000 fund-raising campaign with the expectation of expanding. The staff is composed of the following: Director, David Jenkins; educational director, Holland Roberts; trade-union director, Irwin Elber; associate trade-union director, Sylvain Schmittacher; director, Oakland school, Gordon Williams; trade-union extension, George Hitchcock; arts, Giacomo Patri; English, Isobel Cerney; music, Leo Christiansen; social sciences, Jules Carson; director, veterans' activities, Andrew Zirpoli; public relations, Mary O'Shea; publicity, Bill Turner, Duncan Gallery, Pele Edises; librarians, Clara Hanchett, Betty Sibbett, and Donald Thayer; registrar, Ethel Cayton; student guidance, Libby Gratch and counselors; financial secretary, Mini Katz; general office, Frances Wallcave, Jean Werthimer, and Betty Levine. Members of the board of directors are Ed Reite, president; G. F. Irvine, vice president; Paul Schnur, secretary; Ed Barlow, Jules Carson, Ethel Cayton, Isobel Cerney, Leo Christiansen, James Drury, Irwin Elber, Pat Fogarty, Hazey Grossman, Bjerne Halling, Clara Hanchett, George Hardy, George Herman, David Jenkins, Mini Katz, Armand Keosian, Richard Lynden, Jack Maltester, Randolph Meriwether, Giacomo Patri, Leonard Riave, Holland Roberts, Norma Jean Ross, Donald Thayer, and Gordon Williams. The school claims that in 1945 and 1946 the trade-union extension division conducted classes for 9,500 new union members, stewards, and officers of local unions in the CIO and AFL. The school assists in preparing union publications—leaflets, pamphlets, bulletins, organizational letters, and union newspapers. The school is accredited for veterans' education under the GI bill of rights, and accordingly "all tuition, books, and other fees are paid by the Veterans' Administration to the school."

Among the courses offered by the California Labor School are the following: "Recent Strike Struggles: Strategy and Tactics," "Labor and Third Party Movements," "Advanced Economics: Economic Theories of Marx and Keynes," "What Is Coalition," "America as a World Power Today," "National and Colonial Liberation Movements," "Youth in Today's World," "Citizenship," "Negro History and Culture," "Social Thinking," "Soviet Union," 1917-47, "Psychology and the Social Order," "Publicity Workshop for Trade Unions," "Russian Language," "Spanish," and "Labor Education and Political Action." The school also conducts classes in art, dancing, theater, journalism, public speaking, parliamentary law, organizing, shorthand, bookkeeping, choral singing, sculpture, photography, and atomic energy. The latter course is conducted by Prof. Frank Oppenheimer, who was employed during the last World War on the California atomic project.

The advisory council of the school is made up of professors from Stanford University, University of California, San Francisco Junior College, San Francisco State College, and the California Labor School itself. Members of the educational advisory council are Dr. Thomas Addis, Prof. Arthur G. Brodeur, Dr. A. J. Cloud, Prof. Williard H. Durham, Prof. E. W. Gifford, Prof. Edward M. Hulme,

Prof. A. M. Kidd, Robert H. Lowie, Dr. Alexander C. Roberts, Holland Roberts, Leo Rogin, Dr. Curtis E. Warren (superintendent of schools, San Francisco Board of Education), and Dr. Baldwin Woods. From July 19 to 29, classes will be held at Camp Aselomar. Lecturers will include Harry Bridges, Sidney Rogers, and Dalton Trumbo.

Sponsoring organizations of the California Labor School include numerous CIO locals, the American Veterans' Committee of California, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, CIO councils, the Communist Party and its various fronts, and local leaders of the National Lawyers Guild, and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee.

The following are faculty members and lecturers at the school: Leon Alexander, instructor of playwriting at New Theater School; unit manager in Federal Theater, New York; observer of labor movements in France, the Soviet Union, and Germany; Mara Alexander; drama director, Warehousemen's Union, Local 6 (ILWU); American Laboratory Theater; Eva Le Gallienne's Group; Robert Anshen, technical director, Vallejo Housing Authority; Victor Arnautoff; Leon Bick; Eugena Bielawski; Jane Blackmer; Jessie Elliott Buck; Dudley A. Cameron; Jules Carson, former political action director, Alameda County CIO; Frank Cerda, Isobel Cerney; Leo E. Christiansen; Adelyne Cross; Margaret de Patta; Philip Eden; Irwin Elber; Lincoln Fairley; Fannie Garfield; Eugenia Gershol; Louise Gilbert; Robert Goff; Carleton Goodlet; Theodore Garbacheff; Nick Gregoric; Hazel Grossman; Milton Halberstadt; Gladys Hares; Gail Hazard (directed organization of Army newspapers in Canada and Alaska, taught Army field newspaper technique of the School for Special and Morale Services); Edith Kiertzner Heath; Eleanor Hesthal; Joan Hinchman; George Hitchcock; Hans Hoffman; Charlotte Howard; Marco Ignacio Infante; David Jenkins; Mimi Kagan; William Kauffmann, press department, Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Mexico City; Jack Kirtley; Freda Koblick; Adam Lapin, associate editor, Daily People's World (Communist); Peter Macchiarini, Miriam Martius; Helen Miller; Keith Monroe; Philip Morton; Ray Oechsli; Giacomo Patri; Jack Patton; Jo Pillsbury; Paul Pinsky; Edwin Pope; Evangeline Powell; Anton Refregier; Al Richmond, editor in chief, Daily People's World (Communist); Holland Roberts; Nora Lee Rohr; Benjamin Rosenbluth; Mildred Rosenthal; Sylvain Schmittacher, labor panel member, WLB; Michael Shapovalov, United States Department of Agriculture expert on Soviet agriculture; Nathan Siegel; Awan Senario; Joseph Stain; Celeste Strack; Donald Thayer; George Vurek; Henry Wachs; Tom Weber, formerly on the staff of Friday magazine; Frederick Welch; Margo Westgaard; Gordon Williams; Ruth Witt-Diamant; and Andrew Zirpoli.

David Jenkins, the \$100 a week director of the California Labor School, when first accused, denied that he was ever a Communist. He later pleaded a lapse of memory, after being shown a transcript of a New York voting record which proved that he had registered as a Communist there. He also admitted that he had served a 60-day jail sentence in New York for Communist (riot) activities. At one time Jenkins was Norfolk (Va.) agent for the CIO National Maritime Union, and he was active in circles which enlisted recruits for the Red Army in the Spanish revolution.

Hazel Grossman, an instructor at the school, and a member of the board of directors, admitted before a California legislative committee that she is the wife of Aubrey Grossman, educational director of the Communist Party in California.

Holland Roberts, educational director of the school, admitted that he is president of the American-Russian Institute in California.

The school has received "loans" amounting to around \$3,000 from the Communist organ, Daily People's World.

The California State Federation of Labor (AFL) on June 28, 1944, according to an item which appeared on page 5 of its Weekly News Letter, issued the following statement:

Reaffirming its original action, the executive council of the California State Federation of Labor unanimously repudiates the California Labor School in San Francisco and the California Education Center of Los Angeles as not being bona fide labor schools * * * The previous action taken by the council was in regard to the Tom Mooney School, which name has now been changed to the present one, the California Labor School.

Recently (1947) the California Department of the American Legion adopted a resolution calling on the Board of Education to cancel the approval of the California Labor Schools for GI educational benefits.

In referring to David Jenkins, the Daily People's World stated that he warned Negroes and labor of America's rise to a world power, and emphasized its bad effect on them. The paper also announced that Al Richmond and Adam Lapin would analyze "capitalism in the United States, its economic system and foreign policy, and the effect on American labor." Speaking of Celeste Strack, an instructor in the school, the paper said she would "evaluate socialism in the USSR, its solution of job and security problems, and the status of trade unions under capitalism and socialism." Noted speakers who have appeared before classes in the school, according to the paper, include Harry Bridges, Reid Robinson, Vincente Lombardo Toledano, Paul Robeson, Orson Welles, I. F. Stone, Max Lerner of PM, and Henry Casidy.

Instructor of atomic energy at the California Labor School is Dr. Frank Oppenheimer, said to be a brother of Dr. J. R. Oppenheimer, director of the Los Alamos, Calif., atomic project. The former is a scientist on the project.

Another prominent California school is the People's Educational Center, located at 1717 North Vine Street, Hollywood. The board of directors is made up of Willis J. Hill, president; Fay E. Allen, Harry Brown, Dr. Frank C. Davis, Sidney Davison, Mrs. Gertrude Flatte, Dr. Sanford Goldner, Frank Green, Dorothy Healey, Maurice Howard, John Howard Lawson, G. T. Peterson, Albee Slade, and William Wolfe. Sidney Davison is the director; Mildred Raskin, executive secretary; and Martha Dones, registrar. Members of the advisory board are Helmer Bergman, Dr. Leo Bigelman, Ed Gilbert, Sondra Gorney, Robert Lees, Frances Millington, Herbert Sorrell, and Frank Tuttle. The instructors are Jack Agins, Minna Agins, who lectured widely on the Soviet Union; Helen Alcalay; George Beller; Helmer W. Bergman; Herbert Biberman; Leo Bigelman, formerly associated with the Workers' School of Los Angeles; Val Burton, writer-producer at Universal; Hugh Campbell; Joseph Chabot; Emma Lou Davis, Sidney Davison, director of the People's Education Center, who was in the United States Navy for 4 years; Frank C. Davis, former director of Education, People's

Educational Center; Guy Endore; Neil Enochs; William B. Esterman; Vocha Fiske, 1946 instructor for AFRA's veteran refresher course; Hugo Friedhofer, composing and arranging for major studios since the inception of sound; Ted Gilien, formerly combat artist, United States Army; Elliott Grennard, articles on jazz in Music and Rhythm, PM, and New Masses; Victor Kaplan, of the law firm of Katz, Gallagher and Margolis; Herbert Klym; Robert Lees, who has been actively writing in motion-picture industry for 12 years; Marjorie Leonard; Kenneth MacGowan, dramatic critic from 1910 to 1923, play producer from 1925 to 1931, and motion picture producer since 1932; Gladys Magy, worked in office of Inter-American Affairs; Rose N. Marshall; Alice Miles, Charles B. Millholland, author of stage, screen, and radio success Twentieth Century; Freda Minowitz, taught for Hillel Foundation in New York, was on faculty of Yiddish Scientific Institute, and member of Jewish Education Committee of New York; Laurence Morton, has done orchestrating for major studios and radio networks, has had articles in Hollywood Quarterly; Louis Quinn, radio writer for Radio Hall of Fame and Orson Welles, 2 years of writing and directing for Blue Network in Hollywood; Paquerette Pathe; Frank Pestana; Irving Pichel, motion-picture director; Stanley Rubin, wrote, directed, and produced Army films, produced at Universal, now under contract at Columbia; Mildred Raskin, executive secretary, People's Educational Center; Lillya Sabsay, born in the Crimea, has taught private classes in Russian; John Sanford; Leon Saulter; Wilma Shore, short stories published in Story, New Masses, McCall's, Accent, and Good Housekeeping; Michael Simmons, screenwriter, author of 20 feature films; Moi Solotaroff, artist, stage designer, teacher, and lecturer; Frank Thomas; Milton Tyre, firm of Katz, Gallagher & Margolis.

The People's Educational Center offers courses in public speaking, parliamentary law, labor's key problems, medicine, philosophy, motion-picture directing, screen writing, radio speech technique, creative writing, story writing, art, photography, dancing, Russian and Spanish, and music.

For several years the Communists have operated the Los Angeles Committee of Correspondence. This is a correspondence school and specializes in letter campaigns to newspaper editors for publication in readers columns.

In Seattle, Wash., the Reds operate the Seattle Labor School. It is reported that it is holding classes in the old Central School Building. This school is similar in set up and operation to all schools operated by Communists and frontiers.

The Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tenn., unquestionably keeps pretty close to the party line. Its directors, James Dombrowski and Myles Horton, are found in the company of Red-frontiers. It has been a recipient of funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation which has so lavishly contributed to Friends of Democracy, American Youth Congress, National Negro Congress, Southern Negro Youth Congress, and other fronts.

Members of the executive council of the Highlander Folk School are William H. Crawford of the CIO Steelworkers' Union, district director; Edward F. Gallagher, vice president of the Hosiery Workers' Union; Paul R. Christopher, CIO regional director, Tennessee; James Dombrowski, listed as secretary of the Southern Conference for

Human Welfare; Charles Gillman, CIO regional director, Georgia; Carey Haigler, CIO regional director, Alabama; Lucy Randolph Mason, CIO public relations director; George Mitchell, regional director CIO-PAC; Hollis Reid, legislative board of locomotive firemen; Thomas Starling, director Region 8, Auto Workers' Union (CIO); Aubrey Williams, organizing director of Regional Farmers' Union and publisher of Southern Farmer (Montgomery, Ala.), a member of the board of directors of the Progressive Citizens' Association.

As a guarantee against the possibility of "capitalist poison" getting into the veins of Russian youth living in this country, the Soviet Union set up its own schools in the United States at which the offspring of Russian diplomats and trade agents are educated. The largest of these schools are located at 85 One Hundred and Eighteenth Street, New York City; 6 East Sixty-seventh Street, New York City; and 810 St. Marks Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Until recently, such a school was operated in Washington, D. C., on Military Road.

Another angle of activity in the educational field which must not be overlooked is the kit for teachers in American schools prepared by the American-Russian Institute and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, both of which have headquarters in New York City, with branches in our principal cities. The activities of the latter organization will be dealt with later on in this testimony.

Mr. BONNER. None of these schools are State institutions?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir.

Mr. BONNER. Or denominational institutions?

Mr. STEELE. No.

Mr. BONNER. They are all privately operated schools?

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do any of them get assistance from any of the States or from the Federal Government?

Mr. STEELE. That is a point that I might mention. The only financial assistance that I know of that any of these schools have had is the Jefferson School and the California Labor School, so-called labor school. They have both obtained approvals for GI benefits. Except for that I know of no Federal finance that they have had.

Mr. BONNER. Have those two institutions that you speak of as being on the approved list for GI training—

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. BONNER. What kind of courses do they conduct?

Mr. STEELE. I have gone into that very thoroughly. You will find them in the catalogs there. Courses on Marxism, strike tactics, anything that goes with the party activities and party line.

Mr. BONNER. I mean like other schools, do they conduct courses like a university would in the States? For instance, Princeton, or any other school of that kind, do they have regular diversified courses?

Mr. STEELE. No, there is nothing listed in the catalogs that show diversified courses.

Mr. BONNER. Still they are on the approved list?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. And I inquired of the Veterans' Bureau about that and they gave me this explanation, and they said the Veterans' Bureau does not get up the approved list.

Mr. BONNER. I understand.

Mr. STEELE. That the States, some division of the State submits a list that has been approved by the State, and the Veterans' Bureau is obligated under the GI bill to set aside that much money. Now, as to how many veterans have enrolled in the schools, I don't know, excepting that 87 are supposed to have been graduated from the California Labor School last week.

Mr. BONNER. What kind of course did they graduate from?

Mr. STEELE. That I don't know. The information that came to me was by wire and that part of the information was not included, as to what they graduated in.

Mr. BONNER. How could this committee go about finding out?

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BONNER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. In this pamphlet, put out by the Jefferson School, and it is dated June 1947, is included, among the courses Principles of Marxism No. 1, Principles of Marxism No. 2, Political Economy, Imperialism, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Development of Modern Economic Thought, and so on. Soviet Union Today, World Today, and History of the American Labor Movement.

Mr. BONNER. They have no courses in the professions or the trades.

Mr. STRIPLING. In the case of the California Labor College, there has been considerable controversy in the State of California and also in the Veterans' Administration for the last year and a half over the fact that it is on the approved list. Do you have any information on that, Mr. Steele?

Mr. STEELE. I know there has been a lot of criticism and, as I stated, I took it up with the Veterans' Bureau and they informed me that it was approved by some bureau of the State; they were under obligation, under the act, to finance it on that account.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, I noticed in your testimony that you say officials of the Jefferson School on Social Science claim that, since its opening under the present name in 1944, some 40,000 persons have taken its courses.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. For the committee's information, Doxey Wilkerson was the individual mentioned by J. Edgar Hoover when he testified in March as being a Government employee employed in the office of OPA, whom he insisted should be fired for being incompetent, and they refused to fire him, and later Doxey Wilkerson resigned from the OPA, stating that he was going with the National Committee of the Communist Party and that he was a Communist. That is just for the purpose of identification for the record.

Mr. STEELE. I might also state at this time that another former atom scientist, by the name of Frank Oppenheimer, who was on the California atom project, has been a teacher at the California Communist school, teaching atomic energy.

The CHAIRMAN. He is out at the University of Minnesota now.

Mr. STEELE. He is now there. Up until 6 months ago, I believe it was, he was teaching at the school in California.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, have you been able to get copies of the texts used in these courses?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; some.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been able to get copies of the texts used in the atomic energy courses?

Mr. STEELE. No; I have not.

If I may digress a little bit, I might refer at this time to Balamuth, who is instructor at the New York school. He was, in September 1942, I believe it was, referred to as having been the head of the cell of the Communist Party. I read the following:

Named in New York legislative committee report following investigation of Communists in State colleges and universities, as an active member and leader in the teachers' cell operating chiefly out of City College of New York. The report states that he wrote the material appearing in the Teacher-Worker organ of the teachers' cell of the Communist Party in New York. That Balamuth was so careful in guarding his connection that he wore gloves when preparing Communist material for mailing, so as to cover up any possibility of fingerprint evidence against himself. That he also had his private library walls paneled, with a few sliding panels, back of which he kept his Communist material, so as to hide such from any possible unfriendly visitor.

The CHAIRMAN. This is from the report?

Mr. STEELE. This is from the report.

Balamuth was also active in American Student Union circles, and was on the faculty and an instructor at the School for Democracy in 1942, instructing in science, the school was with the Workers' School, a forerunner of the present Jefferson School in New York City. The organization committee of School for Democracy included on it Frederick J. Fields, A. A. Heller, Alexander Trachtenberg, and others. The school was set up particularly to make positions for the scores of professors and teachers who were dismissed in a wholesale clean-up following the above investigation.

An interesting sidelight on this angle is that Arthur Steinberg, who was mentioned as "Berger" in the Canadian report on atom spy ring, is now teaching at a college in Ohio—not a Communist college, but a legitimate college.

Mr. McDOWELL. Do you know what college it is?

Mr. STEELE. It is Oberlin College—it is Antioch College. He is listed in the directory.

Mr. STRIPLING. What subject is he teaching?

Mr. STEELE. I haven't gone into that, but he is listed here as a member of their teaching staff.

Mr. STRIPLING. Suppose you check that during the lunch hour, Mr. Steele.

Mr. McDOWELL. To keep the record straight, you said Oberlin—

Mr. STEELE. I want to change that.

Mr. McDOWELL. It is not Oberlin?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir. There are two colleges there and I get the two confused. This is Antioch College.

Mr. STRIPLING. This union in New York of which Louis Balamuth was a member, is that local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers?

Mr. STEELE. I wouldn't say positively about that, Mr. Stripling. I think that is it, but I am not certain about that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, that is the local of the A. F. of L. which was later expelled by the American Federation of Labor because of Communist activity within the local.

Mr. STEELE. At this same college there is a Lewis Corey on the faculty, whom I have been told is Louis Corey Fraini, one of the charter members of the Communist Party and former editor of two Com-

munist organs. I think we will all commend the Government for what little it has done, but I believe the public would feel more secure if the question of some of the high-ups of this about 140 that were hooked up in that Canadian spy ring were apprehended and tried and the record cleared up somewhat.

In other words, I understand that our Government was given a list of 140 people in this country, which included Berger, or Steinberg, who was under the name of Berger, who were in some way hooked up with the Canadian spy ring. So far as I know, I mean, so far as the public knows, there has been nothing done about any of those individuals.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, would you care to give in open session the source of your information as to this 140?

Mr. STEELE. I prefer not to. I prefer to give it in closed session if permissible.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you consider it a reliable source of information?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, very reliable.

Mr. STRIPLING. Very reliable?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you say it was official?

Mr. STEELE. It was ex-official. I will say it that way.

Mr. BONNER. What type of school is Antioch College?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I think it gives sort of a general educational course, Congressman.

Mr. BONNER. Is it a State institution?

Mr. STEELE. No; it is private.

Mr. BONNER. Private institution?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BONNER. I see.

Mr. McDOWELL. Wasn't it originally created to educate freemen?

Mr. STEELE. I am not certain.

Mr. BONNER. Who?

Mr. McDOWELL. Freemen.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you mind passing the catalog up to the committee?

Mr. STEELE. Be glad to. The whole history of the school is there in the catalog.

Mr. BONNER. What do you mean, freemen?

Mr. McDOWELL. If I recall rightly, it was started to educate new Negro citizens after they were freed in 1860. I may be mistaken.

Mr. BONNER. Like Howard University?

Mr. McDOWELL. I would say similar. I may be mistaken. One of those colleges over there was organized for that purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. We want to be certain.

Mr. STEELE. I wouldn't want to testify as to that because I haven't studied the nature of the college. I do know there are some very fine people on their board of trustees.

Mr. McDOWELL. Antioch is at Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, the name Fraini, would you spell it?

Mr. STEELE. F-r-a-i-n-i.

Mr. STRIPLING. And what did you say the person's real name is?

Mr. STEELE. I say he is going by the name of Lewis Corey in the catalog. I am told by a representative of one of the trustees of the school that his real name is Louis Corey Friani.

Mr. STRIPLING. Spell Corey.

Mr. STEELE. C-o-r-e-y.

Mr. STRIPLING. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say that Antioch College is one of the most respectable colleges in the country. I think someone said it was a Negro college. I disagree. I don't think it is.

Mr. STEELE. It is not.

The CHAIRMAN. Furthermore, anything said here shouldn't cast any reflection on Antioch College.

Gentlemen, it is 12:30. Without objection we will recess to convene at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m. of the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

The CHAIRMAN. The meeting will come to order. Mr. Steele, please resume.

TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE—Resumed

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I wish to now go into a certain phase of the Communist plan of propaganda that is reaching into our colleges and universities—that is, not Communist colleges and universities but the private colleges and State institutions. In this respect, it will be recalled that back in 1936 there was an organization set up in our country in cooperation with certain Russian travel bureaus functioning here. This organization made it its special business to recruit professors and teachers, and often advanced students, for what was called the American-Soviet Summer Institute of Moscow. At the institute American educators and students learned all about the so-called glories of the Communist system of government and of the "great" leaders of communism. Dr. W. W. Charters of Ohio University was at one time leader of the movement in this country. The activities of this institute were exposed several years ago.

Our Government has lately attempted, I believe with little success and at great expense, to present to the people of Russia, via short wave, a description of our form of government and its method of operation. We do not attempt, of course, to send representatives from America into Russia to explain in detail the manner in which our Government functions, and we did not promote excursions of Russians to this country to propagandize them. We do not attempt to set up a chain of American agitational and propaganda schools in Russia, as have the Russians here. We do not organize a myriad of front movements on Russian soil to continuously propagandize in behalf of the United States and against the Communist system of Russia. We do not establish in Russia a string of newspapers and magazines, and we do not set up publishing houses which would turn out millions of pieces of literature in an attempt to undermine the Communist system of Russia and advance our ideologies. We

would not be permitted such liberties, of course, and we have not been able, to any extent, to reach the Russian people even via short wave. Why, then, should they assume that they have a legal and moral right to put into operation in the United States the most powerful propaganda machine in behalf of Russia and the Communist system of government ever conceived? Why should they be permitted to deride our system of government and to advocate the destruction of this system and the ultimate setting up of a Soviet America?

This field of propaganda has been extended lately by bringing the teachings of the Moscow University, so to speak, to the instructors in our own schools and colleges. This angle is being handled by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, which maintains headquarters at 114 East Thirty-second Street, New York City. Some of the leaders of this outfit were cited for contempt by this committee for refusing to furnish the committee with pertinent data regarding its activities.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, within recent months, has added many side shows to its pro-Soviet and, accordingly, pro-Communist propaganda machine. One of them is known as the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This committee is under the direction of Dr. Herbert Davis. I know nothing of the additional connections of Davis. Neither do I know anything with regard to his qualifications, if any, as an educator, or his knowledge concerning Russia and communism. Working with him is Elizabeth Moos, a former Bronx teacher, on whom this committee undoubtedly has a background in connection with her activities in other fields. She is the executive secretary of the committee on education, and I am informed it is she who does the actual work of the committee. Among the vice chairmen of the committee are Frank E. Baker of the Milwaukee State Teachers' College, Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University, A. D. Henderson of Antioch College, Ernest O. Melby of the University of Montana, Holland Roberts of the California Labor School (Communist) and Stanford University, and W. Carson Ryan of the University of North Carolina. Included in the sponsors of the committee on education are the usual run of frontiers, such as Max Yergan, Corliss Lamont, and H. W. L. Dana, together with the customary few unsuspecting.

The plan through which the committee of education is now penetrating our schools involves the distribution of Kits of Teaching Materials on the Soviet Union. These "kits," as they are called include a great deal of the propaganda pamphlet material issued by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Other materials used in the "kits" are issued by the American-Russian Institute, the Institute of Pacific Relations, and similar outfits. The material includes such pro-Soviet publications as Soviet Russia Today and Survey Graphic.

Mr. STRIPLING. Pardon me, Mr. Steele. Do you have any samples of the kit that you are referring to?

Mr. STEELE. I have. However, I don't have them with me. It was such a big quantity of material that I didn't bring them with me, but I will be very glad to submit one of the kits to the committee, if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. Do that, please.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. The kits contain material for visual education for students, together with water colors by Soviet children, book illustrations by Soviet artists, sets of children's books printed in the Soviet Union, charts of various kinds, slides for projectors, and pamphlets on Soviet farming, child care, sports, labor, and other subjects. The American-Russian Institute and the East and West Association are named as sources of additional material.

A rather extensive Bibliography on the Soviet Union for teachers, issued in connection with the committee of education's school-infiltration plan, contains List Sources and Supplementary Teaching Materials. Therein are named, as further sources, the Soviet Information Bureau and the Russian War Relief. Listed as source material are the following books: Soviet Communism, The Truth About Russia, The Russians, Soviet Power, The Secret of Soviet Strength, Mother Russia, U. S. S. R., Russia Is No Riddle. Women of Soviet Russia, Changing Man, The Educational System of the U. S. S. R., Soviet Economy and the War, Soviet Spirit, Socialized Medicine, Twentieth Century Philosophy, Seven Soviet Plans, I Saw the Russian People, The Great Conspiracy Against Russia, Religion in the U. S. S. R., Lenin, That Boy Nikolka, Russia's Story, The People of Russia, Short History of Russia, The War of Liberation, Leninism, History of the Communist Party of Russia, The Baltic Riddle, Maxim Litvinoff, Against Aggression, New Poland, Red Army, Last Days of Sevastopol, Twelve Months That Changed the World, An Outline of Russian Literature, Land of the Soviets, Russia's New Primer, Heroes of the War, Young America Looks at Russia, Building America, and How Man Became a Giant (Evolution). The authors of these books include H. W. L. Dana, a former teacher in a Communist school in Boston; Ella Winters, widely known frontier; Anna Louise Strong, former editor of the Moscow News; Corliss Lamont; Victor Yakhontoff; Albert E. Kahn, party functionary; Rev. William Howard Melish; Beatrice and Sidney Webb, British Reds; Albert Rhys Williams; Hewlett Johnson; Walter Duranty; Vilhjalmur Stefansson; Edmund Stevens; Harry F. Ward; Henry E. Segerist, leader in the socialized-medicine campaign; Edwin S. Smith, of the Progressive Citizens' Association and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Rose Maurer; Eric Starbuck; Leo Grulioiw; Joseph Stalin; Arthur Upham Pope; Maxim Litvinoff; Boleslaw Gebert; I. Mintz; Erskine Caldwell; Vera Micheles Dean; Ernest J. Simmons; Wanda Wasilewska; Maxwell Stewart; M. Ilin; and scores of other left-wing Americans and Russian leaders.

Mr. McDOWELL. Can you tell me the author of Mother Russia?

Mr. STEELE. Let me see if I can, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Maurice Hindus, I believe.

Mr. STEELE. No. I have that in the exhibits here, however.

Mr. McDOWELL. All right.

Mr. STEELE. Building America is also endorsed as excellent source material by the committee on education. It is suggested that it be used by the teachers and professors in our educational institutions. I might add here that this book has created a State-wide controversy in California, where the Sons of the American Revolution finally succeeded in having the book banned in some of the schools. I understand that the State legislature, through a special committee, is hold-

ing hearings on the book, and it is expected that its findings will result in the barring of the book from all State institutions.

At this point, I will turn over to this committee for its own information the complaint of the Sons of the American Revolution, addressed to the Lieutenant Governor of California, the speaker of the state assembly, and to the special committee of the senate of California, in which is set forth the charges against this book. I will submit all in a bunch here, if you don't mind.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, go back just a little bit. It is not clear to me just what the connection is between the committee on education and the American-Russian Institute.

Mr. STEELE. The committee on education, in their kits, has propaganda material on the Soviet Union which is issued by the American-Russian Institute. They also list that in the documents that I am submitting here as further sources of material.

The CHAIRMAN. And have you told the committee what the American-Russian Institute is?

Mr. STEELE. No. I am getting to that shortly, though, Mr. Chairman.

Records and slides circulated by the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship were made by Paul Robeson (who records among others the Soviet Anthem), Richard Dyer Bennett, Sam Morganstern, and others. Keystone Recordings (Communist recorders) produce the records. Soviet posters are also included in the kits for American teachers and professors.

One of the bulletins issued by the committee on education announces that summer courses have already been instituted at Boston University, William and Mary, Columbia, Cornell, Emory, Middlebury, Pomona, Buffalo, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Pittsburgh Universities, and at the Connecticut and Mary Washington Colleges.

Mr. STRIPLING. Pardon me, Mr. Steele. You stated Keystone Recordings.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. According to your memorandum, it is Keynote Recordings.

Mr. STEELE. Keynote.

Mr. STRIPLING. It is Keynote and not Keystone.

Mr. STEELE. Keynote is proper; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. STEELE. An explanation is made to the effect that "space does not permit listing Russian studies planned next fall." The bulletin also states that "social" conferences and institutes have been held at the University of Colorado, University of Wyoming, University of Washington, and the University of Utah, and that Institutes of International Relations have offered discussion on the Soviet Union at Mills College, with Dr. Holland Roberts of the Communist California Labor School and Miss Rose Maurer of the committee serving as members of the staff. Miss Maurer was also on the staff of the Northwest Institute held at Reed College (Washington State). Other Institutes were held at Antioch College and Friends University (Wichita). Workshops and conferences have been held by the committee at which the extension of this program in our schools was discussed. One con-

ference, held in Philadelphia, had as its chief speakers Corliss Lamont of the council and Orest Shevtsov, head of the Young Communist movement in Russia. Another conference was held in New York, in which Arthur Upham Pope, Howard Wilson, Robert S. Lynd, and Frank E. Baker participated. In attendance were approximately 500 teachers and school administrators.

The CHAIRMAN. When were these conferences?

Mr. STEELE. These were held last fall. A third conference was held in Boston. Herbert Davis, Corliss Lamont, Howard Wilson, and Dirk Struik were among the speakers. Dr. Vladimir Kazakevich and George Vernadsky took part in a conference held in Cleveland.

The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship was originally known as Friends of the Soviet Union. It was organized as a branch of the International Friends of the Soviet Union, the headquarters of which were located in Moscow. The original purposes of the Friends of the Soviet Union were set forth in a booklet entitled "Tasks and Activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union," from which I quote:

To mobilize the masses for militant action against war and in defense of the Soviet socialist state through street meetings, demonstrations, factory-gate meetings, and the organization of the Friends of the Soviet Union anti-war committees in all basic industries * * *. The attacks on militant workers on hours, wages, standard of living, and the attacks on the Soviet Union are parts of one whole, of the capitalists' attacks against the working class * * *.

As a part of this policy of workers' solidarity, the Friends of the Soviet Union sends delegations of American workers to the Soviet Union to participate in the May Day and November 7 anniversary celebrations. In the campaign for such delegates, the Friends of the Soviet Union enters into close contact with progressive and revolutionary trade-unions * * *.

Originally, the officers and members of the boards of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Friends of the Soviet Union) were all openly Communist Party leaders. After a series of name changing, which included the American Council on Soviet Relations, in January 1943, the final corporation papers were filed, establishing it under its present name, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. The corporation papers state that the purposes of the council shall be "scientific, educational, and charitable"; that it shall distribute literature, hold meetings, lectures, and broadcasts; that it shall give aid to other organizations or individuals to carry on similar activities; that it shall take by bequests, gifts, purchase, or lease property, real, personal, and mixed, without limitation as to value; that it shall invest any principal and expend any income for the above purposes; and that it shall accept membership.

The incorporators, as listed in the incorporation papers, are Corliss Lamont, George Marshall, William Morris, Jr., Dr. Harry Grundfest, and William Howard Melish, who are also named as directors of the organization. The incorporation papers provide that at least two-thirds of the directors shall be citizens of the United States. Harold I. Cammer acted as attorney for the incorporators.

I wish at this time to file the incorporation papers, as well as other material pertaining to the committee on education, as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. We will accept them as exhibit No. 16.

Mr. STRIPLING. The incorporation papers will start with 16.

(Exhibit 16 was received.)¹⁴

¹⁴ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibit 16.

Mr. STEELE. The National Council of American-Soviet Friendship has set up numerous affiliates. These reach into many fields—the American-Soviet Science Society, headed by Dr. L. C. Dunn; building industry committee, Harvey Wiley Corbett, chairman; committee of women, Muriel Draper, chairman; committee on education, Dr. Herbert Davis, chairman; dance committee, Agnes de Mille, chairman; religious committee, Rev. William Howard Melish, chairman; theater committee, Margaret Webster, chairman; and a medical committee of which Robert Leslie is chairman.

The following are the local councils of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship:

Alabama: Dr. Herbert P. McDonald, chairman, Mobile Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 66 North Monterey Street, Mobile, Ala.

California: Dr. M. Shapovalov, chairman, Peninsula Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 740 Creek Drive, Menlo Park, Calif.

Colorado: Mrs. Herbert D. Ulmer, executive secretary, Denver Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 667 South Downing Street, Denver, Colo.

Florida: Dr. Karl G. Knoche, chairman, Jacksonville Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 514 Professional Building, Jacksonville, Fla. Rev. A. B. Rollins, director, Miami Council of American Soviet Friendship, 121 Southeast First Street, Miami 32, Fla. Mr. Alfredo Rodriguez, chairman, Tampa Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1614 Eighth Avenue, Tampa, Fla.

Illinois: Dr. William Card, executive director, Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 135 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill.

Louisiana: Prof. Robert D. Feild, chairman, New Orleans Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1212 Broadway, New Orleans, La.

Maine: Mr. Raymond H. Gailey, Maine Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 12 Providence Avenue, South Portland, Me.

Massachusetts: Mrs. Nan Hunter Halperin, Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 35 Newbury Street, Boston, Mass.

Minnesota: Mrs. H. B. Wiesner, executive secretary, Minneapolis Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1011 East River Road, Minneapolis, Minn.

New Jersey: Mrs. Reva Finkel, regional secretary, New Jersey regional office, 310 Washington Street, Newark, N. J.

Ohio: Mr. Russell M. Chase, Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio.

Pennsylvania: Miss Adele Pollock, regional secretary, Pennsylvania regional office, 1831 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Miss Reba D. Altman, executive secretary, Philadelphia Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 1831 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Rev. Irving Murray, Pittsburgh Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Ellsworth and Morewood Avenues, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Wisconsin: Mrs. Paul Link, Madison Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Route No. 2, Madison, Wis. Mr. Henry C. Friend, Milwaukee Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 6185 Plankinton Building, Milwaukee, Wis.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point the record will show that the following members of the committee are present: Mr. Vail, Mr. McDowell, Mr. Nixon, and Mr. Thomas.

Mr. STEELE. Officers of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., are: Corliss Lamont, chairman; Arthur Upham Pope, William Morris, Jr., and Rev. William Howard Melish, vice chairmen; Henry Pratt Fairchild, secretary-treasurer; and Richard Morford, executive director. Members of the board of directors are: Harland Allen, Zlatko Balokovic, Cyril Bath, Mary McLeod Bethune, Harvey Wiley Corbett, John O. Crane, Dorothy Douglas, Leslie C. Dunn, B. Z. Goldberg, Thomas L. Harris, Raymond C. Ingersoll, Philip J. Jaffe, Leon Kroll, Samuel B. Leavin, Howard McKenzie, George Marshall, William L. McFetridge, William Howard Melish, John Middleton, Emily Pierson, Adam Clayton Powell, Joseph P. Selly, M. B. Sherman, Herman Shumlin, Henry E. Sigerist, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Hudson Walker. Thomas L. Harris, a

member of the board, is executive secretary of the American Russian Institute. Over a period of years he has held prominent positions in various other fronts. John Middleton, another member of the board, is vice president of the International Workers' Order.

I will discuss the IWO to greater extent later on in my testimony. However, it is pertinent to mention at this point the fact that members of the IWO served as delegates to the national convention of the National Council of the American-Soviet Friendship. It is customary for the IWO to send 100 delegates to the national conventions of the council. I submit herewith three letters as evidence in this respect.

(Exhibits 17 to 25 were received.)¹⁵

Mr. STEELE. Now, on the youth movement, please. The blunt frankness with which national leaders of the American Youth for Democracy movement openly admit the Red connections of their organization, yet deny communism when they get in a tight pinch, and the boldness with which AYD is setting up housekeeping on the campuses of both private and tax-supported institutions of higher learning throughout the United States is alarming.

American Youth for Democracy is waging a vigorous campaign for campus recognition in principal universities and colleges, and where it is unable to gain this recognition it starts secret "boring from within" of other campus societies. The American Youth for Democracy organization is nothing more than the old Young Communist League with an application of cosmetics to conceal the ugly features of the old atheistic Red movement, as originally designed by Moscow for our youth. Loyal Americans are tired of being duped by Stalinist agents who wrap themselves up in high-sounding names while spreading their poison across the land. Repeated warnings have been sounded against American Youth for Democracy, every step of which is plotted by former chiefs of the Young Communist League.

Several years ago the Young Communist League issued a pamphlet called *What Are the Young Communists*, in which the principles of the League were clearly outlined. I quote herewith from the pamphlet:

The Young Communist League is the organization of young workers that leads their fight against the danger of another bosses' war and for the defense of the Soviet Union. The Young Communist League is not a pacifist organization. It organizes and mobilizes the young workers to fight against war before war has started. It also fights for the immediate needs of the soldiers and sailors, and calls upon these young workers in the armed forces to unite with the rest of the workers * * *

The Young Communist League, while fighting against war, realizes that wars are part of the present capitalist system, and cannot be abolished without the overthrow of capitalism. It teaches the young workers that when war is declared, they must turn their guns against their only enemy, the boss class. * * *

The Young Communist League joins hands with the Communist youth of all lands through affiliation in that mighty revolutionary youth organization, the Young Communist International.

The Young Communist outfit joined in the strikes and other unrest which prevailed immediately before the recent World War, and when the Chameleon changed its color, even though it remained red, it followed the same tactics operating under the name American Youth for Democracy. Now that it is under fire, the AYD shouts from the housetops that it is not a Communist organization and holds no rela-

¹⁵ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibits 17 to 25.

tion to the Moscow household. History—the written record of American Communists themselves—proves this assertion false.

Anyone interested in the background of the AYD merely needs to refer to the official organ of the Communist Party, the *Daily Worker*, for the facts. On the front page of the October 16, 1943, issue of this Red mouthpiece is a report under the heading: "Five thousand jam opening of YCL convention." It reads in part:

Over 5,000 young Americans, many coming from various parts of the Nation, packed two halls at Manhattan Center (N. Y.) last night despite a driving rain as the Young Communist League opened its historical national convention to consider its own dissolution and the building of a new national anti-Fascist organization of youth.

Earl Browder, then national head of the Communist Party, addressed the meeting, as did Max Weiss, then president of the Young Communist League; and Bob Thompson, vice president of the same organization and now New York State chairman of the Communist Party. Oddly enough, despite all claims of the AYD crowd that it is not contaminated with Red blood, the guiding lights of the defunct Young Communist League immediately became the big shots of American Youth for Democracy.

On October 18, 1943, the *Daily Worker* featured another page 1 story on the subject, under the heading "Form American Youth for Democracy at parley here." The paper reported as follows:

A new American anti-Fascist youth organization was born at Mecca Temple yesterday [October 17, 1943] as 332 delegates, representing 190 community clubs and 150 guests and observers, ended an organization convention initiated by the Young Communist League. The convention was called into session Saturday [October 16, 1943] evening immediately following the decision of the Young Communist League to disband that body. * * * Yesterday the new convention decided to name the new organization "American Youth for Democracy." * * * Elected as cochairman of the new organization were Robert Thompson and Naomi Ellison. * * * Chosen executive secretary was Carl Ross, who was chairman of the New York State committee of the Young Communist League. * * * Leaders of the convention paid tribute to Max Weiss, national president of the Young Communist League and delegate to the American Youth for Democracy convention. Weiss explained that he had not accepted the nomination for office in the new organization because he plans to retire from activity in the youth field.

Weiss became active immediately in the adult ranks of the Communist Party. But he certainly left no doubts about American Youth for Democracy being of Young Communist League parentage. Just prior to the dual convention—the one dissolving YCL and the other giving birth to AYD—Weiss wrote an article in the Communist (September 1943), another Communist Party organ, which identifies itself as "a magazine of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." At the time Earl Browder, the head of the Communist Party and now No. 1 book peddler for Russia, was editor. The publication, which, like all other Red agencies, has since changed its name, is now known as *Political Affairs*, but still admits that it is "a magazine devoted to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism." Weiss is editor of *Political Affairs* at the present time. The article by Weiss was entitled "Toward a New Anti-Fascist Youth Organization." He began the article by saying:

Flowing directly from the desire of the Young Communist League to make its maximum contribution to the mobilization of the masses of youth for the fulfillment of these tasks, the convention will consider a proposal of outstanding im-

portance, a proposal * * * to change the program and name of the YCL and to broaden its leadership in order to help create a new united anti-Fascist youth organization.

Buried deep in the 14 pages of fine print expounding the future of the new organization, "Comrade" Weiss unintentionally reveals, in advance, the Red conception of American Youth for Democracy. He continues:

The proposals which are advanced for consideration of the convention are such as will speed up the process already under way in the YCL for many years, advance it to a higher stage, and thus help to bring into existence something qualitatively new.

For that is what will be the political result of making such fundamental changes as those that are proposed. We will actually have, as a result, the beginnings of a new organization, and not merely the old organization with some slight modifications. This does not mean that it will be a new organization that will spring "full-fashioned from the brow of Jove." Not at all.

Officiating as midwife at the birth of the American Youth for Democracy and being its parent by virtue of being president of YCL, there should certainly be no reason for blood tests to determine lineage after Weiss speaks. He said:

It is the YCL as it exists today which is transforming itself into a new organization.

Of course, the author tries to cushion the blow by claiming that the Young Communist League was an "independent" organization, but in the next breath he boasts that:

It is certainly true that thousands of youth who joined the YCL later joined the Communist Party, and that many of them became able leaders of the Communist Party.

Those who are carried away with the oily words of the defenders of American Youth for Democracy as not being a Red scheme for the enticement of young men and women of the United States into the revolutionary forces will get a rude awakening when advised that in this report by Communist Editor Weiss and former head of the Young Communist League, he said:

All Communists will naturally hope that thousands of youth who joined the new organization (AYD) will also later join the Communist Party, and that many will become leaders of the Communist Party.

Lamenting the handicap the Young Communist League experienced with its Red appellation, Weiss said:

The changes that are proposed for the convention will help to remove certain obstacles which have, hitherto, impeded the building of a broad anti-Fascist youth organization. There can be no question of the fact that the name and program of the YCL were such as to imply that membership in the organization automatically committed one to acceptance of the immediate and ultimate program of the Communist Party and that they therefore operated to prevent from joining it thousands of youth who supported its immediate program and activity.

The report points to the fact that in the new organization (AYD) "there will be full freedom of all youth within the organization who desire to study Marxism and the Marxist theory," and looks for the brilliant Red lining, saying:

Communists believe that ever larger and increasing numbers of young people and, in the long run, a majority of American youth will ultimately see that only by equipping itself with the science of Marxism can the American working class find its proper path to a final solution of all problems

YCL required party loyalty.

By the time its June 1946 convention in New York City was held, the AYD claimed clubs on 63 college and university campuses and in 19 States, with 432 delegates in attendance. It was at this Congress that it took a militant stand against military training for the American Army and for unlimited appeasement of Russia and its satellite countries. Greetings were received from William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party; Ben Gold, Communist board member and CIO union official; Senator Pepper, Hugh De Laey, and other Communists or frontiers, as well as from Soviet Russia.

It is not necessary to have any superknowledge to analyze the facts and determine that the American Youth for Democracy movement was bred, born, and nursed by the Communist leaders, for the birth records prove the nativity.

1. October 17, 1943, the Young Communist League opened "its historic national convention to consider its own dissolution and the building of a new national anti-Fascist organization of youth." (The quotes are from the Daily Worker.)

2. October 18, 1943, "A new American anti-Fascist youth organization was born" at a "convention initiated by the Young Communist League." This turned out to be the American Youth for Democracy. (Again I quote from the Daily Worker.)

3. Max Weiss, national president of the Young Communist League, was offered the nomination for president of the AYD, but, according to the Daily Worker, he "explained that he had not accepted the nomination for office in the new organization because he plans to retire from activity in the youth field."

4. Robert Thompson, who presided over the ninth convention of the Young Communist League, and who served as secretary of the Ohio State Young Communist League, and in 1946 was the Communist Party candidate for Governor of New York, was elected cochairman of the AYD. He is now State chairman of the Communist Party of New York.

5. Carl Ross, executive secretary of the Young Communist League of the United States of America and president of the New York State Young Communist League, was elected executive secretary and to the national board of American Youth for Democracy.

6. Naomi Ellison, a member of the editorial board of Spotlight, a magazine early identified as the organ of the Young Communists, was elected cochairman with Thompson, and to AYD's national board. Miss Ellison, whose native State is Washington, has been chairman of the National Industrial Council of the YWCA. She was sponsor of the Red "Peace Mobilization" which later became the American Peace Mobilization, an organization on the Attorney General's list of subversive Communist groups. She also directed the AYD "Sweethearts of Service Men's Clubs," organized by the Reds during the war near training camps as a means through which they might entice servicemen.

7. Claudia Jones, former editor of the organ of the Young Communist League, the Weekly Review, and a member of the national council of the Young Communist League, as well as State educational director of the New York Young Communist League, was elected to AYD's national board and editor of its official organ, Spotlight.

8. Lillian Ross and Fay Caller, members of the so-called national war service committee of the Young Communist League, were elected to the national board of the AYD.

9. Earl Browder, former head of the Communist Party, who addressed the dissolution convention of the Young Communist League, which proved to be merely a name-changing affair, said in the course of his speech:

It will consider a proposal calling for the dissolution of the Young Communist League as the first step toward the establishment of a Nation-wide, nonpartisan, anti-Fascist youth organization.

10. Spotlight, official organ of the AYD, is published by New Age Publishers, Inc., which was the publishing company of the organ of the Young Communist League, Weekly Review. Writers for Spotlight, as for Weekly Review, included many of the Nation's best-known Communists and Communist-front leaders. The editorial management of Spotlight is composed by the majority of those who served on the Weekly Review.

11. AYD, like its predecessor, the Young Communist League, has international affiliations. YCL was an affiliate of the Young Communist International at Moscow. AYD is an affiliate of the World Federation for Democratic Youth, organized at a World Congress of Anti-Fascist Youth held in London in 1946 at the instance of the Soviet Anti-Fascist Youth Committee, composed of members of the organization of the Young Communist International, which was centered in Moscow.

12. Vincent Pieri, director of the teen-age clubs of AYD, is a Pennsylvanian, and was formerly head of the Tom Mooney club of the Young Communist League in Philadelphia.

13. Vivian Levin, director of the intercollegiate section of AYD, was formerly student organizer of the southern California section of the Young Communist League. Vice presidents include Louis Burnham, of Alabama, head of the Young Communist League's Paul Revere chapter in New York City, leader of the City College of New York student strike in 1937, and at present head of the youth section of the (Communist) National Negro Congress and the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

14. Mollie Leiber, active in young Red circles, is Midwest chairman; and Muriel Friedman, former Young Communist League member and among its foremost leaders in California, has been appointed to California leadership of AYD. Ruth Jett of New York City is another vice chairman of AYD, and has been active in leadership of a Communist front among Harlem Negroes. Leiber presented the AYD with a gift from Russia in 1946.

Thus it is conclusively shown that the germ cells were of outright Communist concoction. The egg was laid by Communists, hatched by Communists, and the offspring has been constantly mothered by Communists.

The genealogy of American Youth for Democracy extends back through several Red ancestors to the Young Workers' League, which was formed in 1922 and was one of the beneficiaries of the American Fund for Public Service, more commonly known as the Garland (Red) Fund. The first national convention of the organization was held

May 13-15, 1922. Prior to that time numerous local Communist organizations had been using the name Young Workers' League, and the convention adopted the title. The third national convention of the Red Youth was held in October 1925, when a revised constitution was adopted and the name slightly changed to Young Workers' (Communist) League. Communist youngsters adopted the name Communist Youth League for a brief period in 1929.

The use of the name Young Communist League began with the August 1, 1939 edition of the Young Worker, its official organ at the time. That name continued until the invention of the latest booby-trap, the American Youth for Democracy. At the time of the transformation, Communists said:

All Communists will naturally hope that thousands of youth who will join the new organization will later join the Communist Party.

Red leaders hope for the same success on the campuses of American colleges and universities as they had in their American Youth Congress in 1934. Of that venture the secretariat of the Communist International said at a speech before the Seventh World Congress of that organization at Moscow in 1935:

Comrades, the Young Communist League of the United States, headed by Comrade Green, went to the American Youth Congress and achieved great success. The Congress was transformed into a great united front of radical youth, and when somewhat later a second general youth congress was held, our young comrades already enjoyed a position of authority in it.

In the May 1922 issue of Young Worker, then the official organ of the Young Communist League, the following statement appeared:

We hear the tramp of the young as they come in ever larger masses to the banner of the revolutionists. Soon they will conquer. Meanwhile as we view the intolerable situation forced upon us by the master class, let this be our slogan till that happy May Day comes when we have won for ourselves a workers' republic: "We have loved enough; now let us hate."

This steady tramp, tramp, tramp of the young is now echoing with more resounding thuds as the clever masters of propaganda in the Communist organizations bore their way into our American schools and colleges and bit by bit tear down the principles of American Government and the foundations of American institutions.

Recently in the Pacific Northwest, Reds were found enticing Washington high-school students to AYD headquarters, using dances and free athletic equipment as bait. Once inside the headquarters the youngsters were confronted with a large-sized picture of Stalin and were fed Communist literature. In the Nation's Capital one of the AYD clubs has the nerve to call itself the George Washington Chapter. It was formerly the Seco Club. Another unit in the District of Columbia is known as the Sam Banks Youth Club.

In a document issued late last year by the New York headquarters of American Youth for Democracy, it is declared that:

AYD has clubs in 20 States, dotting the country from coast to coast. This means that a member of AYD is part of something bigger than himself. His strength is multiplied, because he is working with thousands of other young fellows and girls who believe in the same thing he does.

Of college activity the document boasts: "In colleges all over the country you will find AYD fighting for expanded educational facili-

ties and democracy on the campus." Of teen-agers it reflects the manner in which they entice the youth. It says:

Young people of high-school age like to get together and have a good time. They like to dance, to sing, to go on hikes, to dress up Saturday nights, to see shows, to participate in sports. * * * AYD meets this problem directly. To put it as simply as it actually is, AYD provides a home for teen-agers.

Then the document elaborates on some of the accomplishments of these teen-agers under the AYD tutelage, and they include joining strikes on the picket line and in other ways. It says they "forced the superintendent of schools (Milwaukee) to withdraw his ban on Negro teachers," and their "brilliant fight for minority rights put a crimp in police brutality to Mexican and Negro youth" (in California). They brag in other documents of having a part in three recent agitational marches on Albany, N. Y., and Washington, D. C.

American Youth for Democracy hides its communism behind sugar-coated slogans and appeals. Its constitution states that "any 10 youths may apply for a charter," and that the national council is authorized to issue such charter, if it desires to do so; but that the same national council, having complete authority over the organization, may at any time cancel a charter of a local or expel any member of the organization, if it is found that the members of the local or an individual has acted "against the principles or general welfare of the organization." The national council also has the power under the AYD constitution to formulate the "policies and program," and to order solidarity with other groups. This was the exact set-up of its predecessor, the Young Communist League, and it is the present set-up of the Communist Party and all other Red fronts in the United States of America.

Likewise the "policies and program of action" of the AYD conform constantly with the Communist Party line, as did the Young Communist League. A study of the present policies and program of the AYD shows that it is in complete conformity with the present-day Communist Party line, even to an all-out defense of the so-called "rights" of the Communist Party of Russia and of party leaders. A letter written by Leon Wofsy, official of the State of New York section of AYD (March 10, 1947), says, in part:

AYD is proud to state, at a time when anticommunism is the major instrument of reaction in our country, that we subscribe without reservation to the full and equal citizenship of Communists with all democrats. Liberals in our country cannot pussyfoot about the rights of Communists. * * * The Communists who are among those elected to leadership (of AYD) are there because they have proven their worth. * * * AYD was born in the midst of the anti-Fascist war. Its founders, Communists and non-Communists alike, learned the world-wide lesson of unity. * * * The initiative of the Young Communist League in dissolving its own organization and in helping bring together many non-Communist (fronters) youth leaders from unions, student organizations, and youth councils must be judged by its merits. * * *

Outstanding examples of how the AYD line has changed in conformity with the Soviet and (American) Communist Party lines were the changes in name of the YCL to AYD at the outbreak of the war, of the Communist Party to the Communist Political Association in the United States, and of the Communist International to its separate internationals under the misnomer Internationals Against Fascism and for Democracy.

AYD demanded an "immediate second front" after the fall-out between Stalin and Hitler, prior to which the leaders of this movement were protesting against war and for peace in the United States of America. After the war the AYD went on immediate record against military training for the United States, while condoning it for Russia and its satellites. It launched out in an immediate campaign reaching even into our armed forces for the "immediate return of American troops from the Far East" and for the discontinuance of aid to the Chinese Central Government. It, like the American Communists and Russia, began to try to smear General MacArthur's administration of the Far East, charging that he was a "collaborator of Hirohito" and with "Philippine Fascists." It charged that President Truman, Secretary of State Byrnes, and Senator Vandenberg were seeking to place the United States in the position of a "dictator among nations"; that the "Wall Street influence behind them" is seeking another war, and that this is the "pattern of imperialism that brought forth fascism and war." It charges that "economic royalists want us to hate the Soviet Union because it is carrying on the fight against fascism, principles for which the war was fought." It demands "stop the draft," "defeat military training," "stop imperialist interference with democratic movements in China, Philippines, and Europe, and expansionist bases in Latin and South America." It demanded "stop Byrnes-Bevin gang-up against the U. S. S. R." These are but a handful of its pro-Soviet and Communist demands, which are but echoes from Moscow and from New York headquarters of the Communist Party, the stooge in the United States for the Soviet in all matters.

It may be apropos here to state that one of the foremost leaders of the young Red movement has stated within the past years that "capitalism is synonymous with fascism; * * * to stop war and to bring about democracy it is therefore necessary to fight capitalism" (Russia is described as a "democracy"). Here one has the pattern under which the the Reds and their fronters can and do smear and undermine and attack all anti-Communists or believers in capitalism (our form of government) as "Fascists," and carry on their battle for communism under the banner of "antifascism and democracy."

AYD has issued several organs, and it has a budget of \$35,000 annually. Its expenditures were reported to have been \$26,940 for the year ending June 1946. Its publications have included Spotlight, AYD News, Teen Ager, AYD News Letter, AYD in Action, and thousands of cheap pamphlets and leaflets, all printed in New York City by known printer of Communist Party propaganda. The principal organ of AYD is known currently as Youth.

A recent issue of the official Communist publication, Political Affairs, now edited by Max Weiss, features a statement by Marvin Shaw, entitled "The Reawakening of the American Student Movement," in which American Youth for Democracy is identified as "the major progressive student organization." The writer states that "the Communist clubs on the campus must become increasingly active. * * * They have a role in the immediate student struggles that no other organization can fulfill."

Besides the AYD campus and off-campus clubs, operating under various names, and in many instances hiding the parent name, AYD,

are teen-age clubs, adult clubs, sweethearts of servicemen's clubs, and the American youth orchestra. The latter was organized in 1932 by the Red youth, and it made its debut in Carnegie Hall in New York City.

AYD locals are usually called youth clubs, and many unsuspecting youth are thus enticed into joining, unaware that the clubs are under direct Communist control. Among the branches operating in New York City are the Hunts Point Youth Club, Bataan Youth Club, Roosevelt Youth Club, Clarity Youth Club, Action Youth Club, Art Action Youth Club, Challente Youth Club, Wallace Youth Club, Parkchester Youth Club, and Allerton Temple Youth Club. Other Red outfits maintaining youth sections and cooperating with the AYD are the IWO, Young America Institute, Nature Friends, and Southern Negro Youth Congress. The AYD also cooperates with the Inter-Racial Friendship Committee. It promotes Youth Citizen Pilgrimages and Youth Legislatures.

The current AYD program to bait new members and to hide its subversiveness, includes the collecting of 75,000 signatures to raise student veteran subsistence, opposition to Jim Crowism in league baseball, for sending relief to European anti-Fascist youth, opposition to military conscription, defending academic freedom, "standing with labor in its resolution to defeat the 212 pending antilabor bills," and for "freedom, jobs, and peace for youth."

At an AYD parley held in New York several weeks ago, it was announced that since youth "faces new and urgent problems," and since "youth is being invited to fight a new war, not for democracy and liberation, but for conquest for the sake of empire and profit for those who want an American century," the AYD was instructed to set up a stronger force to combat the "war mongers and labor baiters." A delegation composed of 15 members of the AYD immediately came to Washington, calling on Members of Congress to support the organization's demands.

A mimeographed report to State secretaries of the AYD, issued January 8, 1946, calling for a membership drive, reported that in a previous 2-week enrollment drive, New York City had 828 reenroll; Illinois, 203; California, 299; Maryland, 26; Washington, D. C., 5; Ohio, 33; eastern Pennsylvania, 53; Massachusetts, 12; Missouri, 18; and Michigan, 59. The report pointed to the fact that in every State there were from 30 to 2,000 members who should be reenrolled.

The following officers and council members were elected at the June 1946 convention of the AYD:

NATIONAL OFFICERS

Cochairmen: Winifred Norman, Vincent Pieri.
 Vice chairmen: Louis Burnham, Mayer Frieden, John Gallo, Frances Gullotta, Ruth Jett, Mollie Lieber.
 Executive secretary: Herbert Signer.
 Secretary-treasurer: Julie Lowitt.
 Education and teen-age director: Vivian Levin.
 Intercollegiate director: Lee Marsh.

NATIONAL COUNCIL MEMBERS

Michigan: Abel Lee Smith, Anabel Barahal, Rolf Cahn, Johnny Gallo, Erma Henderson (State president), Bob Purdy, Phil Schatz, Robert Cummings (State secretary).

New Jersey: Douglas Barrett, Evelyn Gordon, Willie Mae Gordon, Mary Adanatzias (director, Essex County).

New York State: Leo Rifkin, Warren Brown, Paul Robeson, Jr., Joe Buckholt, Henry Cooperstock, Roslyn Emerine, Ann Johnston, Bob Kaufman, Buelah Kramer, Burl Michelson, Herb Nalibow, Teddy Schwartz, Fitz Squires, Bill Villa, Rose Stamler (chairman, New York intercollegiate section).

Massachusetts: Barbara Bennet, Ruby Flum, Ginny Kougias, Bob McCarthy.

Wisconsin: Rubel Lucero.

California: Bob Zakow, Chuck Bruck, Ralph Johnson, Vicki Landish, Henry Leland, Elaine Rose, Betty McCandless, (chairman, Los Angeles Youth Council).

Illinois: Iz Cheifetz, Evelyn Fargo, Sam Freidman, Delores Gerrard, Leon Gurley, Pat Hoverder, Vernon Jarret.

Pennsylvania: Werner Marx, Harry Dubin, Cynthia Isenberg, Marcella Sloan, Lauren Taylor, Leon Weiner.

Washington State: Cyril Guis.

Maryland: Whitey Goodfriend, Wallace Jefferson.

Ohio: Frank Hashmall, Marvin Lukin, Nathan Marks, Catherine McCastee.

Minnesota: Alma Hester.

Connecticut: Al Marder.

District of Columbia: Mary Willoughby.

Missouri: Ray Wolverson.

Speakers at this convention of the AYD included Harry F. Ward, cochairman, Civil Rights Congress; Kenneth Kennedy, national commander, United Negro and Allied Veterans; Mollie Lieber, Carl Ross, and Herb Signer. Addresses were also delivered by Luis Mas Martin delegate of the Socialist Youth of Cuba; Bill Stewart, delegate of the Federation of Labor Youth of Canada; and Nada Krieger of Yugoslavia.

National headquarters of AYD are located at 150 Nassau Street, New York, N. Y. Addresses of other sections (incomplete) are: 216 Market Street, San Francisco; 318 Eighth Street, San Jose; 1201 South Alvarado Street, Los Angeles; and 2321 Fifteenth Place SE., Washington, D. C.

The following are a few of the local leaders: Barbara Gould, membership director, San Francisco; Kenneth Van Leuven, membership director, Los Angeles; Evelyn Fargo, Illinois State director; Erma Henderson, chairman, Michigan; Bob Cunningham, secretary, Michigan; Phil Shatz, membership director, Michigan; Douglas Barrett, chairman, New Jersey; Clare Hunt, executive director, New Jersey; Alma Hester, executive director, Minnesota; Sam Cohen, director, Philadelphia; Jacqueline Winibish, membership director, Detroit; Henry Leland, county organizer, Santa Clara County, Calif.; Betty McCandless, chairman, Los Angeles Youth Council; Mary Adanatzian, director, Essex County, N. J.; Mrs. Bob Mason, membership director, Montclair, N. J., Youth Adult Club; Harriet Ratner, director, Michigan Youth for Democratic Action (affiliate of AYD); Leon Straus, chairman; Everett Thomas, vice chairman; Frances Galotta, vice chairman; Dez Callon, vice chairman; Marty Mellman, treasurer; Harry Rosen, organizing secretary; Leon Wofsy, executive secretary, and Rose Stamler, chairman intercollegiate section, New York; Muriel Wildman, secretary, Washington-Oregon region (also a member of the executive committee of the Washington Commonwealth Federation).

State and regional offices and heads of the AYD are: Lauren Taylor, 401 South Twenty-second Street, Philadelphia; Adeline Kohn, 1442 Griswold Street, Detroit; Pauli Annoni, 201 North Negley, Pittsburgh; Celeste Strack, 593 Market Street, San Francisco; Herb Signer,

116 West Jackson Street, Chicago; Selma Weiss, 10 East Lexington Street, Baltimore; Daisy Lolich, 750 Prospect Street, Cleveland; Jack Epstein, 87 Orange Street, New Haven; Jim West, 225 Halsey, Newark; and Lil Ross, 13 Astor Place, New York, N. Y.

Additional leaders and section heads are: Mrs. Kelley Mink, Seattle; Leo Kaplan, chairman State intercollegiate section, Boulder, Colo.; Harry Zepelin, State secretary, Tom Paine Club, Boulder, Colo.; Irving Sverdlow, president, Tom Paine Club, New York; Naomi Baker, chairman, Brooklyn College Club, New York; Ruth Maurice, chairman, Hunter College section, New York; Mrs. Ellie Hendrickson, organizer, Everett, Wash.; Camille Schweiger, secretary, Washington, D. C.; Mary Lou McEvers, executive secretary, University of Washington unit; Robert Cummins, executive secretary, Detroit.

Officers for California elected at the AYD conference which was held in Los Angeles in July 1945 were: Jeanette Salve, chairman; Meyer Frieden, executive secretary; Lee Herendeen, secretary-treasurer; Gene Gardner, vice chairman of the college division; Nina Ackerman of *Mrs. GI*; Robert Zakon of the Teen Agers; and Suzanne Sher of Young Adults. Miscellaneous members and leaders in California are: Rosabelle Tragin (Hollywood AYD and CIO United Office and Professional Workers' Union), chairman AYD Conference on Jobs and Youth, San Francisco, October 21, 1945; Art Pearl and Margaret Norie (man and wife), leaders of the University of California AYD Club in 1946; Charles and Sophie Keller, West Oakland AYD Club; Mr. and Mrs. Rosco Proctor, and Mr. and Mrs. Mike Dorsey, leaders in the Coronices Village AYD Club in Berkeley, Calif.; Barbara Gould (stenographer of the interational offices of the ILWU, and social director of the AYD Maritime Club in San Francisco), wife of Dow Wilson of the NMU, leading member of the club; Donald Weiss, chairman of the Unity Club of AYD, Los Angeles; Elaine Rose, northern California coordinator of AYD; Bill Lowe, northern vice chairman of AYD and teen age director in the Negro community in Berkeley; Jeanette Salve, southern vice chairman and head of Los Angeles executive board of the AYD; Reeva Olson, San Francisco AYD secretary; Vicki Landish, student secretary of AYD in Los Angeles; Howard Rose, State veterans' director of AYD in California in 1945; Julia Spector, Berkeley secretary of AYD; Betty Blake, member California State Council of AYD; Phil Schatz, national education director of AYD in 1945; Bonnie Gandlaush, led AYD modern dance group on the University of California campus; Betty Green, a member of the National Council of AYD and chairman of the San Francisco organizing committee in 1944, an active leader in the Young Democrats of California, and the wife of Robert Miller Green, former member of the California State Legislature and now a member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

The AYD follows the Communist Party-line in all matters, from carrying on a fight against so-called Red baiting to supporting the entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union. It took up the cudgel against Argentina, as did the Communists, and it demanded that the United States get out of China. It supports the guerilla forces of the Philippines, and it advocates the Communist stand regarding Korea. It has recruited student aid for Tito's rebuilding program, and it has echoed the Communist demands on Greece. The seeds of Marxism are being

sown in a vital spot—our educational institutions and among our youth whose knowledge of the principles of our own Government has in many instances been neglected, and to whom falls the responsibility for the future of our great land.

At this point, I wish to submit to the committee various exhibits, including the constitution of the AYD, as originally adopted, and which I believe has not been amended. I am also submitting a chart showing the connections its leaders have had in the past with the Young Communist League, and the minutes of a meeting of the AYD national board in which is listed its regional headquarters and leaders. (Exhibits 26, 27, and 28 were received.)¹⁶

The Teen Age Art Club in Los Angeles is a branch of the AYD. It held an art exhibit in June at the Los Angeles Museum. Marty Lubner, chairman of the AYD in that city, was in charge of the exhibit.

The Citizens' Committee on Academic Freedom has been organized in New York to defend the AYD against possible barring from the campus of city and State educational institutions. Stanley M. Isaacs is chairman of the committee, and Genevieve Earle and Harold Lenz are members.

The AYD is currently promoting a petition campaign in opposition to military training legislation. The petitions being circulated are in the form of ballots. These are being distributed at summer schools, beaches, bowling alleys, poolrooms, employment agencies, union meetings, factory gates, youth gatherings, and summer camps.

I will now discuss another prominent youth organization—American Youth for a Free World, apparently the successor of the American Youth Congress. American Youth for a Free World was organized in 1942, shortly after the breaking up of the (Communist) American Youth Congress. It is a coalition of Communist and left-wing youth movements, including the Southern Negro Youth Congress (Communist), American Youth for Democracy (Communist), American Communications Association (CIO), National Maritime Union (CIO), United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO), Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO), and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The majority of the lesser leftist movements affiliating with American Youth for a Free world, among them the Business and Professional Council of the YWCA, the Industrial Council of the YWCA, both of which have consistently sent delegates to Red front youth gatherings; Junior Hadassah, Young Women's Zionist Organization of America, American Unitarian Youth, Young People's League of the United Synagogue of America, Austro-American Youth Council, Armenian Youth of America, Czechoslovak National Union of Students, and the Nazarene Youth People's Society, were previously affiliated with the Red's American Youth Congress.

Officers of American Youth for a Free World and its delegates participated in the World Youth Congress, held in Paris in 1945. The congress was almost completely dominated by Communists. On the occasion of the third meeting of the Soviet Youth Anti-Fascist Committee in Moscow, American Youth for a Free World presented a scroll of greetings from the American youth organizations to the youth of the Soviet Union. It is an affiliate of the World Youth

¹⁶ See appendix, p. 174, for exhibits 26 to 28.

Council, established at the International Youth Conference held in London in 1942, and also of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, established at a youth congress held in London in November 1945.

(Exhibit No. 29 was received.)¹⁷

Mr. STEELE. AYFW, with headquarters at 144 Bleecker Street, New York, N. Y., has sections all over the country—Boston, Richmond, Miami, Detroit, Chicago, Seattle, Los Angeles, Houston, and in all principal cities and towns in the United States. Officers are Martha H. Fletcher, chairman of the International Commission of American Youth for a Free World; Beatrice E. Allen, national chairman; Joseph E. Engel, treasurer; Frances Damon, executive secretary, a delegate to the recent World Youth Congress.

The World Youth Council, of which the AYFW is also an affiliate, has headquarters in the Grand Building, Trafalgar Square, London, England. Vaclav Palecek, pro-Communist Czechoslovakian, was international chairman of the council. In 1943 he toured the United States, addressing youth groups in New York, Washington, D. C., Boston, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Indianapolis, St. Louis, Kansas City, Salt Lake City, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Hollywood, Houston, and New Orleans. He also visited Toronto, Canada. He directed 167 discussion conferences in the United States with youth-movement leaders. Among those whom he directly contacted were Ruth Jett, at the time chairman of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; Winifred Norman, then chairman of the National Council of Negro Youth (Red front); and Frances Damon, of American Youth for a Free World.

Youth conferences were also held in Mexico and other South American countries. The Mexican conference was greeted by Maj. Gen. Eugene Fedorov, president of the Soviet Youth Anti-Fascist Committee, an affiliate of the World Youth Council. Frances Damon and Martha Fletcher of the American Youth for a Free World attended the Mexican conference.

AYFW, while an affiliate of the World Youth Council, was also a section of the American Free World Association, the adult organization headed by Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, and the International Free World Association, of which J. Alvarez del Vayo is executive director; Louis Dolovet, general secretary; Frederick C. McKee, treasurer; and Orson Welles, delegate.

At the time these conferences were being held plans were being made for a world youth conference to be held in London at a later date. In 1943 AYFW held a convention with representatives of the following organizations in attendance: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (youth committee), American Unitarian Youth, Armenian Youth of America, Austro-American Youth Council, Czechoslovakian National Council of America, Free World Association, Girls' Friendly Society, Hillel Foundation, International Fur and Leather Workers' Union (CIO), Junior Hadassah, National Council of Negro Youth, National Federation of Settlements, National Maritime Union (CIO), Nature Friends, Slovak Gymnastic Union Sokel, Southern Negro Youth Congress, United States Student Assembly, United

¹⁷ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 29.

Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO), YWCA, and Youth Builders, Inc. Harriet Ida Pickens served as chairman of the conference and Frances Damon as executive secretary. Miss Pickens has been active in Communist ranks for several years.

In the meantime the World Youth Council promoted similar conferences in various European countries. These resulted in the formation of the United League of Anti-Fascist Youth of Serka, the United League of Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia, the Finnish Democratic Youth Association, the Association of Democratic Youth of Hungary, the Fronte della Gioventu of Italy, the United Youth Movement of Jamaica, the Panama Federation of Students, the Forces Unies de la Jeunesse Patriotique (FUJP) of France, the Anglo-Soviet Youth Friendship Alliance of England, the New Zealand Federation of Young People's Clubs, Cultural Youth Committee of Bulgaria, United Anti-Fascist Youth of Yugoslavia, the Canadian Youth Committee, Union of Youth of Tunis, and other youth groups.

It was about this time that Moscow and its field forces moved in and took over the leadership of these groups. In November 1944 a board meeting of the AYD was held in New York City. At that time the following resolution was adopted:

We should cooperate closely with the American Youth for a Free World and the World Youth Council of London, particularly in their plans for World Youth Week in March (1945) and other activities which will undoubtedly culminate in the participation of an American delegation in a World Youth Conference next year (1945).

AYFW later announced that it had received a call to the World Youth Conference in January 1945, and it accordingly held a meeting of representatives of the youth movements of the United States at which was set up a United States arrangements committee for the World Youth Conference. The conference was held in London in November 1945. The members of the arrangements committee in turn elected delegates to the conference. The delegates included Meyer Bass of New York City; Gloster Current of New York City; Naomi Chertoff of New York City; Frances Damon of New York City; Lawrence Day of Washington, D. C.; Joseph Engel, New York City; Elsa Graves, Long Island; Elizabeth Green, Boston; Alice Horton, New York City; Muriel Jacobson, New York City; Esther Cooper, Jackson, Ala.; Russell Jones, New York City; Mollie Lieber; Alexander Mapp; Lempir Matthews; Elizabeth McCandless; Thomas Neill; Ann Postma; Doris Senk; and Olivia Stokes. Frank Sinatra is credited by them with having assisted in raising funds to help defray the expenses of the delegates to the world conference.

The American delegates were given special conference training before leaving for the conference. In this respect they were addressed by Senator Pepper, Congresswoman Emily Taft Douglas, Dr. Bryn Hoode (then Chief of the Cultural Cooperation Division of the State Department), Vladimir Hurtan (Czechoslovakian Ambassador), Dr. Frank Kingdon, and others.

The World Youth Conference demanded a youth-rights charter, the right of self-determination for colonial and semicolonial peoples, loans, and other aid for Europe; vote for 18-year-olds, the right of labor to organize, civil liberties for colored people, and freedom of speech. It opposed United States control of atom-bomb secrets.

Throughout the conference the American delegates expressed the hope that from the conference might come a "stronger and more effective world-youth organization, utilizing the organizational experience and contacts of the World Youth Council, in which a broader representative group of democratic youth organizations may find a basis for action on common concern." A constitutional draft commission was set up for this purpose. Alice Horton of the United States student assembly represented the American delegation on this commission.

Out of the commission was born the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with international headquarters temporarily located in London. They were later transferred to Paris in order that the group might establish closer relations with the two other Red internationals, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Democratic Women's Federation.

The following were elected officers of the World Federation of Democratic Youth: International president, Guy de Boisson (French Communist); vice chairmen, Elsa Graves (CIO United Workers' Union), Nikolai Mikhailov (Russian Communist), Penery Jones (Great Britain), and C. Z. Chen (China); treasurer, Frances Damon (United States); secretaries, Herbert Williams (Australia), Svend Beyer Pederson (Denmark), and Kutty Hookham (Great Britain). Council members from the United States were Naomi Chertoff (Junior Hadassah), Esther Cooper (Southern Negro Youth Congress), Frances Damon (American Youth for a Free World), Elsa Graves, Russell Jones (National Intercollegiate Christian Council), Thomas Neill (CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union). Temporary members of the council: Alice Horton (United States Student Assembly) and Gloster Current (National Association for Advancement of Colored People. Members at large: Stefan Ignar (Poland), Slavko Komar (Yugoslavia), Chen Chia-Kang (China), Ignacio Gaillego (Spain, Loyalist), Jiri Hajek (Czechoslovakia), S. Sylver (north Africa), Kitti Boomla (India), and Manuel Popoca (Mexico). Adult committee included: Vaclav Palecek, E. Goldstucke (Czechoslovakia), Snoh Tanbunyuen (Siam), and Margot Gale (Great Britain).

Yugoslavia sent 13 delegates to the conference, headed by the Young Communist League leader, Crozdana Belic. The U. S. S. R. sent 25 delegates; the Ukraine, 10 delegates, headed by Valentin Klochko and Vassili Kostenko, of the Young Communist League; Sweden, 8 delegates, including Knut Olsson, of the Communist Youth League; Poland, 20 delegates, with R. Obraczka, president of the Union of Socialist Youth; Norway, 11 delegates, led by R. Halverson, of the Communist Youth Association; Lithuania, 5 delegates, including B. Lopato, of the Young Communist League; Latvia, 5 delegates, among whom was I. Pinksis, of the Young Communist League; Estonia, 5 delegates, with A. Meri, of the Young Communist League; Cuba, 7 delegates, led by A. Dou and W. Hernandez, of the youth section of the Cuban Revolutionary Party; and J. Cravalosa, of the Young Workers of Cuba. A survey of the delegates indicates that there were not a sufficient number of anti-Communists among them to vote down any pro-Communist or pro-Soviet resolutions if they had desired to do so.

Following the conference, Doris Senk, Joseph Engel, Muriel Jacobson, Olivia Stokes, Mollie Lieber, and Larry Day, all American delegates, visited the Soviet Union. The Young Communists of Moscow tendered them a royal reception.

The World Federation of Democratic Youth publishes a magazine called World Youth in four languages—Russian, French, Spanish, and English. The headquarters of the organization are now located at 21 Bis, rue de Chateaudun, Paris, France.

It has been announced that great preparations are being made for a world youth festival to be held in Prague from July 20 to August 7 this year (1947). A student division of the United States Committee for the World Youth Festival has been set up, with offices at the headquarters of American Youth for a Free World in New York City. The festival is sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth, with the cooperation of the International Union of Students, through the Czechoslovakian youth movement.

(Exhibits 30 to 36 were received.)¹⁸

Mr. STEELE. According to Progressive Citizens of America sources, the youth section of that group, known as Young Progressive Citizens of America, is sending Robert M. Dunlap of Antioch College as a delegate to the Prague gathering. The Southern Congress of Negro Youth and the Los Angeles Youth Council, both affiliates of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, will send delegates. People's Songs, Inc., will be represented by Michael Scott and Ernie Lieberman. George Walker will be the delegate to the National Negro Congress. Rose Marie Ellington will be the delegate to the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Among the delegates from the west coast will be Letitia Innes of the Los Angeles Youth Project, Richard Taylor of the United Student Youth, Jean Innes of the Los Angeles Youth Project, Richard Taylor of the United Student Youth, Jean Gross, Paul Levine, and Jane Grodzins, disconnected; Shirley Escobar of American Youth for Democracy (California section), Molly Meubaus (Los Angeles student), Dudley Kenworthy, and Bill Hoyt, claiming to represent the Los Angeles YMCA; Vince Pieri, AYD head in Pennsylvania, will be a delegate. Wendell R. Lipscomb of San Diego, wartime flying instructor at Tuskegee, Ala., and now a student at the University of California, has been selected the delegate of the American Unitarian Youth Congress.

Young Reds are evidencing considerable interest at the present time in a comparatively new youth movement, the National Student Organization, which was conceived at a congress of youth held in Chicago late in 1946. Jim Smith, of Texas, is chairman of the continuation committee of the organization which is setting up the permanent group.

Back in 1944, the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship set up what was known as the Committee of Women. The chairman of this committee was Mrs. Muriel Draper, and the vice chairman was Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel. The committee held a conference at the Hotel Commodore in New York City on November 18, 1944. The occasion was billed as a Conference on Women of U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. in the postwar world. The Call announcing the conference stated, in effect, that since the women of

¹⁸ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibits 30 to 36.

the world played such important parts in the war, they demanded to have an equally important role in the shaping of postwar economy. The Call appealed to other women's organizations to send delegates to the conference.

The signers of the Call were Marjorie Post Davies (Mrs. Joseph Davies), acting national honorary chairman; and Muriel Draper, head of the Women's Committee, of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Mrs. Ruth W. Russ, executive secretary of the Women's Committee, was secretary of the conference.

Three sessions of the conference were held. Principal topics of discussion were American-Soviet women's issues, and postwar rights for women in the United States. Speakers included Ruth Young, Rose Schneiderman, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. LaFell Dickinson, Dr. Arnold Gesell, Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, D. Leona Baumgartner, and Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse.

(Exhibit 37 was received.)¹⁹

Mr. STEELE. Among the sponsors of the conference were the following: Henrietta Buckmaster, Mrs. Bella Dodd, Mrs. Katherine Earnshaw, Mrs. Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Josephine Timms, Ruth Young, Muriel Draper, Elinor S. Gimbel, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Mrs. Sherwood Anderson, Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, Mrs. Jo Davidson, Mildred Fairchild, Mrs. Frederick V. Field, Cornelia Goldsmith, Mrs. Sophie Gropper, Mrs. Sidney Hillman, Mrs. Stanley Isaacs, Mrs. Julia Church Kolar, Dorothy Kenyon, Rosalie Manning, Rose Maurer, Clarina Michelson, Eleanor Neilson, Mrs. David De Sola Pool, Mrs. W. Jay Schieffelin, Margaret Schlauch, Mrs. Frederick L. Schuman, Vida D. Scudder, Mrs. Gilbert Seldes, Lisa Segio, Mary K. Simkhovitch, Irena Skariatina, Charlotte Stern, Anna Louis Strong, Genevieve Taggard, Katherine Terrill, Mrs. Albert Rhys Williams, Ella Winters (Mrs. Lincoln Steffens), Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, Ruth Young, and Leane Zugsmith.

Previously there had been a number of women's organizations set up as Communist sections and Communist fronts in this country. Some of these had been directly affiliated with the International Congress of Women, with headquarters in Moscow. Others were affiliated with the Women's International Congress Against War and Fascism. Active in the leadership of these Congresses were Ann Pauker, Rumanian Bolshevik head; Mme. Kollantai of Russia; Clara Zetkin; Ella Reeve Bloor; Dolores Ibarruri, better known as "La Pasionaria," chairman of the Communist Party in Spain now in exile in Yugoslavia; Anna Mai of Bulgaria; Mme. Eugenie Cotton; Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier (Communist) of France; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; and others, all Communists.

Like many of the other international, these congresses were shelved during World War II because of complications involved in travel, holding of meetings, and transmission of correspondence.

Mr. McDOWELL. The Mme. Kollantai you just referred to, wasn't she ambassador to—

Mr. STEELE. Mexico.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mexico.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

¹⁹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 37.

Mr. McDOWELL. From the Soviet Union?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

With the end of the war, however, all international movements immediately began to reorganize, and national sections in each country were rebuilt and revitalized. Consequently, it was not surprising when the women were again called to action in the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Neither was it news when a call was issued for the International Congress of Women of the World in 1945. Thus, a year after the conference held at the Hotel Commodore in New York (November 18, 1944), by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the International Congress of Women convened by Communist forces in Paris (November 26 to December 1, 1945).

Cochairmen of the International Congress were Mme. Eugenie Cotton and Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier, Communist member of the French Parliament. Dolores Ibarruri, Communist of Spain and now of Yugoslavia, was the keynote speaker. Mme. Nina Popova, leader of Communist women in Russia, had a leading part in the program, and she was the center of attraction. The delegates from the United States to the Congress were Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, chairman of the Women's Commission of the Communist Party in the United States; Dr. Gene Weltfish; Thelma Dale, member of the New York State Committee of the Communist Party; Susan B. Anthony II, active in many fronts; Eleanor Vaughan; Ann Bradford; Mrs. Frederic March; Mrs. Gifford Pinchot; Henrietta Buckmaster; Dr. Beryl Parker; Charlotte Hawkins Brown; Vivian Carter Mason; Jeanette Stern; Muriel Draper; and Elinor S. Gimbel. Eight hundred delegates were reported in attendance, claiming to represent some 100,000,000 women in 40 countries.

Prior to the International Congress held in the same month as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship conference in New York City, November 1944, a meeting was held in Paris, similar to that held in the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The Paris meeting was attended by leftist and pro-Soviet women, European leaders from over Europe. It was referred to as the conference of the "Initiative Committee," the members of which planned the December 1945 International Congress. Previously active internationals composed of women Communists were discussed at the first Paris meeting. Particular reference was made to the Women's Congress Against War and Fascism which was shelved following its 1934 Congress in Paris. The Union of French Women, a Communist front, served as the tool for the sending out of the Call for the 1944 International Congress, according to Clara Bodian, active in Communist ranks in the United States.

Early in 1946, following the Paris Congress and after the return of the American delegates, a continuing committee was set up here. Members of the committee were: Elinor S. Gimbel, who incidentally claims to be president of a local of the Parent-Teacher Association in New York City; Dr. Gene Weltfish, coauthor of Races of Mankind which was barred by the War Department from courses in GI orientation; Susan B. Anthony II, secretary; Dr. Beryl Parker, treasurer; members of the board were: Mrs. Grace Allen Bangs, Clara Bodian, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Henrietta Buckmaster, Thelma Dale,

Frances Damon, Dr. Bella V. Dodd, Muriel Draper, Katherine Earnshaw, India Edwards, Thyra Edwards, Mary L. Fledderus, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Daisy George, Esther Gilwarg, Dorothy Gottlieb, Sidonie M. Gruenberg, Mrs. Shippen Lewis, Mrs. Frederic March, Vivian Carter Mason, Helen Phillips, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Anna Center Schneiderman, Natalie Sherman, Josephine Timms, Jeanette Stern Turner, Mary Van Kleeck, Eleanor T. Vaughan, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, and Ruth Young.

(Exhibit 38 was received.)²⁰

Mr. STEELE. This group eventually became known as the Congress of American Women. The international movement is called the International Democratic Women's Federation. Appointed as regular American delegates to the international, as the exhibit I have submitted will show, were Muriel Draper; Vivian Carter Mason of the National Council of Negro Women of New York; Mrs. Frederic March, representing other fronts; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, who heads the Women's Commission of the Communist Party. Dr. Gene Weltfish, Dr. Beryl Parker, and Ann Bradford, secretary of the CIO Women's Auxiliary of Los Angeles, are alternate delegates to the international.

The Congress of American Women, although it was active, was not incorporated until January 17, 1947. Its incorporators were Gene Weltfish, 515 West One Hundred and Twenty-second Street, New York, N. Y.; Helen Phillips, 203 Avenue B, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Muriel Draper, 322 East Fifty-eight Street, New York, N. Y.; Josephine Timms, 117-14 Union Turnpike, Kew Gardens, New York; Susan B. Anthony II, 38 Barrow Street, New York, N. Y.; and Elinor S. Gimbel, 163 East Seventy-eighth Street, New York, N. Y.

Bella Dodd, formerly a teacher and Communist Party leader, at present in New York City, acted as the notary, and Benjamin M. Zelman as attorney for the organization.

In the petition for incorporation, it was stated that the Congress of American Women was a membership organization to promote the welfare of the American women, to take action in defense of legal social, and political rights of women; to promote close collaboration between the women of the United States with women of other countries; to promote the well being, health, and education of children; and to gather and disseminate information relating to the status of women.

(Exhibit 39 was received.)²¹

Mr. STEELE. Ann Bradford, a delegate to the International Congress in Paris, was a sergeant in the WAC during the war. She served in the Teletype Communications Division overseas.

It is interesting to note that Russia sent 40 delegates, headed by the Communist, Maj. Zneida Troitskava, to the International Congress. The delegation from Yugoslavia, was lead by Annica Hoffner, active in the fighting ranks of the Communist Red armed forces under Tito. Mme Cotton (Communist leader) of France was appointed chairman of the International Congress; Gene Weltfish, Dolores Ibarruri (Communist), Nina Popova (Communist) of Russia, and Yeh Nan of China, vice chairman; and Mme Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier (French Communist leader), executive secretary.

²⁰ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 38.

²¹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 39.

Out of the International Congress the so-called Charter for Women's Rights, officially known as the Women's Status Amendment came. Susan Anthony II of the United States' section is chairman of the special commission which has been set up to push this program, described as one aimed at "abolishing all laws which discriminate against women, and to establish equal rights." Supporters of this amendment will oppose "discrimination against women, regardless of color and race." They explain that no longer will women be excluded from men's affairs. The National Press Club in Washington, D. C., is given as an example of such exclusion. The club, it claims, permits women to dine in the "small dining room" only. They contend that "Jim Crowism" is practiced by various organizations and clubs, and that "racial discrimination must be abandoned." They promise that these conditions will be corrected through the activities of the Congress of American Women. They are determined that laws in 41 States which require a woman to live in the same house with her husband, or suffer the possibility of being sued for divorce or separation shall be repealed. Several States limit general contracts of marriage to a "discriminatory degree," and they charge the women announce that these laws shall be repealed. They are also going to demand that laws providing penalties for the birth of children out of wedlock be repealed. They refer to these as "antiwomen laws."

(Exhibit No. 40 was received.)²²

Mr. STEELE. Another WAC who joined the movement is Corp. Evelyn Field who served in New Guinea and Manila, according to Communist sources. She complains that when members of the WAC, WAVES, and SPARS returned from war service many jobs were closed to them, and she charges that employers were not interested in their "special skills." This situation will be rectified by the Congress of American Women, they claim.

The congress is appealing to "help the children survive fascism," and a program has been mapped out to extend their aims in that direction. The Brooklyn, N. Y., chapter, headed by Mrs. Mary J. Melish (William H.) has a drive on for aid to Tito's (Yugoslav) youth. The congress says it will accordingly support the Pepper maternal and child-welfare bill, the Murray-Wagner free medicine and medical bill, and the Lanham Act which provides for the setting up of day-care centers for children or nurseries. Children's centers would be necessary, of course, if the entire program of the Congress of American Women is carried out, for it demands the right of women to work at any and all professions and trades, manual labor included. Therefore, laws which interfere with their aims, laws, and morals which hold the home and family together, must be abolished. The women infer that women's "apron strings must be untied."

Upon her return from a Nation-wide speaking tour, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (Communist) reported that everywhere she went, from California to New York, she "found women setting up local branches of the Congress of American Women." She quoted Ann Bradford who had reported on the establishment of branches in Los Angeles, Denver, Oakland, and Seattle.

In an attempt to make women in America more conscious of the so-called fight for women's rights, the Congress of American Women

²² See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 40.

has selected March 8 as International Day, and November 29 as Women's Day for annual celebrations. March 8 was first celebrated as Communist Women's Day in Moscow.

The Congress claims that it will be active in the political action field in national and local campaigns. It is already taking its place with other Communist fronts in various front activities. Its representatives recently marched on Washington, D. C., storming Congress and the State Department in opposition to American aid to Greece and Turkey, aid designed to ward off the Communist menace and Soviet aggression. The Congress of American Women charge this may lead to an "imperialist war" and "American imperialism in the Balkans." Members of the congress also participated in mass demonstrations in Washington, D. C., against the repeal of the OPA.

Chairman of the Committee of Action for Peace and Democracy of the Congress of American Women is Muriel Draper; secretary, Anna Lee. The chairman of the Commission on Child Care and Education is Elinor S. Gimbel; secretary, Dorothy Gottlieb. Chairman of the Commission on the Status of Women is Susan B. Anthony II; secretary, Mary Murphy.

National headquarters of the Congress of American Women are located at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y. The national president is Gene Weltfish; executive vice president, Muriel Draper; treasurer, Helen Phillips; secretary, Josephine Timms; and recording secretary, Thyra Edwards. The following are vice presidents: Susan B. Anthony II, Ann Bradford, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Henrietta Buckmaster, Dorothy Connolly, Thelma Dale, Mildred Fairchild, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Elinor S. Gimbel, Mrs. Fred-eric March, Vivian Carter Mason, Beryl Parker, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Ann Center Schneiderman, Mrs. Jeanette Turner, Eleanor Vaughan and Ruth Young. Members of the editorial board are Eleanor Vaughan and Bert Sigrid.

(Exhibit No. 41 was received.)²³

Mr. STEELE. The Chicago branch of the Congress of American Women is headed by Mrs. David Davis; Milwaukee, Mrs. Emil H. Jones; Brooklyn, N. Y., Mrs. (Mary J.) William Howard Melish. The congress issued a call to the following women for the organization of new branches: Mrs. Rosalind Lindsmith, Oakland; Mrs. Eugene Parsonnet, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Theresa Greenwald, New Brunswick; Mrs. Esther Bailin, Bridgeport, Conn.; Mrs. Emma F. Baxter, Worcester, Mass.; Mrs. Miriam Brooks Sherman, Los Angeles; Mrs. Charlotte Backenstein, Des Moines; Miss Doris Bauman, Lawrence, Kansas; Mrs. Duke Avnet, Baltimore; Mrs. Rose Tillotson, Minneapolis; Mrs. Lois Blakes, Seattle; and Mrs. Anna M. Tornino, Spokane.

The Washington, D. C. chapter of the Congress of American Women was organized early in 1947. Its first meeting was held on March 9, 1947, at Pierce Hall, with some 350 in attendance. Among those present were wives of the diplomatic representatives of Russia, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, India, Belgium, and The Netherlands. Gene Weltfish, president of the American section of the international and one of the three international vice presidents, addressed the meeting. She was referred to as "coauthor with Ruth Benedict" of Races

²³ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 41.

of Mankind. Mme. Nikolai Novikov, wife of the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, was the guest of honor.

The Congress of American Women is building through State and sectional conferences. It held an Eastern Seaboard States Conference from June 6 to 8, 1947. Virginia Shull was the acting executive officer in charge of the conference.

The July-August 1946 issue of Soviet Women, organ of the Soviet Women's Anti-Fascist Central Committee and of the Central Council of Trade Unions of the U. S. S. R., was devoted to an exclusive report of the June 1946 executive committee meeting of the International Democratic Women's Federation, of which the Congress of American Women is a section. The report was written by Nina Popova, who leads the Soviet organization, the largest section of the international, and one of the vice presidents of the international.

The report states that special attention was given, at the executive committee meeting, to the international's branches in the United States and Czechoslovakia. It called attention to the fact that since the international congress, national congresses had been held in Rumania, Hungary, Italy, Albania, Greece, Poland, Sweden, the United States, Algeria, Australia, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. The report further explained that in the Soviet-influenced countries, such as Yugoslavia, Poland, Bulgaria, Albania, Austria, and Hungary, all women's organizations had united on a national scale to promote the aims of the international. The women's organization of Communist-controlled northern China, representing 20,000,000 women, has been accepted into the international.

The report referred to the setting up of coordinating committees by the federation in many countries. These committees direct the program of many women's groups not directly affiliated with the international. Among the coordinated activities it claims are the "struggle against the danger of a new war," "against the remnants of fascism," "for equal social and economic rights for women," for "break in diplomatic relations with Spain," and for "mobilization of public opinion to counter the onslaught of reaction in Greece." Coordinating committees have been set up by the international's sections in the United States, France, Italy, Morocco, Rumania, and Algeria. According to the report, the American section thereby already unites over 500,000 women.

The report reveals that an international drive has been launched by all sections of the international to force the UN to recognize the International Democratic Women's Federation as a consultative organization, as it has the International World Federation of Trade-Unionists, also under Communist and Soviet control, of which the CIO in the United States is the American section.

The executive committee endorsed the report of the secretariat stressing the need of continued recruiting of unorganized women, and calling for a concerted action with women's organizations not yet affiliated.

From July 18 to August 25, 1947, was the period set for an international campaign against the Franco regime in Spain. The committee warned all sections against "splitting maneuvers of the reactionaries" to discourage following of the international's sections. It pointed to such obstacles as having confronted the American and British sections. The American section, it explained, now has a combined membership

of 500,000, "despite organizational difficulties, reactionary propaganda directed against it by pro-Fascist elements, and attempts to intimidate American women by Red-baiting." The American section's major activities it claims "are centered on the struggle of peace and democracy, economic and legal equity for women, socialized medicine, and democratic education of children."

The committee reported that among the women's forces joining the American section is the Women's Auxiliary of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It added that the National Women's Revolutionary Bloc of Mexico and the Viet Nam Public Welfare Women's Organization of Brazil are among those organizations of the Western Hemisphere joining the international. Moves are on to take in the International Women's Cooperative Guild.

Among those attending the meeting of the executive committee, in addition to the international president and secretary, were Nina Popova, of Russia; Olga Miloshevich (Communist), of Yugoslavia; Tsola Dragoicheva, of Bulgaria (member of the Political Bureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party and deputy member of the Parliament of Bulgaria); Mme. Handoo, of India; Mme. Vermeche, of the Union of French Women; Mme. Gorakova and Mme. Troyanova (Communist), of Czechoslovakia; Mme. Jeanne Kormanowa, of Poland; Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, of the United States; Mme. Alice Sportiss, of Algiers; Mme. Marie-Claude Vaillant-Couturier of France (Communist); Mme. Camille Ravera of Italy (Communist); Mme. Charlotte Muret of Switzerland; and Elizabeth Tildy, of Hungary.

A report by Gene Weltfish of the Congress of American Women also appeared in the same issue of Soviet Women. In it she spoke of the setting up of a provisional committee which called 1,000 representatives of women's trade-union and religious organizations together at a meeting which was held on March 6, 1946, in New York City, at which the Congress of American Women was organized. The report stated that the first organization to affiliate with the American section was the women's branch of the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, and that women's groups of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations affiliated shortly after. Following the example of these groups, the report continues, "a national organization of women pilots who have seen service in the United States Army affiliated"; and that "Stable local organizations have been set up in Detroit, Philadelphia, Washington, D. C., Norfolk, Boston, Chicago, and Los Angeles."

The Weltfish report announced that the Congress of American Women will launch a drive in the 1948 political campaign to elect 48 women, one from each State, to Congress. She stated that the May conference of the Congress of American Women called for a break in the relations between the United States and Spain, the establishment of international control over the production and use of atomic energy, the strengthening of friendship with the Soviet Union, the support of colonial countries in their battle for self-determination, a protest against maintenance of a large army and against the introduction of military training in the United States. The general report stated that "Mrs. Weltfish told the executive committee how reactionary and Fascist organizations in the United States try to slander the Congress of American Women and intimidate women by Red-baiting."

(Exhibit No. 42 was received.)²⁴

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair would like to make an announcement, before the bell rings, while we have so many members of the committee here. This is not on the record.

(Announcement made off the record.)

The CHAIRMAN. Copies of that may be had from Mr. Stripling. Mr. STRIPLING. Could we suspend for a moment, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess for a minute, Mr. Steele.

(A short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Steele; will you resume please.

Mr. STEELE. I wish to include as evidence at this time the Report From Moscow, which was brought to me a month ago from Moscow, the program of the Congress of American Women, the "original call," and the incorporation papers. This is merely submitted as evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you keeping track of the numbers, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes. We have them all.

Mr. STEELE. The Council of the International met in Prague in December 1946, but I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of its report.

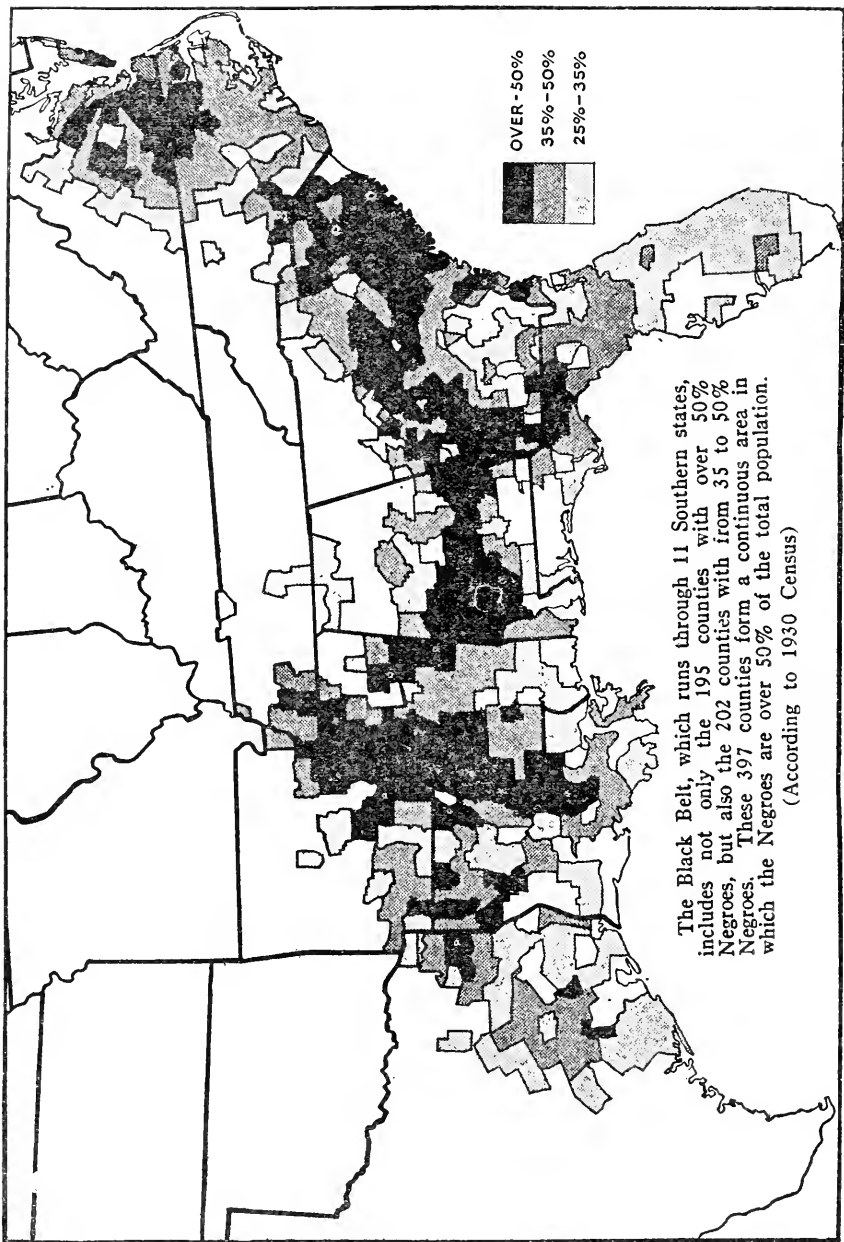
Now, Communist activities among Negroes.

The Communist movement among the Negroes in the United States is under the direction of the Communist Party and the National Negro Congress, together with the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Interlocking and cooperating is the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and several others I will mention later. The international Negro movement by the Communists was originally called the Provisional International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers. This was a section of the Red International of Labor Union of Moscow. According to James W. Ford, Communist party leader, in Economic Struggles of Negro Workers, the Communist Negro drive was started in the United States in 1920. The American section of the International was at that time called the League of Struggle for Negro Rights.

The plan and purpose of the Communist movement to use a large percentage of the Negro population in the United States, particularly in the South, may best be emphasized by quoting a portion of the officially published report of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, held in Moscow in July and August 1928. I quote from the statement of the American Negro delegate, listed as "Comrade Jones, USA," who was chairman of the Negro delegation which dealt with the problems of the Communist Party of the United States in organizing the Negroes for the revolution. It is believed that "Comrade Jones" is John Hudson Jones, whose name frequently appears in the Worker in connection with activities among Negroes. "Comrade Jones" said in part:

We organized here at the Congress a small subcommittee of the Anglo-American secretariat which dealt with the Negro question in America. This commission has done a considerable amount of work, which is, of course, by no means complete, but the first steps were made * * *. I have material on this which will be submitted to the colonial commission in support of our disagreement, together with those drawn up by the Negro commission.

²⁴ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 42.



The Black Belt, which runs through 11 Southern states, includes not only the 195 counties with over 50% Negroes, but also the 202 counties with from 35 to 50% Negroes. These 397 counties form a continuous area in which the Negroes are over 50% of the total population.

(According to 1930 Census)

Map showing continuous stretch of dense Negro population in the South—the Black Belt.

This is a very important question and deserves careful study before definite steps are taken in drawing a program or advancing slogans for our work among the American Negroes. Some comrades consider it necessary at this moment to launch the slogan of self-determination for the American Negroes; to advocate an independent Soviet socialist republic in America for Negroes. There is no objection on our part on the principal of a Soviet republic for Negroes in America. The point we are concerned with here is how to organize these Negroes at present on the basis of their everyday needs for the revolution. The question before the Negroes today is not what will be done with them after the revolution, but what measures are we going to take to alleviate their present condition in America. We have to adopt a program that will take care of their immediate needs, of course keeping in mind the necessity for organizing the revolution. * * *

The central slogan around which we can rally the Negro masses is the slogan of social equality.

Fifty or more slogans for the so-called "everyday needs" of the Negro, which constituted, in fact, Communist propaganda for the agitation of the Negro, especially in the South, were adopted. By 1935 the Communists decided that the slogans had served their purpose, that of arousing the Negro, and that the real issue could then be presented. Consequently, in June 1935, the Communists published a document entitled "The Negroes in a Soviet America," in which the actual plan was outlined. James W. Ford and James S. Allen, Communist officials, were authors of the document. After reviewing the success of the slogans, the authors stated:

As the gains of the revolution are consolidated, these Soviet territories will be united to form a new Soviet Negro Republic. * * * We must begin to organize—begin by organizing, by preparing our forces in our daily struggles to improve our conditions, by learning to take over.²⁵

At about the same time another publication made its appearance in the Communist propaganda distributing centers. It was published by the Communists in the United States. On one of its pages there appeared a map of the Black Belt, as the Communists call the South, which the Reds intend shall first be divided into small soviets, ultimately becoming one large Negro soviet republic.²⁶

The following are recent Communist booklets dealing with the Negro issue: *Lynching and Frame-Up in Tennessee*, by Robert Minor; *A Southerner Looks at Negro Discrimination*, by George Cable, edited and with an introduction by Alva W. Taylor, of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, published by the International Publishers; and *The Path of Negro Liberation*, by Benjamin J. Davis, published by New Century Publishers. Davis and Minor, as I have previously stated, are members of the National Committee of the Communist Party.

In *The Path of Negro Liberation*, a statement is made to the effect that only Communists support the "right to self-determination of the Negro in the Black Belt area" (p. 10). "Such progressive organizations as the Southern Negro Youth Congress and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are enjoying an ever wider influence," as a result of the ground work of the Communists (p. 19).

Prominent in the National Negro Congress and active in the Red drive among Negroes for many years have been the following:

Langston Hughes, Max Yergan, Harry Haywood, James W. Ford, Mrs. Jessica Henderson, William L. Patterson, Robert Minor, Benja-

²⁵ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 43.

²⁶ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 44.

min J. Davis, Jr., Hosie Hart, Herman MacKawain, Bernice DeCosta, Dr. Reuben S. Young, Charles Alexander, Tom Truesdale, Leonard Patterson, William Burroughs, Harold Williams, Merrill C. Work, Steve Kingston, Henry Shepard, Dr. Arnold Donowa, James Moore, Rabbi Ben Goldstein, Mrs. Mary Craig Speed, Bonita Williams, Hanou Chan, James Allen, Cyril Briggs, William Fitzgerald, George Maddox, Maude White, Richard B. Moore, and Eugene Gordon. Communists are even more strongly entrenched in the National Negro Congress through its national committee, the members of which included William Z. Foster, Israel Anter, Earl Browder, and Claude Lightfoot.* The State committees were also Communist dominated.

The Communist hold out the bait of "self-determination of the black belts" to Negroes of the country. These belts include, of course, the districts most heavily populated by Negroes. Communists promise them confiscation of land and factories now being held by white people and the turning over of them to the Negroes. Contrary to this promise, however, the Communists have admitted, in inner circles, that the Negroes are to be segregated in the black belts for the purpose of forming Negro soviets. They have also admitted that the Negroes do not have any suspicion of this plan and property would not become theirs, but the Soviets, under dictatorship.

The National Negro Congress was organized in 1935 by the Reds. From the official proceedings of the National Negro Congress (second), held in Philadelphia in October 1937, we learn (p. 10) that the congress represented in "true spirit" the "united front." The report stated that the congress "marched in the van of the CIO" and "enlists organizers to join the CIO forces." The congress defended the Scottsboro Negroes, a pet hobby of the Communist Party. It called for reverence to the leaders of the Black Revolution which they claim broke out in the eighteenth century.

Among those extending greetings to the second National Negro Congress were John L. Lewis; Tom Mooney, from San Quentin prison; and I. Maximilian Martin, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Ben Gold; and Walter Reuther, president of Local 174, of the CIO, United Auto Workers (1937). The American Labor Party also sent greetings. Philip Murray, CIO official, addressed the congress.

The delegates to the congress protested to President Roosevelt and Postmaster General Farley against the alleged denial of Negroes of the rights and privileges of the railway mail services. They claimed that the railway union discriminated against the Negroes in the service. They also protested against so-called "discrimination" in the railway employees unions, in gas, electric, water, city, streetcar, and other utility unions.

Edward E. Strong delivered an address at the Congress on Negro Youth and the Fight for Freedom and Equality. Strong was a member of the administrative committee of the American Youth Congress, secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Strong spoke of Communist "united front" program.

A. Philip Randolph, one-time president of the National Negro Congress, resigned his position because of the Communist control thereof. At the time of his resignation, at a meeting held in Washington, D. C., he charged that the Congress was controlled by the Communist Party, through which he found it was chiefly financed.

The theme of the tenth annual convention of the National Negro Congress, held in Detroit from May 30 to June 2, 1946, was "Death blow to Jim Crow." Delegates to the convention advocated the enactment of a permanent fair employment practice act. They condemned the Truman administration for what they charged was abandonment of the "Big Three unity" and for adopting an "Anglo-American policy" in international affairs. They called not only for full freedom and equality for the Negro people in the United States but also for the freedom and equality of the colonial peoples of the world. They demanded an end to the poll tax and the trend toward "imperialism" and a "third world war." They demanded jobs and security; health, insurance, housing, and civil rights legislation; a GI bill of rights for Negro veterans and merchant seamen. They demanded close friendship with the Soviet Union. They called for an end to the attacks on the Communist Party, and they voted to cooperate with and aid in every manner possible CIO unions, especially the National Maritime Union. They urged Government ownership of natural resources. Only praise was voiced for Russia.

Approximately 1,000 delegates attended the convention, representing about 500 organizations, the Communist Party, various Red fronts, and CIO unions. The convention had the endorsement of leaders of these movements. Speakers included Paul Robeson; former Congressman Hugh DeLacy; Congressman A. Clayton Powell; George Addes, of the CIO Auto Workers Union; Benjamin J. Davis, of the Communist Party; Michael J. Quill, of the CIO Transport Workers Union; James Dombrowski, of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Alan Morrison, formerly of Stars and Stripes and publicity director of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America; Donald Henderson, of the CIO; Max Yergan; Kenneth Eckert, of the CIO; Walter Frisbie, of the Indiana Industrial Council; John Simmons, city councilman of Toledo; Halois Moorhead, of the A. F. of L.; and Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, of the Congress of American Women.

The National Negro Congress maintains headquarters at 307 Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y.; but, contrary to the New York laws, it is not registered. Sectional offices have been set up at 114 Erskine Avenue, Detroit, and 1015 M Street NW., Washington, D. C. Local branches have been set up in 78 cities, of course.

(Exhibit No. 45 was received.)²⁷

Mr. STEELE. Officers of the National Negro Congress at this time (1947) are the following: Max Yergan, president; C. Le Bron Simmons, treasurer; Revels Cayton, executive secretary; Thelma M. Dale, field secretary; Dorothy K. Fann, director of labor legislation; Arthur Bowman, midwest secretary; vice presidents, Ferdinand Smith, Edward E. Strong, Charles Collins, Matthew Crawford, Robbie Mae Riddick, A. C. Williams, Dr. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Raymond Tillman, Osceola McCaine (Southern Conference for Human Welfare), J. S. Bourne, Frederick Tashma, Walter Frisbee (CIO of Indiana), and J. B. Simmons.

Sponsors of the Tenth Convention of the National Negro Congress included S. E. M. Barlow, Forum for Democracy; Harry Bridges, president, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,

²⁷ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 45.

CIO; Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, School of Social Services, University of Chicago; Gwendolyn Bennett, director, George Washington Carver School; Louis Coleman; Eugene F. Connolly, city councilman, New York; James A. Dombrowski, Southern Conference for Human Welfare; Muriel Draper; Walter K. Ecklund, Sacramento CIO Council; Arthur H. Fauset, United People's Action Committee, Pennsylvania; Abram Flaxer, State, County, and Municipal Workers, CIO; James W. Ford; Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman; Elinor S. Gimbel, Congress of American Women; Donald Henderson, Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers, CIO; Langston Hughes; Stanley M. Isaacs, New York councilman; Dave Jenkins, California Labor School; Rockwell Kent; Canada Lee; William Howard Melish; Samuel J. Novick; Mervyn Rathborne; William J. Scheffelin; Henry Winston, National Committee, Communist Party; Norman Corwin; Robert W. Kenny, National Lawyers' Guild; Carey McWilliams; and Mabel K. Staupers, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses.

According to Communist reports, police raided the meeting of the labor division of the congress at the convention, arresting 37 of its members. Listed among those it claims were taken to jail were Lewis Demby; Hiram McNealey; John Stinson; Ed Tolan; James Walker; Joan Ellis, director of Detroit Council of Applied Religion; Chris Alston; Art Bowman; Barry Blossinghame; Pat Raskin, of American Youth for Democracy; Hugh Bryson; J. M. Bolin; Anna M. Kross; Charles Collins; Earl B. Dickerson; Frank M. Davis; Arthur Fauset; Abram Flaxer; Stephen Fritchman; Elinor Gimbel; Ira Reid; William J. Scheffelin; Oliver Boutte; and John Howard Lawson.

Some \$60,000 for its legislative program of the congress was reported pledged at the convention by individuals, trade-unions, and other left-wing organizations. It was officially reported that the Negro labor victory committee of New York had merged with the trade-union division of the congress.

An executive board of the National Negro Congress, composed of 77 members, was elected at the convention. Among those on the board are Doxey Wilkerson, Communist Party National Committee; Benjamin J. Davis, Jr.; John Goodman, AFL; Ada B. Jackson; Herbert Aptheker; Josh Lawrence, Communist Party National Committee; Henry Winston, Communist Party National Committee; Hope Stevens; and Ewart Guinier.

Newly elected members of the trade-union committee of the congress are Donald Henderson, William Young, Mervyn Rathborne, Raymond Tillman, Marcel Scherer, Hodges Mason, and Charles Collins. Elected honorary members were M. Fazal Elhai Qurban, of the All-India Trade Union Congress, and M. Sidney Pelage, of Paris.

On April 27, 1947, 100 members of the National Negro Congress and other interested individuals called upon President Truman to repudiate decisively steps to illegalize the Communist Party. The demand read in part:

As Negro Americans we cannot be unmindful that this proposal to outlaw the Communist Party comes precisely when our Federal Government proposed grave concern over the democratic rights of people in far-distant parts of the world.

Their criticism was also aimed at Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach because of his proposal to outlaw the Communist Party. Those signing the appeal included W. E. B. DuBois, Paul Robeson, Roscoe Dun-

jee, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Max Yergan, Charlotta A. Bass, and Arthur Huff Fauset.

David Smith is secretary of the Philadelphia branch of the congress.

The following are a few of the local California officers of the National Negro Congress: Raymond F. Thompson, executive secretary, California (police record in California and Detroit); Charles MacMurray, chairman of the Alameda County Executive Committee; Matt Crawford, regional director, Oakland; Charlotta A. Bass (editor, California Eagle), president, Los Angeles chapter; Helen Samuels, secretary, Los Angeles chapter.

The National Negro Congress held an All-Southern Negro Youth Conference in April 1938, in Chattanooga. Edward Strong was national executive secretary of that conference. It was reported that 355 delegates, representing organizations composed of 383,720 Negroes, were in attendance. The program adopted concentrated on the southern aspect of the Negroes, and it was in keeping with the program and action of the National Negro Congress. This conference led to the establishment of the Southern Negro Youth Congress and first served as the youth section of the National Negro Congress, cooperating with the Young Communist League (American Youth for Democracy), the American Youth Congress (now the American Youth for a Free World), and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Esther V. Cooper, executive secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, was a delegate to the International Congress held in London in October 1945, which led to the setting up of the World Federation for Democratic Youth, world Communist movement.

The Seventh Annual Conference of an All-Southern Negro Youth Congress was held in Columbia, S. C., from October 18 to 20, 1946. It convened at Fisk University, with 900 delegates from the Southern States in attendance. A feature of the convention was the setting up of a mock government called the Southern Youth Legislature to "challenge the old order in the South." The so-called legislature enacted bills endorsing Senator Pepper and Henry Wallace, bills supporting the CIO organizational drive in the South, bills favoring equal educational and health facilities, bills against the poll tax and discrimination.

Delegates were present from Haiti, India, and Liberia. Greetings were received from Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia. American Youth for Democracy sent a special delegation to the conference. Songs produced by People's Songs, Inc. were sung.

In February 1947 the Southern Negro Youth Congress announced that it had built many new clubs, among them clubs in Roanoke; Montgomery and Birmingham, Ala.; in Anderson, Andrews, Manning, and Winnsboro, S. C.; and one in Jackson, Miss.

The headquarters of the Southern Negro Youth Congress are located at 526 Masonic Temple Building, Birmingham, Ala. It also operates a movement called the Southern Negro Youth Educational Fund, Inc.

At this time (1947) the officers of the Southern Negro Youth Congress are as follows: Rose Mae Catchings, president; Alton Adams, Jr., Edgar Holt, Kenneth C. Kennedy, Barbara Oldwine, Charles Rhodes, and Ernest Wright, vice presidents; Esther V. Cooper (Mrs. James E. Jackson, whose husband was with the American Youth Congress and has been chairman of the Communist Party of Louisiana),

executive secretary; Louis E. Burnham, organizing secretary; and Maenetta Steele, treasurer.

The executive board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress is composed of the following: Sadie Appleby, Mary Ruth Banks, Helen Barnett, Mabel Bentley, Sadie Boyd, Fannie Burrell, Dorothy Burnham, Florence Castile, John Costley, Gaines Culpepper, Norman Dixon, Herman Gray, Lynn Gray, Cleo Harris, George Hayes, Lloyd Hurst, Bennie Hill, Frank Hutchings, Jr., Matthew Jarrett, Russell Jones, Robert Jones, Lawrence Matlock, Naomi Neel, Stella Pecot, Alice Person, Odessa Roberts, Theresa Simpson, Grace Tillman, Robert Wilson, and Wilson York.

The advisory board is composed of the following: F. D. Patterson, chairman; Charles G. Gomillion, secretary; W. A. Bell, D. V. Jemison, Mary McLeod Bethune, Jesse B. Blayton, Horace Mann Bond, James Dombrowski, W. E. B. DuBois, Roscoe Dunjee, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, F. B. Washington, Arthur D. Shores, James Shepard, Ira de A. Reid, and Ralph O'Hara Lanier.

(Exhibit No. 46 was received.)²⁸

Mr. STEELE. The organizing secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, Louis Burnham, is a graduate of the City College of New York. He went south in 1941 to assist in organizing the Congress. He was originally connected with the youth section of the National Negro Congress. In 1937, he participated in Young Communist student strikes at City College. His name often appeared in Young Communist publications. He was elected vice chairman of the American Youth for Democracy at its June 1946 convention, held in New York.

(Exhibit No. 47 was received.)²⁹

Arthur G. Price, a member of the United Negro and Allied Veterans, is special projects director of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. Incidentally, the Congress is also affiliated with the Council on African Affairs, details of which appear later in this testimony.

Another Negro movement which has every evidence of being Communist is the Negro Publication Society of America, Inc., with headquarters in New York. This was incorporated in New York on September 23, 1941, with Herbert Aptheker, Angelo Herndon, Margaret Osborn, Lawrence D. Reddick, and Arthur Huff Fauset as incorporators. Reference to this has been made in another section of this testimony.

I wish at this time to submit as evidence information on the organizations that I have mentioned.

(Exhibit received.)

Mr. RANKIN. Do you include in your statement the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People?

Mr. STEELE. Pardon me?

Mr. RANKIN. Do you include in your list there this National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People?

Mr. STEELE. Only where I find them cooperating with the other movements.

Mr. RANKIN. It was organized by a man named Spingarn, I believe.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

²⁸ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 46.

²⁹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 47.

Mr. RANKIN. And a man by the name of Spingarn, of New York, is the head of it now.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. A Jew who has no more interest in the Negro than the rest of us.

The CHAIRMAN. He might have an interest. Just because he is a Jew is no sign that he is against the Negro.

Mr. RANKIN. He hasn't any interest in the Negro. He is out to cause trouble. You knew it passed a resolution condemning this committee and demanding its abolition, did you not?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I just wanted to know if you were aware of the fact that it is a Communist front organization and used to promote the interest of the Communist movement throughout the country.

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Congressman, I have seen a few of its locals and I have seen a few of its local leaders involved with other Communist fronts, but I haven't personally had any evidence to prove as a national organization that it is a front.

Mr. RANKIN. The Booker T. Washington Foundation, which is headed by a group of very fine American Negroes asked for an all-Negro hospital in Virginia to take care of the load, in order that they might have their own doctors, and so forth, as they do down at Tuskegee. Yesterday this alleged National Association for the Advancement of Colored People sent a telegram to the committee opposing it.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I just want to let you know that before there is a line of demarcation——

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. Between the real patriotic American Negroes and the group that is trying to mislead the others into trouble and stir up friction for the white people all over the country. Now, you pointed out there a while ago one of the things they had proposed was a Negro soviet for the Southern States, didn't you?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; I submitted the evidence.

Mr. RANKIN. You have seen their map, haven't you?

Mr. STEELE. I submitted that.

Mr. RANKIN. You submitted that?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. RANKIN. You know, judging from what took place in Russia, that would mean the murder of practically every white man in those States who was not willing to submit to that kind of regime and the raping of untold thousands of white women. You are aware of that, are you not?

Mr. STEELE. Of course, that is purely a presumption.

Mr. RANKIN. That is about what happened in Russia, isn't it, when they took over?

Mr. STEELE. I don't know what happened in the Negro soviet over there.

Mr. RANKIN. I know, but it wouldn't be any better than the white soviet.

Mr. STEELE. I presume not, no, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. You know, in the soviet over there, every man that resisted them either was sent to Siberia or was stood before a firing line.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. I just wondered if the people of this country realize the danger that these fronts really have to the welfare of this country?

Mr. STEELE. Well, that is what I think the committee is trying to show.

The CHAIRMAN. By exposure.

Mr. STEELE. By exposure.

The CHAIRMAN. No question about that.

Mr. RANKIN. That is exactly what I am asking, too.

Mr. STEELE. I would say any take-over, in any section, would be followed by bloodshed, whether it was a Negro soviet or a white soviet.

Mr. McDOWELL. Of course, Mr. Steele, you probably know the responsible colored leaders in America have completely rejected this idea.

Mr. STEELE. I understand.

Mr. RANKIN. And they rejected this alleged National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, too.

Mr. STEELE. Now—

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, have you finished with your testimony on the Communist activities among Negroes?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Could you give the committee any observation on your part as to whether or not the Communists have been making any progress and meeting with any success in their efforts to recruit the Negroes behind the cause of communism?

Mr. STEELE. From my observations, I think they have made very little progress with the masses of the Negro people. I have talked to people who are students on that subject and who have studied that angle in particular. The claim is—as I understand it—that the average colored person is tied pretty closely to his church and that while they might win some of them over temporarily, as soon as they find out what it is, the majority of them are out of the movement. Considering the number of colored people in the country, I doubt very much that they have made any great inroads.

Mr. STRIPLING. Would you consider the National Negro Congress to be in the forefront in the effort of the Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Very definitely so.

Mr. STRIPLING. They are spearheading the Communist effort?

Mr. STEELE. Very definitely so; yes, sir. In fact, the original chairman of that organization, Phillips Randolph, resigned as chairman of it because, as he said, he found after he had headed the organization it was absolutely under the control of the Communist Party and was being financed directly by the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did say the National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People was not a Communist front.

Mr. STEELE. I said, insofar as I have found—

Mr. RANKIN. He—

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witness answer.

Mr. RANKIN. You are testifying for him, through Mr. Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking questions.

Mr. STEELE. I think I have already answered the question, anyhow, that I haven't found the national organization as a whole is a Com-

unist front. I have found locals and local officers connected with the other Red front movements.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know the national association had passed a resolution at its recent convention condemning communism?

Mr. STEELE. I didn't know that; no, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Do you know it passed one the other day condemning this committee?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, I knew that.

Mr. RANKIN. And for the destruction of this committee.

Mr. STEELE. I knew of that, sir.

Mr. RANKIN. Because of its fight against communism.

The CHAIRMAN. There are a lot of other people condemn this committee, but that doesn't mean they are Communists.

Mr. STEELE. Now I wish to deal with a new subject, that I doubt you have heard very much about. It is a rather dry subject, in a way, because it has to do with the cultural front. It has many ramifications. From 1930 to 1936, the Communist forces in the United States maintained sections of the International of Revolutionary Writers and the International of Revolutionary Theaters, through which their cultural-front activities were directed. The immediate sections thereof were the John Reed Clubs, Pen and Hammer Clubs, and the Workers' Cultural Federation. The subdivisions were the following: Workers' Music League, Workers' Theater League, Workers' Radio Club, Workers' Short-Wave Club, National Film and Photo League, Workers' Film and Photo League, Young Workers' Dance League, Group Theater, and New Theater. The League of American Writers later supplanted the John Reed and Pen and Hammer Clubs. These in turn operated through many offshoots.

Again I refer to what I charge is one of the most important centers of Soviet and Communist activities in our country—the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, this time with respect to its advancement of present-day Communist “cultural” activities. On November 18, 1945, the council held an American-Soviet cultural conference at the Engineering Societies Building in New York City. Scores of Communists and frontiers attended, together with others interested in revolutionary literature, stage, screen, dancing, education, radio, and all other fields of leftist cultural activities.

Howard Fast was one of the headliners of the conference. In his address he made the following statement: “I believe that the Soviet writer is armed far better than we are with the tools of understanding society.” He referred to our censorship laws which he claimed forced concessions on the writers. He spoke of the average writer's inability to labor through a “welter of contradictions,” of his inability to bring forth democracy within the framework of an “imperialistic nation.” He scorned those who could be affected by the cry of communism, and he called for writers to battle through such attacks. He often referred to the superiority of Soviet literature.

Arthur Upham Pope presided at the conference. Other speakers were Helen Gahagan Douglas, Serge Koussevitsky, Margaret Webster, John Hersey, Lillian Hellman, Dean Dixon, and Aaron Copeland. Communist publications devoted considerable space to this conference. Greetings were received from the All Union Society for Cultural Relations (of Moscow), of which it is believed that the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship is a section.

Reports of the revival of Communist cultural movements in other countries were given prominent space in Communist publications as "come-ons" for American Reds in this field. In February 1946 a larger American-Soviet Cultural Conference was held in New York. Shortly after, Serge Koussevitsky, Morton Gould, Olin Downes, Elie Siegmeister, and Margaret Grant called the first meeting of the American-Soviet Music Society at Times Hall, 240 West Forty-fourth Street, New York. Aaron Copeland presided.

In April 1946 came William Z. Foster's call for increased action in the "cultural" field. At that time he predicted that "the next year (1947) will show a tremendous resurgence of progressive spirit in every cultural field." He further stated:

National cultures are rich with the people's folk songs, their minstrels and ballad singers, their poetry, their theaters, their artistic handicrafts; and moreover rising revolutionary social classes, instinctively realizing the importance of art as a social weapon, have always forged their own art and used it to challenge that of the existing ruling class. The national culture in any given period has never been identified with the culture of the ruling class * * * Progressive artists are raising their voices independently in literature, in the theater, and in various other artistic fields. At the same time they are exerting constructive pressures upon the organized, capitalistic cultural forms: the radio, the press, the motion pictures * * * Communists and other democratic artists should cultivate both these streams of new people's art * * * including the publication of books, the production of progressive plays, the promotion of artistic and general culture work in trade unions, Negro groups, farmer organizations, and other people's groupings; the development of democratic art projects by the local, State, and National Government, the strengthening of publications by the left, and the establishment of organized artistic movements * * * The special tasks of the Communists in the development of the new democratic trends in our national culture is to enrich them with Marxist understanding and to carry them to the people. The Communists must, above all others, be the ones to understand the true significance of art as a weapon in the class struggle, and to know how to combat all reactionary capitalistic hindrances to the development of the new people's democratic art.

The Red publications widely advertised the two large mass meetings which were held in New York City and Los Angeles, providing crescendo to the drive in behalf of the cultural front. The Los Angeles meeting was held under the auspices of the Communist west coast paper, People's Daily World, and it was reported to have attracted 1,500 people. The New York meeting was held under the joint auspices of the Communist organs, the Daily Worker and New Masses, at which 3,500 people were reported in attendance. Emphasis was placed at these meetings on the building of a "broad Marxist cultural front" for the "stormy days ahead."

In July 1946 a cultural front congress was held in Moscow. Norman Corwin, writer and radio commentator of the United States, was the "honored guest." He presented the Moscow International Convention with the two recordings from the American-Soviet Music Society, on which were reproduced special messages from the Red leaders in the United States to the Soviet heads.

An increase in cultural-front activities finally became evident with the setting up of Stage for Action, Young People's Records, New Theater, Trade Union Theater, People's Artists, Cultural Folk Dance Group, Theodore Dreiser Work Shop, Modern Culture Club, Carver Cultural Council, Cultural Council, Dramatic Work Shop, Contemporary Theater (mobile unit), Provisional Committee for Democracy in Radio, International Programs, Jefferson Chorus, Philadelphia

Stage for Action, California Stage for Action, Contemporary Writers, American Folksay Group, People's Orchestra, People's Chorus, Book Find Club, Challenge Records, Charter Records, Freiheit Gesang Farein, People's Artists, Inc., Committee for the Defense of Education, the Keynote Recordings, Inc., People's Songs and People's Radio Foundation.

New Masses entered the recording field with transcriptions of Songs of the Lincoln Brigade, Strange Fruit, Beloved Comrade, Solidarity Forever, Red Army Sings, and Citizens CIO Album. These recordings were offered free with subscriptions to Communist weekly, New Masses.

The American-Russian Music Corporation came into existence. It maintains offices at 150 West 57th Street, New York, N. Y. It is learned that this was also set up by the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship.

During this period, the American Authors Authority began functioning. It was designed to control copyrights. This was sired by the Screen Writers' Guild, Hollywood Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. The chief authority was centered under the direction of James M. Cain. It is the intention of the Authority to try to force all writers to send their manuscripts to the Authority to have them copyrighted in its name. In one sense it may have been considered a sort of a bureaucratic communistic union; in another, a huge Red monopoly.

The Compass Record Co. then became active, specializing in Soviet recordings. Young People's Record Clubs began to flourish, as did Young People's Book Clubs. The International Film Foundation of New York announced Julien Bryan film productions ready for distribution. International Publishers, the Communist propaganda house, issued a series of Young World Books which were propaganda about Communist Russia. International Workers' Order films were exhibited all over the country. Communist schools began to organize classes in song, stage, screen, dance, writing, and kindred subjects. A People's Song School is the most recent addition to the Communist cultural scene.

An "Arts as a Weapon" symposium was held in New York City on April 15, 1946. It was headlined by William Z. Foster, Howard Fast, Dalton Trumbo, Arnaud D'Usseau, and Elizabeth Cattlett. Joseph North and Samuel Sillen were cochairmen of the symposium. It was decided at this time that the cultural section in the revolutionary field was to be rebuilt; that "art was to become a weapon." Only a few months earlier Moscow had purged its cultural fronts of the so-called "weaklings" who had permitted the "vibrations of world unity for victory to dull their drums for revolution."

Let us now examine the ramifications of the larger of the present-day movements specializing in various fields of so-called "culture," but which have become part and parcel, in fact, of the Red propaganda and agitational machine in the United States.

People's Songs, Inc., was incorporated in January 31, 1946, in New York City. It now has sections in every large city in the United States. Affiliated with it are many other smaller movements. It has injected itself into CIO, Communist fronts, and Communist schools. The incorporation papers list the following as directors and incor-

porators: Herbert Hanfrecht, 302 West 102d Street, New York, N. Y.; Peter Seeger, 129 McDougal Street, New York, N. Y.; Lee Hays, same address; Daniel Lapidus, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., who appeared before this committee of Congress as attorney for Eugene Dennis, secretary of the Communist Party; and Robert Claiborne, 729 Greenwich Street, New York, N. Y. Joe Brodsky is the attorney for the corporation. The incorporation papers provided that the members of the board should number not less than 5, and more than 25.

The outfit was described as a "membership corporation," the purpose of which is to stimulate and develop an understanding and appreciation of worthy American music, songs, cultural and civic traditions, and to carry out these objectives on a nonpartisan basis (exhibit 48).³⁰

The board of directors includes the following: B. A. Botkin, Tom Glazer, Horace Grenell, Woody Guthrie, John Hammond, Jr., Herbert Hanfrecht, Bess Hawes, Waldemar Hille, Svatava Jacobson, Paul Kent, Millard Lampell, Felix Landau, Earl Robinson, Bob Russell, Walter Lowenfels, Alan Lomax, Paul Secon, Kenneth Spencer, William Stracke, Palmer Weber, Alec Wilder, and Bill Wolff. National director of People's Songs, Inc., is Peter Seeger; executive director, Lee Hays; and editor, Bernard Asbel. The board of sponsors includes Sam Barlow, Leonard Bernstein, Marc Blitzstein (who was with the War Department on special duty in England), Aaron Copeland, Norman Corwin, Lincoln Kirstein, Larry Adler, Moe Asch, C. B. Baldwin, Carl Carmer, Oscar Hammerstein II, E. Y. Harburg, Judy Holliday, Lena Horne, John Houseman, Burl Ives, David Kapp, Elia Kazan, Alain Locke, Lynn Murray, Dorothy Parker, Paul Robeson, Harold Rome, Herman Sobel, Louis Untermeyer, Sam Wanamaker, Josh White, and Lila Belle Pitts. The advisory committee includes Rockwell Kent and Michael Gold.

People's Songs, Inc., appears to be directly descended from the Almanac Singers, which prior to World War II published "songs for the workers" (workers as used by the Reds is synonymous with Communists). The Almanac Singers furnished the songs used by such Communist groups as the American Student Union, American Youth Congress, International Workers' Order, American Peace Mobilization, etc. People's Songs, Inc., is now writing songs and plays, promoting choruses and schools for Communist fronts. Many of its songs have been adopted by certain left-wing CIO unions, the CIO and the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, the Communist Party and its units, American Youth for Democracy, Civil Rights Congress, the International Workers' Order, Congress of American Women, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and other Red fronts.

The CIO is also taking its place in Red cultural fields. Not long ago a CIO chorus was formed. On May 24, 1947, at Town Hall, New York City, the chorus presented a cantata written by Millard Lampell and Alex North. This was the first public appearance of the chorus.

A few of the many songs produced by People's Songs, Inc., are: Put It on the Ground (pay raise song to the bosses), by Ray Glaser and Bill Wolfe; Take This Hammer (going home song for GI's); Jim

³⁰ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 48.

Crow (racial agitational song), by Bill Oliver; Atomic Energy (anti-atomic bomb), by Ray Glaser and Sir Lancelot; We've Got Our Eyes on You (political campaign song "dedicated to your Congressman"), by Bernie Asbel; That's Why, by Ray Glaser; Roll the Prices Back, by Ray Glaser; On to Sacramento (marching song sung by marchers on the way to the offices of the Governor of California on March 20, 1947), by Mario (Boots) Casetta; John Hardy (Hardy, a coal miner, was convicted of murder during a coal strike in West Virginia in 1894); DDT (agitational song against conservatives in Congress, and in support of De Lacy, Powell, Marcantonio, and other radicals mentioned by name), by Walter Lowenfels; Walk in Peace (antiwar song), by Sir Lancelot; Listen Mr. Bilbo, by Robert Claiborne; Sixteen Ton (agitational song for coal miners); Except My Daddy's Wages (antihigh cost of living), by Ray Glaser; Landlord; Liberal Commentator; The Bonnie Laboring Boy; Song of My Hands; Roll the Union On; The Union Man; Conversation With a Mule; We Are the Guys; Solidarity Forever; The Rankin Tree; Homeless Blues; May Day Song; OPA Shouts; Beloved Comrade; Talking Atomic Blues; Look Here Georgia; Free and Equal Blues; Walk in Peace; Black, Brown, and White Blues; Beans, Bacon, and Gravy; The Rat Named Franco; Voter, Oh Voter, Oh Voter; Bilbo Breakdown; You Guys Gotta Organize; Vote PAC; Poll Tax Chain; Picket Line Priscilla; Whatcha Gonna Do When Election Comes?; Inflation Talking Blues; Union Maid; Unity Rhumba; Miners; Kids and Wives; and In Spite of Governor Martin.

Let us consider the type of songs, classified as "worthy American songs," which are produced and circulated by People's Songs, Inc. One of them is entitled: "The Preacher and the Slave," set to the music of an old Gospel hymn. The words are as follows:

Long-haired preacher come out every night,
 Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right;
 But when asked a-bout something to eat
 They will answer with voices so sweet:

Refrain:

You will eat by and by
 In that glorious land above the sky.
 Work and pray, live on hay;
 You'll get pie in the sky when you die.

Workingmen of all countries unite,
 Side by side we for freedom will fight;
 When the world and its wealth we have gained
 To the grafters we'll sing this refrain:

Refrain.

This song was originally written by Joe Hill, reproduced by People's Songs, Inc., by permission of the IWW. It is considered one of their best songs. Aubrey Haan of the University of Utah is at the present time writing a novel based on the life of Joe Hill. A number of IWW songs have been reproduced for present-day use by People's Songs.

Another of the People's Songs' "masterpieces" is entitled: "Rag-gedy." The following is one of the verses:

Hungry, hungry are we,
 Just as hungry as hungry can be;
 We don't get nothing for our labor,
 So hungry, hungry are we.

In the other verses the words "raggedy," "homeless," "landless," and "angry" replace the word "hungry" used in the first verse.

A special song was written for use at subscription gatherings for the People's Daily World, west coast Communist organ. The first verse reads:

Johnny went to get a subscription,
 Upon a door he knocked.
 He spoke right through the transom
 Because the door was locked.
 Said Johnny, so persistently,
 "I'm bringing you good news,
 A copy of the People's World
 Will clarify your views."

A play entitled "Hootenanny" is now being produced by People's Songs and Song Work Shops, in which many of the previously mentioned songs are sung. Harry Hay acts as coordinator, and he is supported by Earl Robinson and Bill Wolff. Among those included in the cast are Murray Goodson, Sonny Vale, the Berry Sisters, Sir Lancelot, Bill Oliver of the CIO Newspaper Guild of Los Angeles, Shirley Gray, and Mario (Boots) Casetta, director of the Los Angeles Chapter of People's Songs. A check of the records of the majority of these individuals will show their direct Communist or front connections in many fields.

People's Songs, Inc., is reaching into labor unions through the organization of union choruses. One is the Ford Chorus, composed of members of the large Detroit CIO local. Johnny Gallo is recreational director of the local and organizer and director of the People's Songs project. He is a national officer of American Youth for Democracy, and he is one of the leaders of its Michigan section. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, railroad unions of Chicago, and the Allis-Chalmers CIO strikers were reported to be seriously considering forming choruses.

People's Songs staged a benefit for the Communist Party in New York City on November 30, 1946. Its advertisements and press notices are to be found in the Daily Worker, New Masses, The Worker, Chicago Star, Michigan Herald, PM, People's Daily World, and Salute, New Theater and the Trade Union Theater are among the groups affiliated with People's Songs.

People's Artists is also an affiliate of People's Songs, and it has offices in with the latter. It supplies special talent to organizations for the purpose of promoting people's songs, shows, and entertainment. People's Artists also supplies the entertainment for Communist Party gatherings. It took charge of the entertainment at a party meeting which was held in New York on April 26, 1947. People's Songs also participated.

A People's Songs concert was sponsored by the American Youth for Democracy in Cleveland in October 1946. The Jefferson Chorus, organized by the Communist school having the same name, is under the direction of People's Songs. The chorus operates under the auspices of Stage for Action. The chorus led the strikers in New York City in January 1947, and it was referred to as the Jefferson Chorus on the Picket Lines.

The American Folksay Group of American Youth for Democracy, in February 1947, was led by People's Songs. The New Theater,

in cooperation with Stage for Action and People's Songs is now staging Communist plays in New York. One of them is *Waiting for Lefty*. Others are *The Cradle Will Rock*, *The General* and the *Goats*, and *All Aboard*.

People's Songs was in charge of the entertainment presented at the Civil Rights Congress in September 1946. Recordings of People's Songs are made by Keynote Recordings, Inc. Among Keynote Recordings of People's Songs is an album of five records produced for use by the CIO-PAC on radio transcriptions. People's Songs produced the songs used by the National Political Action Committee and Schools for Political Action Technique, launched in 1946. One such School was held in Washington, D. C., in June of that year. Peter Seeger, Lee Hays, and Allan Max were instructors at this school.

Millard Lampell of People's Songs, Inc., was one of the organizers of the Almanac Singers. He is also chairman of the veterans' committee of the Civil Rights Congress, and a writer for the *Daily Worker*. Walter Lowenfels of People's Songs is a Communist Party leader in Philadelphia. Dr. B. A. Botkin until recently was archivist of the Library of Congress in the American Folk Song Division.

People's Songs claims a membership of 2,000 in 38 States, with members in Hawaii, Alaska, China, France, and India.

So important have the songs produced by People's Songs, Inc., become in Red ranks that the Communist school in Hollywood—People's Educational Center, the (Communist) California Labor School in San Francisco, the Jefferson School in New York, and the (Communist) Labor School in Oakland have inaugurated classes in the science of agitational song writing. They are taught by leaders of People's Songs, Inc. The Cultural Folk Song Group and American-Russian Corporation (distributor of Russian and Soviet Music) are other organizations active in this field (exhibits 49 and 50).²¹

Leonard Jackson, former director of International Programs, now heads the People's Songs booking division.

People's Songs is now completing a special set of recordings for CIO unions. One particular set is being made for the National Maritime Union. It is planned that recordings are to be placed on all ships manned by NMU members.

A board of sponsors, recently set up to give People's Songs additional momentum in its all-out drive for expansion, includes Larry Adler, Moe Asch, C. B. Baldwin, Sam Barlow, Leonard Bernstein, Marc Blitzstein, Carl Carner, Aaron Copeland, Norman Corwin, Oscar Hammerstein II, E. Y. Harburg, Judy Holliday, Lena Horne, John Houseman, Burl Ives, David Kapp, Elli Kazan, Gene Kelly, Lincoln Kirsten, Alain Locke, Lynn Murray, Dorothy Parker, Lila Belle Pitts, Paul Robeson, Harold Rome, Herman Sobel, Louis Untermeyer, Sam Wanamaker, and Josh White.

People's Songs has sent delegated representatives to the Prague conference of the Communist World Youth Festival, now being held. Michael Scott and Ernie Lieberman were selected as its delegates.

Communist cultural groups are establishing so-called work shops throughout the country to promote People's Songs and Stage for Action productions. They are also penetrating legitimate work shops of culture by planting their ready-made "cultural" wares therein.

²¹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibits 49 and 50.

People's Artists, Inc., referred to previously herein, maintains offices with Stage for Action, and also at 11 West Charles Street, New York, N. Y. It has sections in the Midwest and far West. Its leaders include Paul Bain, Bob Claiborne, Sis Cunningham, Eve Gentry, Cisco Houston, Phil Irving, Jane Martin, Brown McGhee, Harry B. Ringel, Pete Seeger, and Sonny Terry. Claiborne and Seeger are with People's Songs, Inc. In Los Angeles the outfit is referred to as People's Artists Bureau.

Additional cultural movements, mentioned in Communist publications, are the Artists League of America and the Cultural Folk Dance group.

The New Institute, with offices at 29 Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., is designed to promote the best way to teach film and radio. Members of the faculty are Paul Strand, Irving Lerner, Leo Hurwitz, Alfred Saxe, Sydney Myers, Peter Lyon, Donald Winclair, and Eva Desca. Donald Winclair is director.

The International Film Foundation, Inc., 1600 Broadway, New York, N. Y., is promoting film plays on Russia. It propagandizes among American youth. Julian Bryan is executive director (exhibit 51).³²

Also active in the play and film field is the International Workers' Order which sponsors road shows and film entertainment of an agitational nature. Short films by Frank Sinatra are also featured. Charles Cooper is national director of this branch of IWO activity. The IWO film group has recently produced 12 films. The rental for these films is kept to a low price. Films available include Health and Security for America, a propaganda play in behalf of socialized medicine; Forward All Together, upholding Negro rights; The U. S. S. R.—The Land and the People, a pro-Russian film; We Are All Brothers, adopted from the pamphlet, Races of Mankind; How To Live With the Atom, Up and Atom, Sing and Win, and World Control of Atom Energy.

Challenge Records, Charter Records, Compass Record Co. (distributors of Soviet recordings), and the Young People's Record Club, Inc., are all exploited by the Communists. Young People's Record Club has offices at 40 West Forty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y. As its name implies, it serves youth at club rates, that is by the month. This was incorporated in New York City on July 24, 1946. The incorporators, thought to be "dummy" incorporators, were Blanche Thorner, 2911 Barnes Avenue, Bronx, N. Y.; Ethel Radin, 3045 Twelfth Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Renee Kaminsky, 752 West End Avenue, New York, N. Y. Each held one share of stock, and they were named "directors until the first annual meeting of stockholders." Two hundred shares of stock were authorized, but no other stockholders were mentioned. Abraham L. Pomerantz of 295 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y., was referred to as the agent. The secretary of state of New York found it necessary to process someone in any action or proceeding against the corporation. Levy, Pomerantz, Schraeder, and Haudek were the attorneys for the corporation, and the corporation offices are at the same address of those of the law firm (exhibit 52).³³

³² See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 51.

³³ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 52.

Young World Books is still another outfit designed to propagandize among the youth. It distributes books on evolution and Soviet and pro-Communist themes.

Headquarters of Contemporary Writers are located at the Hotel Albert, 65 University Place, New York, N. Y. Howard Fast and Erskine Caldwell are cochairmen. The announced purpose of the organization is to "create literature consistent with man's need for peace, democracy, and security." In September 1946 it sponsored a Forum of Contemporary Writers which was held at the Hotel Capital in New York. The object of the forum was to launch an attack against William Randolph Hearst and his newspapers. It was sponsored by Richard Lauterbach, Howard Fast, Louis Adamic, Henrietta Buckmaster, Oliver Brown, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Bernard Memeroff, Maxim Lieber, Dashiell Hammett, William Rose Benet, Sterling North, and Quentin Reynolds. Contemporary Writers describes itself "the militant new organization of Marxist and other anti-Fascist authors."

People's Radio Foundation, Inc., with offices located at the Hotel Albert, 65 University Place, New York, N. Y., was incorporated on November 24, 1944. The purposes of the foundation, as outlined in the application for incorporation, are as follows:

To purchase, construct, erect, equip, furnish, maintain and operate radio broadcast, television, or facsimile stations, network relay stations, or any other method for interconnecting radio stations; to purchase or lease real estate and plants necessary to carry out above objects, and to manufacture, purchase, or otherwise acquire products, materials, goods, wares, equipment, etc., of above objects; and to buy, or otherwise acquire inventions, processes, trade-marks, or copyrights; and to patent and license, develop, or grant license, etc.; or to buy or lease, or otherwise acquire any part of the business, good will, or assets of any person, firm, or corporation, domestic or foreign, engaged in similar business; to stimulate among the radio audience and the public generally an understanding and appreciation of worthy American civic and cultural traditions and achievements and like contributions made by nationality groups * * *

Since its incorporation, the foundation has sold stock in the corporation amounting to tens of thousands of dollars, and I have been advised that it has applications made, through dummies, for a number of FM stations. It plans to establish FM stations in Seattle, Wash.; Los Angeles; North Canton, Ohio; Lancaster; Philadelphia; Washington, D. C.; Buffalo, New York; Detroit, Chicago, Newark, Butte, and other large cities (exhibit 53).³⁴

The largest stockholders, as of March 1947, of the foundation are James Lustig, 50 shares of preferred and 25 common; Jewish People's Fraternal Order (Communist), 10 shares of preferred, and 5 of common; Fur and Leather Workers' Union (headed by Ben Gold, Communist official), 8 shares of preferred, and 2½ of common; Russky Galos (Russian edition of Daily Worker), 30 shares of preferred, and 15 of common; A. A. Heller (treasurer of Communist school in New York, and official of International Publishers, Communist propaganda agency), 5 shares of preferred, and 2½ of common; International Workers' Order (Communist), 25 shares of preferred, and 12½ of common; Paul Crosbie (Communist attorney and party sectional leader), 5 shares of preferred, and 2½ of common; Magazine House, 10 shares of preferred, and 5 of common; Joe Brodsky, 2 shares

³⁴ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 53.

of preferred, and 1 of common; American Committee for Protection for Foreign Born (Communist front), 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; Council on African Affairs, 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; Max Yergan, 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; Joseph Weinstein, 10 shares of preferred; Dr. Robert Leslie, 10 shares of preferred, and 5 of common; William Gropper, 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; Harry Kaplan, 10 shares of preferred, and 5 of common; Club Obrero Espanol, 2 shares of preferred, and 1 of common; Centro Fraternal Hispano, 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; Dental Technician Equity, 1 share of preferred, and one-half of common; American Communications Association (CIO), 2 shares of preferred, and 1 of common. As of June 30, 1946, the assets of the foundation were given as \$50,420.51.

Endorsing the People's Radio Foundation, Inc., to the Federal Communication Commission were the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, ICOR, American Slav Congress, Iranian Institute, Thrya Edwards, Horace Grenell (Musicians Union Local 802), Samuel Landan, Harold Cammer, Louis Weinstock, Howard Fast, and Elie Siegmeister.

The following are charter members of the foundation: Leon Barzin, Joe Brodsky, Charlie Chaplin, Charles H. Colvin, Joseph Curran (CIO), Howard Fast, Bernard Fein, Frederick V. Field, Leo Gallagher, William Gropper, Mrs. Ida Guggenheimer, Leverett Gleason, A. A. Heller, Langston Hughes, Albert Kahn, Rockwell Kent, Corliss Lamont, Dr. Robert L. Leslie, Ray Ley, John T. McManus, Samuel Novick, Arthur Osman, Earl Robinson, Joseph Selly, Arthur Szyk, Margaret Webster, and Max Yergan.

Leon Barzin was connected with Spanish-aid movements in support of Spanish Red revolutionists. Joe Brodsky has a Communist record too lengthy to list in full here. He was a member of the board of advisers of the Communist schools, chief of the legal staff of the International Labor Defense, on the advisory council of Book Union (Communist), general counsel of the International Workers' Order, on the national council of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights (Communist). His pro-Communist leanings and activities have been known to the public for years. He is associated with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Russian War Relief.

Charles H. Colvin, another charter member of the foundation, is associated with the American-Russian Institute, a propaganda agency. Joseph Curran, head of a CIO union previously a pro-Soviet and pro-Communist, also had a lengthy front record. He has had in the past 84 front connections in reports dealing with subversive activities. Howard Fast, author and writer, has been a sponsor of the (Communist) American Youth for Democracy, formerly the Young Communist League. He was connected with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and he was among those indicted by the Federal grand jury in contempt of Congress.

Bernard Fein sponsored the Tallentine Jubilee Committee. Tallentine was a prominent Communist, and the committee was strictly Communist. Frederick V. Field is another character with an extensive subversive record. He is an editor of the Communist magazine, *New Masses*, and he has assisted in financing and directing many Red front movements. Leo Gallagher is a west-coast attorney and a

Communist. He was the Communist Party candidate in California for attorney general, and he has an extensive Communist and Communist front background.

William Gropper, cartoonist for official Communist Party organs, has a record of some 60 radical connections. He headed the John Reed Clubs at one time. His drawings have appeared in *New Masses*, *New Pioneer*, *The Worker*, *Daily Worker* and *Soviet Russia Today*, all Communist publications. He has been a leader in Communist cultural fronts for a number of years. He has affiliated with the Workers' International Relief (Communist), the Congress of American Artists, Workers' Cultural Federation, and American Artists' School. He openly supported Earl Browder in his campaign for President of the United States in 1936.

Ida Guggenheimer has a record of 16 Red front connections. She was connected with the American League for Peace and Democracy (Communist) in 1938, the International Labor Defense, and the Consumers' Union. Leverett Gleason was among those indicted by the Federal Grand Jury for contempt of Congress on March 31, 1947. He is publisher of *Salute*, a radical GI magazine. He has had numerous other Red affiliations. A. A. Heller, Russian-born, has long been a contributor to Communist Party activities. He has donated approximately \$250,000 a year to Communist propaganda movements and campaigns, and he has been high in Communist Party circles in the United States for many years.

Langston Hughes, a notorious Negro with some 82 Communist affiliations, has been particularly active in Negro Communist activities. He was originally active in the (Communist) Workers' Cultural Federation in 1930, the New Theater League, and the Southern New Theater School. He has contributed to the Communist publications *New Masses*, *Soviet Russia Today*, *Labor Defender*, *Champion*, and *The Anvil*. He was active in Spanish Red ranks during the Communist revolution in that country, and he is a member of its Red Army reserve, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a section of the International Brigade. He has been prominent in Communist front, the American Peace Mobilization, Conference on Pan-American Democracy, League of Struggle for Negro Rights, League of American Writers, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Book Union, and the American Student Union. One of his poems, a favorite with Communists, is called *Put Just One More "S" in USA (Soviet)*.

Albert E. Kaln, a Communist functionary, participated in the national convention of the Communist Party in 1946. He heads the Jewish Committee of the International Workers' Order, and he is active in many other Red fronts. He is author of the book, *The Secret War Against Russia*, and also of the *Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, both of which have been widely circulated by the Communists.

Rockwell Kent, an artist, was formerly a member of the IWW. He now heads the International Workers' Order. He supported Browder in his campaigns for President in 1936 and 1942. He has been a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense. He was active in the American League for Peace and Democracy, the Conference on Pan-American Democracy, United American Artists, League of American Writers, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, and other

directly Communist and Communist front groups. He is referred to 108 times in Government reports in connection with his un-American activities.

John T. McManus heads the CIO Newspaper Guild. Samuel J. Novick heads the Electronic Corp. of America, and he has often been accused of associating with Reds. Arthur Osman is a CIO union leader, and he is listed as having 15 Communist front affiliations. Joseph Selly, a CIO union official, has numerous Communist front connections. Margaret Webster has been active in Red front circles for some years. Max Yergan is a Negro Communist leader in New York. He heads the National Negro Congress (Communist), and has 78 Communist and front affiliations. Earl Robinson has long traveled in Communist circles. He was expelled some years ago from a Seattle school. He has 24 Red front designations. He is a close friend of Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, who has some 80 radical connections.

The People's Radio Foundation is attacking present-day ownership of radio. It is promoting the licensing of FM stations to leftists. It is defending leftist commentators and undermining conservative commentators.

There is evidence to show that left-wing CIO unions and Red fronters representing certain front organizations have gained control of many of the 136 FM licensed radio stations in the postwar period. FM stations now operate in 100 cities in 33 States as well as in the District of Columbia. It is anticipated that 700 such stations will have been licensed by the end of 1947.

The latest acquisition in this field is a station in Minneapolis, the agent for which is Elmer Benson, vice president of the Progressive Citizens of America, who has at least 24 Red front citations. A conditional grant to operate the station is in his name.

The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, less radical than most unions in the garment trade, is constructing three FM stations, licenses for which have already been granted. These stations will be located in Chattanooga, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. The union has also applications pending for FM stations in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia.

The Metropolitan Broadcasting Corp., of Washington, D. C., are owners of FM Station WQQW which began broadcasting in January (1947). On the opening program were Alan Lomax, Gregory Peck, Aaron Copeland, Gene Kelly, Earl Robinson, Peter Seeger, William Higenbotham, Mordecai Johnson, and others, most of whom are referred to elsewhere in this testimony. The incorporators include Clark Foreman, Simon Gerber, Dr. Leon Gerber, Samuel Lichtenstein, Morris Rodman, A. E. Lichtman, John P. Anderson, Albert Youngman, Marcus I. Graham, and Mary J. Keeny, many of whom have Red front backgrounds. The radical character of most of those connected with the station may point to future trends in the move toward producing "thought control" over the air.

Another FM station operating in Washington, D. C., is Station WCFM, owned by the Potomac Broadcasting Cooperative. President of the station is Herbert S. Wood. I understand that he has been a member of the Washington Book Shop (Communist) and the Washington Committee To Aid China (sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy).

A move is being made in New York City to set up a new broadcasting system, to provide service exclusively for FM stations. The group interested in the undertaking is temporarily headed by Ira A. Hirschmann, who was a member of the governing committee of Keep America Out of War Congress in 1939. He has been a member of the board of trustees of the New School for Social Research in New York. His other front affiliations are known to this committee. Hirschmann is himself owner of a new FM station, WABF, in New York City.

As far back as 1944 the CIO attempted to procure licenses preparatory to building a Nation-wide chain of FM stations.

Red fronters, using the air over the established radio systems, haven't fared so well. Frank Kingdon, Robert St. John, Johannes Steel, and a number of other fronters have been dropped by the various stations over which they had broadcast in the guise of news commentators. Selden Menefee, possessed of an extensive radical background, who had a temporary assignment with one of the major broadcasting systems as program director, was likewise reportedly dismissed. However, individuals such as Norman Corwin and Sidney Rogers and others still crowd the airways.

An investigation was made not long ago of the series known as the Fifth Horseman, starring some of Hollywood's top talent. Following its discontinuance, the author, Arnold Marquis, together with Sam Moore produced a radio series called A Salute to the U. S. S. R., under the sponsorship of the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization. Selden Menefee is reported to have joined Marquis in arranging the program for the previous series.

While I have nothing in common with the Senator from Mississippi, Mr. Theodore G. Bilbo, since I have no way of ascertaining whether or not he is guilty of all the thoughts and acts of which he has been accused, I wish to call attention to a broadcast which originated over Station WMCA in New York City, entitled "The Gentleman from Mississippi," by Ira Marion. The play was one of a series called New World a'Coming. The role of the Senator was portrayed by Will Geer, a Communist, who is currently connected with People's Songs, Inc., and Stage for Action, reference to which will be found in my testimony. Geer was formerly active in the New Theater League (Communist) and the Southern New Theater League. He is the husband of Hertha Ware (Communist), the granddaughter of the 85 year old "Mother" (Ella) Reeve Ware Omholt Bloor. Geer was arrested for inciting to riot and resisting an officer in San Diego in June 1933. He was active in the Young Communist League in 1938, and has been master of ceremonies at various festivals sponsored by the IWO. Norman Rose acted as narrator. A "Norman Rose" taught at the Workers' School (Communist) in New York in 1931. New World a'Coming was produced and directed by Joseph Gottlieb. The music was by William Taylor. Members of the cast were David Kerman, Mort Lawrence, Scott Tennyson, Wendell Holmes, Joseph Boland, Martin Wolfson, and Joan Tompkins.

In this field of propaganda there has also been set up a Provisional Committee for Democracy in Radio. It is sponsored by the International Workers' Order, and it cooperates with the People's Radio Foundation.

The People's Radio Group sponsors radical radio plays, two of which are "Hail Columbia" and the "Ballad of Herman Böttcher,—Communist GI."

Another link in the Communist cultural chain is Keynote Recordings, Inc., with offices located at 522 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. It has been in operation for more than 8 years. This outfit propagandizes through recordings. It has recently extended its efforts in issuing albums of records of a Communist propaganda nature. One highly touted album is entitled: "Six Songs for Democracy." One of the songs was written by Hans Eisler, brother of Gerhart Eisler, both of whom are German Communists. The latter, it will be recalled, was heard before a congressional committee not long ago, in the course of the hearings he was exposed as a Moscow agent active in Communist Party ranks in this country. Hans Eisler is in Hollywood, writing music for the movies.³⁵

The songs of Eric Weinert, widely known in Communist circles, are also distributed by Keynote Recordings. His song, included in the album of records referred to above, is called Song of the International Brigade.

Keynote Recordings has the endorsement of Paul Robeson, Negro Communist singer. Recordings of this outfit have been translated by Leonard Mins and Anne Bromberger. Mins was formerly with the New Deal OSS at a salary of \$4,000 a year. He has been connected with the League of American Writers, the John Reed Clubs, and he has taught at one of the Communist schools in New York.

Howard Willard, designer of the album cover for Keynote records, was among those listed in the Communist organ, *New Masses*, in 1940, demanding that our Government cease action against Communists for violating Federal laws by recruiting soldiers for a Communist army abroad, and for other illegal activities. He charged the Government with "badgering Communist leaders."

Acknowledgment of services rendered Keynote by the above-mentioned individuals is made in its literature in a statement written by Eric Bernay, who was for many years connected with the Communist organ, *New Masses*.

In a discussion of Communist activities on the cultural front, we must not overlook Red camps. Some years ago there were 27 of these camps owned and operated by the Communists as cooperatives. They have disposed of some of these camps, but they have made arrangements whereby their followers can gather at given times at camps not under direct control. At least five of the old camps in the east remain in the possession of the Reds. They are Camp Beacon, Beacon, N. Y.; Camp Unity, Wingdale, N. Y.; Camp Kinderland, Hopewell Junction, N. Y.; Camp Wo-Chi, April Farms, Coopersburg, Pa.; and Camp Midvale, N. J. Camp Arrow Lodge is a choice Communist vacation spot. It is located at Ellenville, N. Y. The Communists and their fronts receive schooling at these camps. They sing Soviet songs and dance Russian dances. A Communist camp has been maintained for a number of years a short distance from Washington, D. C. Communist leaders frequently address the classes held at these summer camps.

Other camps frequented by the Reds are Camp Followers of the Trail, Buchanan, N. Y.; Crystal Lake Lodge, Chestertown, N. Y.;

³⁵ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 54.

Nature Friends Camp, near Boyerton, Pa.; Camp Aselomar (California Labor School); Camp Annisquam (Samuel Adams School); and Camp Summerdale, near Harrisburg, Pa. Most of these camps operate under the cooperative plan—i. e., they are set up as cooperatives, thereby possibly escaping the heavy taxes ordinary commercial camps must pay. For example, Camp Summerdale is operated by the Summerdale Co-Operative Health and Recreation Association, Inc., as a cooperative association. The offices are located at 411 North Second Street, Harrisburg, Pa. V. F. Salerno is the agent. The camp occupies 15 acres of land. A special summer interracial school is conducted at the camp. Adult classes are held, and instruction is given in radical art, crafts, music, dancing, nature study, games, sports, and dramatics. Mrs. Sara Levitz is the treasurer of the association, and she maintains offices at 128 Cumberland Street, Lebanon, Pa. Reservations are made through Elliott Turnage, 1230 North Sixth Street, Harrisburg.

At this point, I wish to digress slightly from the subject of Communist camps. While I have not in this testimony discussed the cooperative field, I pointed to the fact, in the section dealing with publications, that New Masses, as an example, is organized under cooperative and educational membership laws. In past months I have done some research on cooperatives, and I have found apartment projects, restaurants, grocery stores, camps, canneries, and many other projects are owned and operated by the Communists as cooperatives. They evidently escape taxation and certain other Federal regulations when operating as cooperatives.

The Voice of Freedom Committee made its appearance in May 1947. It was created for the purpose of conducting a propaganda and agitational battle in behalf of leftist radio commentators, and in opposition to so-called reactionary radio commentators. Its headquarters are located at 122 West Seventy-first Street, New York, N. Y. The committee poses as an "antiradio censorship" movement. Active with it are William Shirer, Frank Kingdon, Will Geer, and William Gailmore.

Also launched in May 1947 was the Artists Fight Back movement. It went into action on June 11 at a mass meeting of leftists held in New York City, in time to propagandize when this committee was originally supposed to begin its hearings on Red activities in Hollywood. Artists Fight Back is sponsored by Mainstream, a new publication issued by the (Communist) New Century Publishers. The committee through which the movement operates is composed of Dalton Trumbo, John Howard Lawson, Theodore Ward, and Philip Evergood. It says it will oppose the Thomas committee in its attacks upon "progressive" artists, meaning "Hollywooders."

To the cultural front, I may also add Artkino Pictures, Inc., 723 Seventh Avenue, New York, N. Y.; and Russian Music Co., Inc., 121 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y., both of which are circulating Soviet propaganda films and music in the United States.

Although firms or societies operating in New York City are required, under law, to file with the county clerk of New York, I have been informed that Stage for Action has failed to so file. Stage for Action is promoting propaganda and agitational plays from coast to coast. In New York City, on September 22, 1946, it produced a

satire on the Communist propaganda smear book, *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*, by Albert Kahn, a Communist Party functionary. Paul Robeson and Paul Draper, both of whom are widely known in Communist and front ranks, took the leading parts. The script was written from the book for the stage by Morris Watson, long active in Red front circles and the CIO Newspaper Guild; and Brett Warren. Tickets were sold by New Masses, Book Fair, Workers' Book Shop, Jefferson School for Social Science Bookshop, Stage for Action headquarters, and the Modern Bookshops of New York City and Newark, N. J.

Stage for Action cooperates with People's Songs, Inc., People's Radio Foundation, and other Communist fronts. It works with the Jewish People's Fraternal Order (Communist) and the CIO Teachers' Union. The "audience membership" is \$5 a year, and \$15 up for plays (exhibit 55).³⁶

Among the plays available are *All Aboard* (Negro discrimination), *Foreign Policy Shnitzbank*, *Freedom of the Press* (the "kept" press), *J'Accuse*, *J. P. Dropabomb* (war makers and unions), *Just Plain Bowles* (inflation dangers), *How to Canvass—How Not* (election technique), *Open Secret* (atom bomb control), *You're Next* (civil liberties), *The Way Things Are* (antilynching), *The General and the Goats* (Army and the atom bomb), *The Economist* (wage and price levels), *The Case of an Empty Purse* (need for OPA), *Talk in Darkness* (tolerance), *Soldier Who Became a Great Dane* (military red tape), *So Upon a Sailing Sea* (unorganized workers), *Skin Deep* (discrimination), *Dream Job* (Army discrimination), and *The Man on the Street* (action against "reactionary" radio commentators).

Stage for Action promotes plays for Communists and front organizations, and it is offering its presentations to the general public, evidently with the desire of orientating the people with their propaganda plays. Stage for Action furnished the entertainment presented at the convention of the CIO held in Atlantic City in November 1946. It is on the lookout for new performers and new writers who will serve as Communist "missionaries." Communist publications reveal Stage for Action has organized a training school for talent for its Red plays in New York City. Trade Union Culture is included in the course from which the students are expected to form "cultural groups" within their own unions. Dome Studios, 430 Sixth Avenue, is the setting for the classes. The school has announced that its faculty includes David Pressman, director and actor; John O'Shaughnessy, formerly with the old Communist Theater League; Mary Grey Barnett, Millard Lampbell, active in Red C. I. movements; and Helen Blok. (Exhibit 56).³⁷

Stage for Action has established a branch in Philadelphia, known as the Philadelphia Stage for Action, at 1227 Walnut Street. Its performers entertained at the First Annual Walt Whitman Day celebration of the Communists in Philadelphia in 1946. Mike Gold of the National Committee of the Communist Party delivered a speech at the beginning of the program. The following are sponsors of this new branch: Howard Bay, Gertrude Berg, Norman Corwin, Howard Fast, James H. Fay, Peter Frye, William Gailmore, John Cassner,

³⁶ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 55.

³⁷ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 56.

Elinor S. Gimbel, Michael Gordon, Elizabeth Hawes, Stanley Isaacs, Felix Knight, Canada Lee, Phillip Loeb, John T. McManus, Mrs. Arthur Mayer, William Morris, Jean Muir, Minerva Pious, Adam Clayton Powell, Lawrence Reddick, Jerome Robbins, Paul Robeson, Oscar Serlin, Herman Schumlin, James Thurber, Channing Tobias, Toni Ward, and Frank Wilson.

Stage for Action has eight affiliates—in Boston, Philadelphia, Washington (D. C.), Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, and Los Angeles. It has a mobile unit composed of 50 performers, which is now launching a tour under the auspices of locals of the United Electrical Workers, managed by the national office of the union. The Furriers Union, Transport Union, National Maritime Union, and the Department Store Workers' Union have also availed themselves of the services of Stage for Action.

On June 28, 1947, Stage for Action gave an entertainment at 408 Waring Road, Elkins Park, Pa. Participants were Bette Itkis and Len Keyser.

The head of Stage for Action in Philadelphia is Ruth Deacon, an employee of the Locust Bookshop (Communist) in that city.

Other left-wing theater units now being set up are the American Theater Wing, New Dance League, the Hollywood Laboratory Theater (formerly Hollywood Theater Alliance), and the American Negro Theater.

The board of directors of Stage for Action includes Edward Chodorov, chairman; Art Smith, vice chairman; Milton Baron, treasurer; and Alex Leith, executive director. Chodorov was active in the (Communist) League of American Writers in 1941. This was a section of the International of Revolutionary Writers of Moscow. He also petitioned the United States Government for the release of Earl Browder. He was an officer of the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League immediately following the Stalin-Hitler break. This was a Red Front outfit. Alex Leith has been associated with the Communist official organ, Daily Worker. Art Smith was active in the Red espionage forces during the revolution in Spain as a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade (Communist), and he has been prominent in other front circles.

Among those contributing scripts to Stage for Action is Norman Corwin, who recently returned from Moscow where he attended a "Red cultural" congress. He has been active in the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He participated in the Writers' Congress, called by the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization, a Communist front, in 1941. This was a branch of the League of American Writers. Corwin has also been active in the American-Russian Institute, a propaganda agency, and the National Wartime Conference of Professions, Sciences, and Arts, which ultimately became known as the Independent Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

Ben Hecht, who also writes scripts for Stage for Action, has long been active in Red ranks. He has been a member of the National Citizens' PAC, the American Committee To Save Refugees, National Consumers' Federation, and the Exiles' Writers Committee, a subsidiary of the League of American Writers, and others.

Other writers of scripts for Stage for Action are Arthur Miller, formerly president of the Student Council of New York University,

and a member of the American Youth Congress; Millard Lampell, active in a number of Red fronts, including GI front circles; Harold Rome of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the League of American Writers; and Earl Robinson, notorious fronter. Stage for Action recently revised two Russian "experimental movies," *The Cloak and The Unexpected*, for presentation at the Robert Louis Stevenson School.

The purpose of Stage for Action is best explained in its own words:

The war is over, but the need for action continues. Rumors of war, atomic energy, inflation, native Fascist movements, veterans' problems are the stuff of today's drama, and Stage for Action will dramatize the answers as progressives see the answers.

An old Communist play, originally produced by the New Theater League (Communist), has been resurrected by Stage for Action. The play is *Waiting for Lefty*, by Clifford Odets. It will be recalled that he was most active in Red ranks from 1935 to 1941. He was an official of the (Communist) Book Union, headed by Alex Trachtenberg, propaganda chief for the Communist Party. He was arrested in Cuba while on a Communist agitational jaunt in 1941, and he was asked to leave the country. He was active in the American Youth Congress in 1937, the New Theater League, and the Southern New Theater School. He has defended Communists on numerous occasions.

A Communist meeting, the Communists' first public meeting in that locality, was held in Charleston, S. C., a few months ago. The meeting had as its chairman John Green of the Cosmopolitan League.

The New Writing Foundation was set up at 316 East Sixty-first Street, New York, recently. The organization will be active in collegiate and high-school circles. It is particularly interested in students connected with school papers. Stan Steiner of the American Youth for Democracy is national chairman. The foundation will present the Theodore Dreiser and Stephen Benet awards. The judges are Edwin Seaver, Arthur Miller, Pete Seeger, Aaron Kramer, Alfred Kreymborg, and Louis Lerman.

One of the most important "cultural" events of the year for the Reds was the celebration in honor of "Mother" Ella Reeve Bloor on the occasion of her eighty-fifth birthday anniversary. "Mother" Bloor is a veteran party leader who boasts of a more extensive police record for Communist activities than any other Red. This "proletarian" affair was held at the fashionable Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia on June 31, 1947. The "mother" of the Communist movement in the United States now resides at April Farms near Philadelphia, which was originally a "free love" colony. Honorary chairmen of the affair included Anna Whitney, another veteran in Communist ranks, and now a State official of the Communist Party in California; Anna Pennypacker of Philadelphia; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, former IWW and now a member of the national committee of the Communist Party and the Congress of American Women. Sponsors are Susan Anthony II, official of the Congress of American Women; Dr. Herbert Aptheker, instructor at the Communist school in New York; Peter Cacchione, Communist head of the Kings County section of the party; New York; Ben Davis, leader of the Harlem section of the Communist Party; Muriel Draper of the Congress of American Women and a

member of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Howard Fast; Arthur Huff Fausett; William Gropper; Rockwell Kent; Alfred Kreyborg; Harry Ward; Gene Weltfish; Max Yergan; Meridel LeSeuer; Grace Hutchins; Ben Gold; and Will Geer, all Communists or front leaders.

Nature Friends, a prominent Communist-supported movement, is among the hold-overs of prewar days. It carries on actively with the cultural fronts of the Communists. It was founded in Vienna, Austria, in 1895, and the sections in this country are branches of the international. It is organized in 21 countries. It has some 70,000 members and 400 camps. Fifteen sections are in operation in the United States. Two are in New York, one in Rochester, N. Y.; one in Syracuse, N. Y.; one in Newark, N. J.; one in Patterson, N. J.; one in Philadelphia; one in Allentown; one in Chicago; one in St. Louis, one in Milwaukee; one in Detroit; one in Oakland; one in Los Angeles; and two in San Francisco. Eastern headquarters are located at 43 East Eighty-fourth Street, New York, N. Y. Western headquarters are located at 143 Albion Street, San Francisco. Max Kurz is general secretary.

Additional Communist fronts which have turned up recently in this field are the New Theater and the Trade-Union Theater. These are outlets for Stage for Action productions.

Communists held what they called a Mainstream Cultural Conference in New York City in June (1947). They reported that 150 cultural leaders were present, 100 of whom were from New York. The remainder came from other States. Speakers at the conference included Howard Fast, Samuel Sillen, Joseph North, John Howard Lawson, Gwen Bennett, Holland Roberts, and Mitch Fletcher.

It was announced that the purpose of the conference was to organize the progressive cultural theories relating to arts, sciences, literature, and all other fields of culture; "to continue the fight for progressive material within the present commercially dominated cultural fields, that is, radio, movies, press, and other mediums of expression"; and "to work for Government aid of cultural activities." In connection with the conference, the following statement was made:

During the depression we had a Federal theater, Federal writers, and Federal arts projects. Now as the depression again approaches, we should do our utmost to insure the return of Government-subsidized cultural activities, and this time on a permanent basis.

It was resolved at the conference "to work for the retention and expansion of people's cultural mediums by the establishment and protection of people's museums, art galleries, progressive press, and magazines such as Mainstream and New Masses." The conference sharply challenged the "theory that building a people's culture is useless until working people become fully class conscious."

Writers and artists (here) can exert considerable pressure, often with good effect. Book publishers offer unique possibilities in this respect since they are far less under the control of the monopolies. Many editors and publishers still remain to a certain extent amenable to the demand for progressive literature.

The conference announced that a follow-up Culture and People's Conference is to be held at the California Labor School in San Francisco, August 2, 1947.

Completion of plans for the International Theater Institute will be the task of the international congress to be convened in Paris on July

28, 1947. According to Communist sources, under date of July 1, 1947, Maurice Kurtz, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization official, announced that the congress will be held behind closed doors, and that from it would emanate the International Theater Institute, under the guidance of individuals from Russia, United States, Great Britain, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and China. Twenty-six were invited to attend the Paris congress, 14 of which had accepted by July 3. The temporary chairman will be J. B. Priestly of England. His brother delegate will be Turone Guthrie. American delegates who have accepted the invitation are Lillian Hellman and Rosamond Gilder.

MR. STRIPLING. Could you refer back there to the name "Dalton Trumbo?"

MR. STEELE. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. What page is that on, do you recall?

The CHAIRMAN. I might add, while you are looking for that, Mr. Steele, this cultural field dovetails with the investigation we are making into the Hollywood situation.

MR. STEELE. Very definitely so, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And many of the names you mentioned are names that were also mentioned to our committee when we were out in California.

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Those names will be followed up as our investigators go along.

MR. STEELE. These very definitely center out of New York and Hollywood.

MR. STRIPLING. This Dalton Trumbo you referred to, Mr. Steele—I am wondering if he is the Dalton Trumbo who is the writer in Hollywood.

MR. STEELE. Yes, he is.

MR. STRIPLING. He is the same one?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir. He is the Hollywood writer.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Stripling, I would suggest that you take this part of the record and send it out to our investigators in California as quickly as possible.

MR. STRIPLING. All right, sir.

From the incorporators, Mr. Steele, of the People's Radio Foundation and People's Song, Inc., is there any question but that they are Communist-inspired organizations?

MR. STEELE. No; none whatsoever.

MR. STRIPLING. Isn't Joseph Brodsky identified with both of them?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. And Samuel Lapedis is identified with both of them?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Brodsky and Mr. Lapedis serve as counsel for the Communist Party?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. In other words, these are two new ventures?

MR. STEELE. That is right.

MR. STRIPLING. Representing an entirely new technique on the part of the Communist Party?

MR. STEELE. That is right.

Mr. STRIPLING. One is to establish radio outlets and the other is to disseminate propaganda through the medium of recordings and through special service features which Peoples' Songs get out.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Has that ever been done before in any concerted way by the party?

Mr. STEELE. Not so far as the radio is concerned, that I know of. They did have their dramatic groups, their different dance groups, their theater groups, and so on, but I don't know that they ever hooked the radio up with it before.

Mr. STRIPLING. Is that in conformity with the announcement from Moscow last year that art must be used as a vehicle?

Mr. STEELE. I would assume so because when the instructions were issued from Moscow, Foster echoed the instructions and immediately these fronts began to pop up from the ground.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever heard of an organization known as Union Films?

Mr. STEELE. I have, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Have you ever heard of a picture called Dead Line for Action?

Mr. STEELE. I have; yes, sir. I have not seen it, but I have heard of it.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have heard of the picture?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know who produced the picture Dead Line for Action?

Mr. STEELE. I heard who had written it, yes; Marzani.

Mr. STRIPLING. Carl Aldo Marzani.

Mr. STEELE. Carl Marzani; yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, what particular significance do you attach to the concerted effort which the Communists have made in the last year in the cultural field?

Mr. STEELE. For one thing, I think they plan to advance and to keep their contacts with union members. In other words, we find these cultural groups are being set up at off-the-factory premises meeting places and that the choruses are being organized among the union members.

For instance, the Ford local, the largest local in Detroit, was the first one to set up a chorus, composed of the CIO union members. I think most people like to sing, a lot of them like to act, and so on. I figure that they are planning to keep their contacts with these members, regardless of the Taft-Hartley Act.

Mr. STRIPLING. In other words, they have used the medium of entertainment as a vehicle for their propaganda?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. To get someone to sing these songs as they are written they have to learn the verses and communism may penetrate into some of them—I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. It probably sounds better in song than it does otherwise.

Mr. STEELE. I imagine so. It would possibly sound better from a brass band, without the words.

Mr. STRIPLING. What information do you have concerning the various radio commentators who have affiliated with these cultural groups and who have spots, so to speak, on radio networks?

Mr. STEELE. There have been a number of them that left the radio field. Now, I can't say whether they left by force or left voluntarily.

Mr. STRIPLING. Who are some of them?

Mr. STEELE. Well, Johannes Steel was one.

Mr. McDOWELL. Johannes Steel, did you say?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I think possibly I have a list of them here.

Mr. STRIPLING. You made reference to them on page 115 (b).

Mr. STEELE. Page 115 (b)? Yes; some of them.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. Yes; Frank Kingdon, Robert St. John, and Johannes Steel are at least three of them. There is also Selden Menefee, who is not a broadcaster, but he was program director of one of the large broadcasting systems. I understand he was dismissed. There have been several others I understand that have been either dismissed from the program or their contracts ran out and were not renewed. However, Norman Corwin and Sidney Rogers among others are still on the air.

Mr. STRIPLING. You consider that Norman Corwin is advancing the Communist Party line, in the material which he prepares for radio presentation?

Mr. STEELE. I wouldn't say because I have never heard his broadcasts, but he is certainly affiliated with all of these cultural front movements and he must know that they are promoting the Communist line because he has taken an active part in their movements.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Steele, what is the purpose of this Nature Friends?

Mr. STEELE. We find they carry on mostly the young Communist youth activities in the camp. The purposes of the camp, I presume, is to attract youngsters during their vacations.

Mr. McDOWELL. They have summer camps?

Mr. STEELE. They have summer camps.

Mr. McDOWELL. I see.

Mr. STEELE. They take them on the hikes. I don't know how they teach them communism on hikes—

Mr. McDOWELL. They study birds, bees, and things.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

Now the International Workers' Order. It is quite possible that the International Workers' Order, with national headquarters located at 80 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., is one of the main sources from which emanate the largest sums of money for the propagation and organization of Communist activities and publications in the United States. The IWO is set up as a fraternal life insurance movement, with State and local branches operating throughout the country. These are organized under the assumption that the movement is purely an insurance movement, and it operates, therefore, under State insurance charters. It is connected with practically every Communist and front group, in one way or another, which springs up in our country.

The IWO was first incorporated in New York in March 1930. Its incorporators were Abraham Epstein, Nathan Shaffer, Meyer Loonin, Rubin Saltzman, Joseph R. Brodsky, Elias Wattenberg, Max Steinberg, Paul Novick, Hyman I. Costrell, Hyman Grossman, Morris Karofsky, William Weiner, and Samuel Almazoff. The notary in

this instance was Fay Siegartel. The order was at the time declared a benefit and membership organization with an insurance feature (exhibit 57).³⁸

The principles and purposes of the IWO were enumerated in a printed pamphlet issued shortly after its incorporation. I quote, in part, from this pamphlet:

The International Workers' Order maintains that capitalism is bankrupt * * *. The International Workers' Order realizes that the workers must organize to advance against capitalism * * *. The International Workers' Order realizes there is no way out for capitalism * * *. The International Workers' Order views with pride and joy the Soviet Union, which is the only country where there is no crisis * * *. The International Workers' Order realizes that only under a system similar to the Soviet system there is no exploitation of the working class * * *. The International Workers' Order therefore appeals to the workers to join the struggle against capitalism and for a system where all power belongs to the working class * * *.

The International Workers' Order realizes that the only party that leads the working class in the struggle against capitalism is the Communist Party, which unites the best and proven members of the working class, and which is bound to become even stronger until the moment will come when the workers under its leadership will overthrow the capitalist system and establish soviets. It follows, therefore, that the International Workers' Order is part of the battle front of the working class * * *.

We find that the Communist is the only party that fights for the workers' interests. We therefore endorse the Communist Party. We appeal to all workers to vote for the Communist Party. We aid the party in its struggles * * *. It [International Workers' Order] aids in strikes conducted against the bosses. The International Workers' Order supports such strikes both with money and sympathy and with appeals to its members for aid. We have just said that the International Workers' Order is part of the battle front of the working class * * *.

Still another struggle on the calendar of the working class is the struggle to defend the Soviet Union. Soon we may be called to fight against the Bolsheviks under one pretext or another. It is the task of the International Workers' Order to offer the most powerful resistance to these plans * * *.

The first president of the IWO was William Weiner, an alias for Welwel Warzover, former treasurer of the Communist Party, who was born in Russia. He was charged at about the time of the arrest of Earl Browder with passport violations, but his case never came to trial. He paid Sam Carr, head of the Soviet atom spy ring in Canada, considerable sums of money. Weiner resigned his position as president of the IWO in favor of Rockwell Kent. According to the IWO, Kent was formerly a member of the IWW. He has had many Red front connections. Kent was previously a vice president of the IWO under Weiner. The general secretary and director of the IWO, Max Bedacht, has been for many years a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. He is a German by birth. Peter Shipka has been the treasurer of the IWO for some time. Other vice presidents include Vito Marcantonio, Boleslaw Gebert, Rubin Saltzman, Louis Thompson and John Middleton, a member of the board of directors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. The recording secretary is Dave Green; national educational director, Peter Chaunt; director of the youth department, Richard Crosscup; and editor of its major organ, Fraternal Outlook, Eugene Konecky. Organizing secretary is Sam Milgrom.

The following are State office locations of the IWO: 184 West Washington Avenue, Chicago, Ill.; 5 Harrison Avenue, Boston,

³⁸ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 57.

Mass.; 139 South Tenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.; 326 Fourth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.; 942 Prospect Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio; 2111 Woodward Avenue, Detroit, Mich.; 429-431 North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md.; 830 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.; 40 Clinton Street, Newark, N. J. Locals are scattered from coast to coast (exhibit 58).³⁹

The paid membership of the IWO, the largest of any organization, is estimated at 160,000, with a youth membership of approximately 26,000. Its assets are listed at \$2,774,841.05. Receipts from January 1, 1940, to January 1, 1944, amounted to \$7,180,832.36. Its disbursements for the same period amounted to \$6,029,369.15, \$1,828,351.55 of this representing traveling, special subsidies, sectional organizers, literature, publicity, and conventions, totaled \$2,315,529.87. The money raised in special campaigns waged by the IWO among its members for the benefit of various Communist and Communist-front movements is not listed, of course, in its official report.

The IWO maintains a front line fighters' fund, undoubtedly made up of members who were drafted into the armed forces during the war. From September 1941 to April 1944, the fund had collected \$220,388.34. It used \$4,373.45 of its funds as a gift to Poland. The Russian war relief was given \$11,000. All-over contributions by IWO to Russia amounted to \$209,822.16; United Spanish Aid, \$6,000; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, \$13,900; Yugoslavia, \$2,000; and China, \$4,980 (exhibit 59).⁴⁰

Membership in the Baltimore-District of Columbia branch is approximately 1,500; Massachusetts branch 4,000; Connecticut 3,500; Michigan, 10,000; Los Angeles, 4,000; Midwestern States, 20,000; lower New York State, 42,000; upper New York State, 3,900; Ohio, 18,000; eastern Pennsylvania, 14,500; Pittsburgh, 19,000; San Francisco, 1,400; and West Virginia, 1,500.

Members of the IWO are of all nationalities: Greek, 1,500; Hungarian, 11,300; Ukrainian, 16,300; Slovakian, 14,000; Italian, 10,400; Russian, 16,600; Carpatho-Russian, 5,600; Polish, 10,056; Finnish, 1,226; Serbian, 3,000; Croatian, 9,400; Rumanian, 2,500; Spanish, 2,500; Jewish, 44,600; and general, 16,000.

The IWO is set up on a national and racial basis. It maintains the following branches: American-Russian Fraternal Society, president, Sam Nikolauk, secretary, Daniel Kasustchik; Carpatho Russian-American Mutual Aid Society, president, Peter Kostyshak, secretary, Michael Logoyda; Cervantes Fraternal Society, president, Jesus Colon, secretary, Luis Cepeda; Croatian Benevolent Fraternity of America, president, Anthony Gerlach, secretary, Nicholas Rajkovich; Finnish-American Mutual Aid Society, president, Richard Bjorkbacka, secretary, Carl Paivio; Garibaldi American Fraternal Society, president, Mario D'Inzillo, secretary, Louis A. Candela; Hellenic-American Fraternal Society, president, George Karaflos, secretary, Nick Marinos; Jewish People's Fraternal Order, president, Albert E. Kahn secretary, Rubin Saltzman; Hungarian Brotherhood, president, Hugo Gellert, secretary, Emery Komolos Polonia Society, president, Boleslaw Gebert, secretary, Wojciech Haracz; Rumanian-American Fraternal Society, president, George Vocila, secretary, Mary Mila; Serbian-American Federation, president, Michael Vuletich,

³⁹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 58.

⁴⁰ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 59.

secretary, Nicholas Baltich; Slovak Workers' Society, president, Helen Vrabel, secretary, Charles Musil; and Ukrainian-American Fraternal Union, president, Michael Tkach, secretary, Walter Riback. Through these momentum is given the Communist nationals movement (exhibit 60).⁴¹

The IWO maintains summer camps, schools, and meeting places throughout the country. The nucleus of many Red front movements is composed of members of the organization. These movements have been established for the purpose of carrying on an agitational and propaganda campaign in behalf of Russian and Communist expansion policies in Europe and the Far East. I will discuss a few of these later on in my testimony.

The order, as it is called in Communist Circles, organized a movement to aid the CIO in strikes. This was known as the Fraternal Orders Conference. The chairman is B. K. Gebert; vice chairman, Henry Rath; treasurer, J. Gasimas; and secretary, George Witkovich.

The IWO cooperates in every conceivable manner with the Communist Party, its publications, its fronts, and activities. In practically every issue of Communist dailies one can find a paid advertisement of the order, and in all other party organs as well. This is one way of helping finance the Communist movement. On the other hand, the order's publications invariably endorse the Communist Party and its fronts. Its members, particularly the leaders, take an active part in party affairs and activities.

I submit as evidence of the close cooperation of the IWO with Communist fronts, several letters written by the officials of the Order to its members. You will note that one is addressed to "all district secretaries" of the IWO, calling for the extensive distribution of the American Review on the Soviet Union, a pro-Soviet publication (exhibit 61)⁴² This carried glowing articles, according to the letter, concerning the Red Army, speeches by Stalin and Molotov, biographies of various Red generals, and so forth. The second letter is addressed to "all language and district secretaries—all executives," and it asks for complete cooperation with the American Peace Mobilization which at the time was waging "Yanks are not coming" and "fight against imperialist war" campaigns, and picketing the White House at the time of the Stalin-Hitler break (exhibit 62).⁴³ The third letter, addressed to "district and national group secretaries," asks for cooperation with the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Farm Research (exhibit 63).⁴⁴ The fourth letter is even more inclusive. It acknowledges the IWO offer to distribute printed materials for the following fronts: International Labor Defense, National Lawyers' Guild, American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Council for Inalienable Rights, Labor Research, Inc., American-Russian Institute, Institute for Propaganda Analysis, Survey Associates, Inc., and National Negro Congress. I previously called attention to the fact that the order cooperates wholeheartedly with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (exhibit 64).⁴⁵

I also submit an interoffice memo which outlines the plan to use feature articles on the Daily Worker and the People's Daily World,

⁴¹ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 60.

⁴² See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 61.

⁴³ See appendix, p. 175, for exhibit 62.

⁴⁴ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 63.

⁴⁵ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 64.

two Communist organs, in IWO publications, in an effort to interest its members in subscribing to them (exhibit 65).⁴⁶ I submit a folder circulated among members of the order, asking for subscriptions to the Daily Worker and the Worker (Sunday issue) (exhibit 66).⁴⁷ In addition, I will present, as evidence, a "call" to the Fourth American Writers' Congress, issued by the IWO (exhibit 67).⁴⁸

The November 1946 issue of Fraternal Outlook (official IWO organ) carried a number of endorsements. These included all major publications of the Communist Party and those of several national front groups, Daily Worker, the Worker, People's Daily World, Freiheit, Russky Golos, Eteenpain, Tyomies, Glos Ludowy, Greek-American Tribune, Karpatska Rus, Ludovy Dennik, L'Unita del Popolo, Magyar Herald, Narodni Glasnik, Rumanian American, Slobodna Rech Narodna Wola. In connection with these recommendations, Fraternal Outlook made this observation:

No other newspaper in America devotes as much space to IWO activities as the Daily Worker. The papers above have helped build the IWO; that's why thousands of IWO members are supporting their subscription and circulation campaigns.

The IWO publications for some time have been given over to national front movements, which are organized to agitate and propagandize in behalf of Russia and Communist expansion efforts in the old hemisphere. They devote a great deal of space to the All Slav Congress. They also publicize extensively for the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, the American Association for Reconstruction of Yugoslavia, the American Artists Group, the Council for Russian Relief, the National Committee To Win the Peace, ICOR, National Negro Congress, American Youth for Democracy, People's Mobilization, and other similar groups.

The IWO conducted campaigns, in conjunction with the Communists, agitating for the return of American boys from the Far East. They circulate Communist Party campaign platforms, support their candidates, raise money for their publications, recruit members for the party, and publish and circulate party literature.

The order raised \$50,000 for the Spanish Red forces. It works with party sections, has party leaders address its groups, holds joint meetings with party sections, names its locals in honor of Communists—John Reed Club, Lenin Club, Lincoln Steffens Club, Paul Robeson Club, and Henry Barbusse Club. Its members participate in Communist parades and attend Communist mass meetings and demonstrations. Communist party leaders who have addressed its conventions include Earl Browder, William Z. Foster, Freddy Meyers, Robert Minor, William Gropper, Fred Ellis, and John L. Spivak. The IWO established a national training school for its organizers. Its members join the picket lines with Reds involved in strikes. The order maintains birth-control centers. It is the fountainhead of a movement to obtain 1,000,000 signatures to a petition to be presented to Congress in behalf of free medicine and medical legislation (socialized medicine). In this connection it recently sponsored a movie dramatization. The passage of such legislation would release a large amount of health insurance reserve money which the order could use

⁴⁶ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 65.

⁴⁷ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 66.

⁴⁸ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 67.

to further Communist cause. It promoted a campaign to build audiences for John Roy Carlson, author of *Under Cover* and *The Plotters*, during his smear lecture tour, by organizing ticket bloc purchasing among its members.

The IWO maintains a large staff of left-wing doctors and opticians. It carries on a persistent campaign against congressional and State investigations of Communist activities. Its State sections are divided into many local lodges. For example, there are 36 lodges in Chicago, and some 48 in New York. One branch in Washington, D. C., is known as lodge 136, with headquarters located at 4402 Georgia Avenue NW.

Officers of the Negro organizing committee of the IWO are Louise Thompson, chairman, and Sam O. Patterson, secretary. A few of the sponsors of the order have been Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Henrietta Buckmaster, Howard East, Mike Quill, Max Yergan, A. Clayton Powell, Vito Marcantonio, and Stanley Nowak. Among its junior director is Gerbish Giles.

Before the war the IWO carried on campaigns against conscription, alien registration, lend-lease, "war mongering" movies, and "imperialist" war. There is evidence to prove the statement that during the war it carried on propoganda campaigns among soldiers through messages secreted in packages and cigarettes which escaped the attention of the Government censors.

The IWO celebrates the anniversaries in the U. S. A. of the Red revolution in Russia, and it sends delegates to Moscow to join in its celebrations. Numerous advertisements of the IWO which have appeared in Communist organs refer to it as the Class Struggle Fraternal Organization.

The Call for the Seventh Annual Convention of the IWO appeared in numerous Communist publications in full-page advertisements. The convention was held in New York City on June 16, 1947. Full-page advertisements also appear in Communist publications in connection with its campaign for socialized medicine. I submit a copy of its recent convention proceedings (exhibit 68).⁴⁹

At this time the IWO is promoting "cultural shows," particularly in industrial districts.

The IWO has set up a national training summer school at Camp Robin Hood, near San Francisco. Youth from New York, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago are to receive schooling in IWO youth leadership there in 1947. Richard Grosseup is in charge.

The Southern California Continuation Committee of the State-wide Legislative Conference is composed of the International Workers' Order, the American Veterans' Committee of California, the CIO, and the Hollywood Women's Council.

In fact, a brief outline of it shows the wide influence of the IWO in California. The California Legislative Council was held in the California Junior High School, Sacramento, February 15-16, 1947. Chairman of the northern California section is G. F. Irvine, sponsor of the Communist organ, Peoples' Daily World fund drives, vice president of the Mooney Labor School (now the California Labor School) and prior to that, the Workers' School—all Communists in succession. Chairman of the southern section is Reuben W. Borrough, instigator

⁴⁹ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 68.

of the pro-Communist march on Sacramento in February, sponsor of the American Youth for Democracy, member of the executive board of the Progressive Citizens of America, sponsor of the Peoples' Daily World \$75,000 sustaining fund drive, sponsor of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and a member of the Defense Committee for Harry Bridges (alien radical unionist).

The permanent name of the movement is the State-Wide Legislative Committee. Northern offices are at 951 Pacific Building, San Francisco, and the southern offices are at 1515 Cross Roads of the World, Hollywood. Organizations participating including 16 California sections of the International Workers Order (including Jewish Workers Fraternal Order, the racial section of which is headed by the Communist functionary, Albert E. Kahn), 101 CIO California locals, 42 California locals of the A. F. of L., 11 American Jewish Congress (California locals), 16 American Youth for Democracy, California locals, 4 locals of the National Negro Congress, 12 locals of the Progressive Citizens of America, 6 locals of the Civil Rights Congress, the California Labor School, 11 locals of the American Veterans' Committee, 2 locals of the Congress of American Women, 10 locals of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 1 Japanese-American Citizenship League, 2 locals of Committee to Win Peace, 1 local of the Free World Club, 11 locals of the Townsend Club, 2 locals of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1 chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, 1 local of the Western Cooperative Dairy Union, a score of interracial and independent unions, so-called civic and democratic, mental hygiene, scientific, and national movements.

Simon Schacter, a member of the general executive board of the Lincoln Steffens Unit of IWO (lodge 500) and editor of the Local's organ, Voice of 500, is editor of the organ issued by the New York Chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild.

The IWO is the major force behind Senate Resolution 1320, known as the Wagner-Dingell bill, in behalf of the socialization of medicine. On July 3, 1947, Ernie Reimer, appearing for the IWO in the hearings on the bill, was forced to admit, while testifying, that he is a Communist and a member of the party. The IWO campaigned for a million signatures in support of the resolution.

One of the films released for use by the IWO and the CIO is entitled "Guaranteed Wages the Year Round" (Facts for Action), an adaptation of Robert Nathan's report.

Pearl Fagelson is President of the IWO Jewish People's Fraternal Committee in Los Angeles. A. Maymudes is secretary of the IWO in that city.

President of the Philadelphia branch of the IWO is Morris Shafritz; secretary is Sol Rotenberg.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any figures there showing the breakdown of the membership in the various localities?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. How about the Baltimore-District of Columbia branch?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; the membership in the Baltimore-District of Columbia branch is approximately 1,500; the Massachusetts branch, 4,000; Connecticut, 3,500; Michigan, 10,000; Los Angeles, 4,000; Mid-

western States, 20,000; lower New York State, 42,000; Upper New York State, 3,900; Ohio, 18,000; eastern Pennsylvania, 14,500; Pittsburgh, 19,000; San Francisco, 1,400; West Virginia, 1,500.

I also have the break-down on nationals, if you want that.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know, Mr. Steele, if this International Workers Order made a contribution of \$30,000 to the Communist Party campaign fund in 1936?

Mr. STEELE. I understand they did; yes, sir. They have also made contributions numerous times to the Daily Worker, Sunday Worker, and various other Communist publications.

Mr. STRIPLING. The president of the International Workers Order was Mr. William Weiner?

Mr. STEELE. That is right. His proper name was Warzower.

Mr. STRIPLING. That is right.

Mr. STEELE. He was Russian-born. He adopted the name of William Weiner.

Mr. STRIPLING. And he was president of this organization?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir, up until a short time ago. I am sure that your committee brought out the fact that as treasurer of the Communist Party at the time also, he was handing out checks from the Communist Party fund to Carr, who headed the Russian spy ring in Canada.

Mr. STRIPLING. This is an organization with 160,000 members.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir Mr. Stripling. With a youth membership of approximately 26,000.

Mr. STRIPLING. All of the prominent officials are also Communists?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. Were.

Mr. STEELE. Were.

Mr. McDOWELL. You read there, Mr. Steele, 19,000 in the city of Pittsburgh. Did I get that figure right?

Mr. STEELE. That is right; yes, sir; 19,000 in Pittsburgh.

These are their figures, by the way.

Mr. McDOWELL. Is it presumed those 19,000 are Communists or fellow travelers?

Mr. STEELE. I don't know. Their money is being contributed to the Communist cause and they are electing Communist officials to lead their organization. I will let you answer that one.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, does the committee have any additional questions on the International Workers Order?

If not, we can move on to the next section of the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell?

Mr. McDOWELL. No other questions.

Mr. STEELE. There was just one point I did not want to bring out, Mr. Stripling, and that is the fact that the IWO is set up on a nationals basis. The only reason I wanted to emphasize that fact is that my next subject is going to be the movement among the alien-born. In investigating the matter, I am certain the IWO units which are set up upon a national basis become the nucleus and the source of the funds that were split up by the Communists among the alien-born.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, the record will show that Mr. Mundt is present.

Mr. STEELE. Another field in which the Communists have played and where they have won over many adherents in the United States is that of the 40,000,000 foreign-born and first-generation Americans. Prior to the entrance of the United States into World War II, these alien-frontiers were active in the promotion of such organizations as American League for Peace and Democracy, American Peace Mobilization, Yanks-are-not-coming committees, American Committee Against Aggression, and other similar organizations, the purpose of which was to agitate and propagandize in behalf of the Russian-German pact. With the break between Stalin and Hitler, these same frontiers organized scores of "immediate second front" and "aid to Russia" movements. As soon as it became evident that the Allies would defeat the Axis, they turned their attention to the formation of fronts for so-called "democracy," "liberation," and "aid" for such. All their efforts fitted in with the Soviet expansion of political power policy over Europe and Asia and have given emphasis to the move for a Slav and Croatian state. At the same time they organized agitational and pressure groups for the purpose of keeping our attention on the Western Hemisphere, and to detract our attention from European-Asiatic-African problems created by Russia.

For leadership in that program the Communists had developed numerous organizations, the most effective of which have been the International Workers Order and the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. I have previously given more or less detailed information with regard to these two groups. A third movement which has also been active in the alien field is the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, with headquarters at 79 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. It was originally called the Council for Protection of Foreign-Born, and finally to the name under which the group now operates. Founded in 1924, it is of Communist origin. While it has carried on agitation for the release from prison of a few non-Communists, it has invariably supported the leftist cause. Its major activity has been that of agitating for the release of arrested alien-born Communists, and furnishing legal aid to them, and to fight deportations.

The offices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born are located at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y. Officials of the committee include Stanley Nowak of Michigan, chairman, and also connected with the International Workers' Order; Carol King, counsel (attorney for Communists, including Gerhart Eisler); Isidore Englander, treasurer; and Abner Green, executive secretary. A few of the sponsors are Edward G. Robinson, Reid Robinson, Henry E. Sigerest Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Donald Ogden Stewart, Robert Morse Lovett, and Frederick May Eliot.

The committee affiliates and cooperates with all other fronts in the United States. Although Irene Browder (wife of Earl Browder), Russian-born, testified under oath a few years ago, when being examined before the Department of Justice prior to naturalization, that she had never participated in Communist Party activities, the fact is that she was in charge of the Communist Party's national front activities in 1939, at a time when Russia and Germany were allied and the ground was being laid by Russia and the Communist Party for a broader national front in the United States to support Russia's postwar claims

in the Balkans and Slav countries. Mrs. Browder's statements not only prove her denial of party connections entirely false, but they likewise show the intense activity of the party in the alien-born field. She made two or more appeals and reports to party members regarding the need and plans of the party's organized efforts in this field. These appeals were made in May and September of 1939. In May she reported:

Recently the problems of the national groups have become a special topic in the curriculum of the party schools. The national question, as a general problem and in some of its special phases, has long been an organic part of our school work. * * * But only of late have we taken up the serious study and direction of work among the most important groups of various national origins—the Poles, Italians, Germans, Jews—as distinct subcommunities within the broader American community life, with their own special aspects and problems. * * * The national groups, more strongly socialistic in tendency than the older American stock, were not homogeneous, however, and while furnishing many of the best pioneers of revolutionary socialism, also brought a wide variety of ideologies, opportunistic and anarchistic, as well as openly reactionary. * * * When the Communist Party of the United States of America arose out of the left-wing majority of the old Socialist Party in 1919–21, it found its main base in the national groups. * * * A complete revision and reequipment of Communist Party work in this field * * * began in 1937. * * * It was made a major point at our tenth convention in 1938. * * *

The largest and most important national groups (in the United States of America) are the Germans, Italians, Jews, Poles, South Slavs, and the Spanish-language groups of various national origins. * * * Popularization of the historic achievements of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is one of the central features of all effective work among the national groups. * * * The role of the Soviet Union as the defender of the peace and of the weak and exploited peoples is one which the national groups are prepared to respond to and appreciate when it is made clear to them. * * * Every national group is important and demands systematic attention of our party. * * * The most serious and important task of all, among the national groups, is that of bringing together, training, and consolidating a leading personnel which is capable of meeting and solving the thousand difficult problems that confront this movement. Our party is taking this up in the most serious way. Leading positions in the national groups are of first-class political importance. We must have the best educated and most capable available in them. * * * We make the same demands upon the leadership of the national groups that we made upon members of the national committee of the party, who must lead the movement.

In this renewed interest and activity among the alien-born in the United States, the Communist Party was but carrying out the edicts of the Communist International, which emphasized, at its 1935 congress in Moscow, the importance of the alien movement in each country. Dimitroff, then general secretary of the international and now dictator of Bulgaria, addressed the congress on this subject. While party activities in this field were renewed in 1939, because of the war alliance between Russia and Germany it was not intensified until the spring of 1942. It was during that year that the All-America Slav Congress was formed at a meeting held in Detroit, April 25 and 26, in response to an appeal of the All-Slav Congress previously held in Moscow (August 10 and 11, 1941). The Detroit congress was a culmination of a number of preliminary meetings held in various key cities having large Slav populations.

The chairman of the All-Slav Congress which was held in Moscow was Lt. Gen. Alexander Gundorov of the Red Army. Vice chairman was Alexander Korneichuk, Soviet writer. The congress was addressed by Alexei Tolstoi, Soviet writer; Professor Zdenek, biographer of Lenin and a professor of western Slavic languages and culture at

the Moscow Institute; Wanda Wasilewska, Polish Communist leader and wife of Korneichuk; Johannes Becher, German Communist leader; and Frederick Wolf. Of the 20 elected to the executive committee, 10 were Russians, and 10 were Slavic Communists. The congress called on the millions of Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Carpathian Ukrainians, Bulgars, Serbs, Macedonians, Vlachs, Croats, and Slovenes to "unite against the common enemy of all the Slav peoples."

The Moscow appeal was responsible for the forming, not only of the All-American Slav Congress, but also of similar congresses in Canada, New Zealand, and Latin America. The Latin-American congress first met in Montevideo on April 24 and 25, 1941. A second Moscow congress was held on April 7, 1942; and a third on May 10, 1943.

Simultaneous with the first Moscow congress (August 1941), there was a Slav Congress held in Pittsburgh (August 10, 1941). It was decided at that time to hold an All-American Slav Congress in Detroit. John D. Butkovich, national president of the Croatian Fraternal Union of the International Workers' Order, was chairman of the All-Slav Congress committee. Stephan Zeman, Jr., was made secretary. He had previously participated in meetings of the fraternal orders committee of the International Workers Order with Butkovich and B. K. Gebert of the Communist Party. Prominent among those participating in the congress was Anthony Minerich, Pittsburgh sectional organizer of the Communist Party who has an extensive police record in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and New Jersey.

One of the most important of the preliminary meetings leading to the Detroit congress was that of the Macedonian-American People's League (composed of Greeks, Serbs, Macedonians, and Bulgars), held in Gary, Ind. The principal speaker was George Pirinsky of Detroit, secretary of the league, whose real name is George Zytkoff. He is a Bulgarian, of about 47 years of age, and he edits a Communist foreign-language paper published in Detroit by the name of Saznanie. In signing many of his articles, he also uses another alias—George Necoloff. He plays an important part in the All-American Slav Congress. In one of his articles which appeared in the Daily Worker, Pirinsky said that the "Bulgarians in the United States must answer Dimitroff's call."

It was evident from the various meetings held in the United States, following the Moscow call, leading to the Detroit congress, that the heads of the national groups of the International Workers' Order were the dynamos in the fronts which sprang up. Among these fronts were the Federation of Bulgarian-Macedonian Workers' Clubs, Croatian Fraternal Union, Slovak National Alliance, Yugoslav Friends of Democracy, Slavonic Committee for Democracy, Slovak Women's Society, Serbian National Federation, Polish Falcons of America, Slovene National Congress, Bulgarian-American Committee, Servian Vidov-dan Council, Slovenian-American Council, United Committee of South Slav Americans, Polish-American Trades Council, and finally the All-American Slav Congress.

Foremost of those active in the movement to establish the All-American Slav Congress, in addition to those previously mentioned, were John Kocharsky (Polish); Vincent Ujeich (red frontier); Leo Krzycki,* J. J. Zeman,* Martin Krasich,* Steve Krall,* Anna Blat-

*Denotes current national officers of the All-American Slav Congress.

niak of the International Workers' Order; Slovak Women's Committee, Rudolph Martonovic, Charles Korenice of the Slovak section of the International Workers' Order; A. Dmytrishn of the Ukrainian section of the International Workers' Order; Stanley Nowak, Nick Swetnick, member of the Young Communist League; Vladimir Kazakovich and Nicholas Tarnowsky, at the time coeditors of the Ukrainian Daily News; General Yakhontoff, member of many red fronts; Leo Krzycki; Blair F. Gunther; W. T. Osowski; and V. S. Platk.

The Slovene National Congress, held in Cleveland in December 1942, joined with the All-American Slav Congress. Louis Adamic was elected chairman, and M. A. Bogdanovich of San Pedro, Calif., was elected treasurer. Also joining the congress was the United Conference of South Slavic Americans, organized in Cleveland and originally called the United Yugoslav Committee. At the Cleveland meeting of the Slovene National Congress, a 10-point program was mapped out in defense of Tito, as against Mihailovich. It was proposed to turn the combined forces loose in an effort to swing public sentiment in the U. S. A. in order to influence public officials in favor of Tito.

The Slovenian-American Council, the Servian Vidov-dan Council, and the Council of Americans of Croatian Descent also met in Cleveland, and they joined together in forming the United Committee of South Slav Americans, with Louis Adamic as president. He was authorized at the time to explore the possibilities of setting up other Balkan-American groups. Adamic then became a frequent White House guest.

I will refer briefly, at this point, to other organizations, many of which are disguised as liberation fronts, others masked as advocates of democratic governments and relief and aid movements, and which were set up in the midst of Russian and Allied victories in Europe and Asia.

Macedonian-American People's League, with headquarters at 5856 Chene Street, Detroit, is headed by Smeale Voydanoff, president, and George Pirinsky, national secretary. This outfit agitates in behalf of the Greek Communist forces and opposes the Tunisian defense of Greece against a Soviet-Communist takeover.

Armenian National Council of America, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., has as its chairman Mark J. Shahinian; vice chairman, Martie Martentz; secretary, Seth Shalen; treasurer, Mesrob Bajakian; and executive director, Charles A. Vertanes. This has carried on a campaign in opposition to the American proposal to lend money to Turkey in an attempt to forestal Russian and Communist threats designed against Turkey.

Joint Conference Against Intervention in Greece was formed in answer to the call of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship at a meeting held in the Capitol Hotel in New York City on March 18, 1947. William Howard Melish is chairman; Nancy Cox, secretary. The continuation committee is composed of John Darr, Jr. (Christian Council for Democracy), Beulah Warshall (Congress of American Women), Steve Krall (American-Slav Congress), Cynthia Jones (Council of African Affairs), Arthur Kaufman (American Veterans' Committee), James Lustig (CIO United Electrical Workers), James Felas (Hellenic-American Vanguard), Milton Wolff (Abraham Lincoln Brigade), Frank Ilchuck (International

Workers' Order), Alex Karanikas (American Council for Democratic Greece), and Richard Morford (National Council of American-Soviet Friendship). The joint conference was organized for the purpose of opposing American foreign policy in aiding Greece against Soviet and Communist expansion in Greece.

The American Committee for a Free Indonesia (Los Angeles), of which George K. Anang is vice president, and Ede Kemnitsir is secretary; the San Francisco Committee for a Free Indonesia, and the American Committee for Indonesian Independence (New York) were organized in support of the Indonesian revolution. The latter, with offices at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, has the backing of Hugh De Lacy, Elmer Benson, Muriel Draper, Frederick V. Field, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, W. E. B. DuBois, James Dombrowski (Southern Conference for Human Welfare), Louis E. Burnham (Southern Negro Youth Congress), Dr. Harl R. Douglas (University of Colorado), Zarko M. Buncheck (Serbian Vidovdan Council), Henrietta Buckmaster (Congress of American Women), Zlatko Balokovic (United Committee of Southern Slav Americans), and other frontiers.

The Committee for a Democratic Eastern Policy, the headquarters of which are located at 111 West Forty-second Street, New York City, was created after Dimiti Manuisky, Communist and Soviet-Ukrainian delegate to the UN, had warned that "Indonesia may become a second Spain" in the event of outside interference with the revolution. This committee opposes the American policy toward Greece and Turkey as an extension of our policy in China. It calls on Congress to defeat such a foreign policy. Executive director is Maude Russell. Gen. Evans Carlson, until his death recently, was the president. Members of the board of directors are Frederick V. Field, Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Jack R. McMichael, Arthur Upham Pope, Martin Popper, Ross Terlin, and Max Yergan. Consultants include Philip Jaffe and Kate Mitchell of the pro-Soviet magazine, *Amerasia*, who figured in the State and War Departments document theft cases; and Maxwell Stewart, former editor of *Moscow News*. Sponsors are Zlatko Balokovic, Elmer Benson, Millen Brand, Louise Bransten, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, John M. Coffee, Norman Corwin, Hugh De Lacy, Martha Dodd, W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Donald Henderson, Carey McWilliams, Rockwell Kent, Edward Chodorov, William Gropper, Albert E. Kahn, Muriel Draper, Leo Huberman, William Howard Melish, A. Clayton Powell, Jr., Saul Mills, Dorey Wilkerson, Gene Weltfish, Donald Ogden Stewart, Dirk J. Struik, Gregory Peck, William J. Schieffelin, Jacob S. Potofsky, and Paul Robeson, all of whom are familiar to those who have knowledge of Red and Red front activities in the United States.

The American Committee for a Korean People's Party, Korean Culture Society, American Committee to Aid Korean Federation of Trade Unions, and Korean Independence News Co. were set up to protest the American policy in Korea, to demand the recall of American occupation forces, to fight for the release from prison of the "Korean democratic leader," to urge the recognition of a Korean provisional government, and to sponsor a meeting to effect the "Moscow decision." These movements have had the cooperation of the National Win the Peace Committee of California (a Red front) in carrying out their program.

The China Conference Arrangements Committee, 110 Market Street, San Francisco, emanated from the National Win the Peace Committee of California. Gen. Evans F. Carlson (deceased) was chairman. The Win the Peace Committee engineered the Red front campaign to force the withdrawal of American troops from China.

The American Friends of the Chinese People, 168 West Twenty-third Street, New York, N. Y., was among the earlier movements created by the Reds to influence America's Chinese policy. It cooperated with the Washington Committee for Aid to China, 1115 Fifteenth Street NW., Washington, D. C. American Friends of the Chinese People was set up in 1938. Its chairman is Maxwell Stewart; vice chairman, Julius Loeb; treasurer, Helen Mallery; organizing secretary, Esther Carroll; affiliation secretary, Helen Holman; chairman of boycott committee, Julia Church Kolar. Included as members of the national advisory board are Max Yergan, Robert Morse Lovett, Haru Matsui, Mrs. J. C. Guggenheimer, Joseph Cadden, and Thomas Addes.

The American Friends of Czechoslovakia, 8 West Fortieth Street, New York, N. Y., is under the leadership of William Jay Schieffelin. It has a connecting link with various other alien fronts through Dr. Frank Kingdon. It began to promote the cause of the Czech Red front government in this country in June 1944, before the Tito regime was in power, in fact.

The American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, 58 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y., is still another pro-Tito movement. It is headed by Louis Adamic, chairman; and Zlato Balokovic, cochairman, both of whom are mentioned several times in this report in connection with Red front activities. Local branches have been set up all over the country. Also interested in this committee are Rockwell Kent, Max Bedacht, Walter B. Cannon, Jo Davidson, Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel, Johannes Steel, Dr. Emmanuel Chapman, Mary McLeod Bethune, Lion Feuchtwanger, William S. Gailmor, Marshall Field, Mrs. Edward C. Carter, and Hugh De Lacy.

American Relief for Greek Democracy, with headquarters at 111 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., is headed by Robert St. John and Nicholas Cheronis. Mrs. Frank Gervasi and John Vassos, vice chairmen; Costa Couvaras, secretary. Sponsors include Zlatko Balokovic, Elmer Benson, Hugh De Lacy, Henrietta Buckmaster, Abram Flaxer (CIO Federal Workers' Union), Betty Field (wife of Frederick V. Field), Hugo Gellert, Mrs. Elinor S. Gimbel, William Gropper, Langston Hughes, Albert E. Kahn, Rockwell Kent, Albert Maltz, Vito Marcantonio, William H. Melish, Clifford Odets, A. Clayton Powell, Jr., and Harry F. Ward. Eighteen of its sponsors are either directors or sponsors of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Seventeen are sponsors of the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

The American Committee for Armenian Rights, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y., elected Robert W. Searie as its secretary, and Edwin S. Smith of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, chairman. This outfit supports the American National Council of America, still another front movement active in the United States in support of Armenian Soviet Republic.

The American Committee for Spanish Freedom and the Action Committee to Free Spain are only two of the scores of Spanish Red

fronts disguised as refugee relief groups operating in the United States. The Action Committee, headed by Milton Wolff, prominent in the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, has offices at 55 West Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y. It has branches in every section of the country. The Philadelphia section of this committee held an emergency conference a short time ago. The speakers were Abel Plenn, James Price (CIO), Milton Wolff, and Raymond Pace Alexander. Lewis O. Hartman is chairman of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom. John M. Coffee is vice chairman; Samuel J. Novick, treasurer; and Allan Chase, secretary. Members of the board of sponsors include Johannes Steel, Albert E. Kahn, G. Bromley Oxnam, Elmer A. Benson, Jo Davidson, Norman Corwin, Stephen H. Fritchman, Mrs. George Marshall, Sol Rotenberg, Morris Shafritz, Arthur Huff Fauset, and Donald Keler.

The Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee maintains offices at 192 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. Walter Rautenstrauch is honorary chairman; Edward K. Barsky, chairman; Richard T. Cox, vice chairman, Lyman R. Bradley, treasurer; and Helen R. Bryan, executive secretary. The sponsors are Dr. Comfort A. Adams, Rabbi Michael Alper, Prof. Joseph Warren Beach, Dr. Henry L. Bibby, James L. Brewer, Prof. Harold Chapman Brown, Dr. J. F. Brown, Kyle Critchton, Martha Dodd, Muriel Draper, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild, Prof. Irving Fisher, Prof. Mitchell Franklin, Dr. Marion Hathway, Kenneth Leslie, Princess Helga zu Lowenstein, George Marshall, Louis F. McCabe, Harvey O'Connor, Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Dr. Max Pinner, Prof. Renato Poggioli, Dr. Francis M. Pottenger, Georges Schreiber, Rev. Charles C. Webber, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, Max Yergan, and Art Young. The committee has set up the following branches: Boston, 14 Beacon Street, Mrs. Gail Kelvin, secretary; Chicago, 166 West Jackson Boulevard, Miss Mary Doyle, secretary; Cleveland, 750 Prospect Avenue, Miss Ruth Keller, secretary; Philadelphia, 322 South Sixteenth Street, Mrs. Madelin Blitzstein, secretary; Hollywood, 8505 Sunset Boulevard; Los Angeles, 206 South Spring Street, Miss Helen M. Fisher, secretary; San Francisco, 68 Post Street, Mrs. Marion Owens, secretary; Oakland, 1615 Broadway, Mrs. Inez Schuyten, secretary; Seattle, Lloyd Building, Sixth and Stewart, Mrs. Ruth Kremen, secretary. This committee financially supported Gerhart Eisler. It was partially financed by the International Workers' Order.

The Conference on Puerto Rico's Right to Freedom is a Western Hemisphere Red front, of which Emanuel Chapman is chairman. National committee members are A. Clayton Powell, Ferdinand Smith, John Coffee, Irving Potash, Joseph Selly, Saul Mills, Arthur Upham Pope, and Johannes Steel. This outfit has propagandized for the freedom of Puerto Rico from the United States, and in support of other Red demands.

Other pro-Red and Soviet front organizations operating in this country are the Japanese-American Committee for Democracy, Italian-American Women for Democratic Action, Greek-American Council, Victory Committee of German-American Trade Unionists, American-Russian Institute, headed by Thomas L. Harris; American Friends of Polish Democracy, Robert M. McIver, chairman, Louis Adamie and Paul Douglas, vice chairman, and Adolph Held, treas-

urer; American Friends of Danish Freedom and Democracy, American Guild for German Cultural Freedom, Rumanian-American Alliance for Democracy, German-Americans, Inc., and Council on African Affairs; American Friends of Free India, Spanish Refugee Appeal Committee, American Society for Cultural Relations with Italy, Russian-American Society, and the China Aid Council, Inc.

Like many other fronts, the Council on African Affairs, 23 West Twenty-sixth, New York, N. Y., is working in the interest of a foreign country. It agitates in support of a free Africa, freedom from present government affiliations, as the first step toward Communist and Soviet Russian domination. The officers of the council are widely known in Communist and Red front circles. They are: chairman, Paul Robeson; vice chairman, William Jay Schieffelin; executive director, Max Yergan; treasurer, Edith Field; education director, W. A. Hunton. Members of the council are Leonard Barnes, Mrs. Charlotta Bass, W. Y. Bell, S. H. Bishop, R. T. Bokwe, Lida N. Broner, Charlotte Brown, Henry A. Callis, J. H. Carpenter, William E. Cochran, F. E. DeFrantz, Hubert T. Delany, Earl B. Dickerson, Dean Dixon, Roscoe Dunjee, Max Felshin, Kumar Goshal, George W. Harris, F. M. Isserman, Vito Marcantonio, George Marshall, Irving Potash, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Thomas Richardson, Doxey Wilkerson, Gene Weltfish, Channing Tobias, William B. Spofford, Jr., and Ferdinand Smith. The Council on African Affairs and its leaders affiliate with other Communist fronts in supporting issues entirely divorced from those for which the council was supposedly created (exhibit 69).^{49a}

The Coordinating Committee for a Spanish Republic, 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y., was established to coordinate the Red drive in behalf of the Communist and pro-Soviet offensive against Spain. Members of the executive committee included Aurelio Perez, A. R. Hernandez, Rafael Garcia, Gerardo Fernandez, and Antonio Santos. Cooperating with this front were the International Workers' Order, Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, and the Committee for Democratic Spain.

So numerous were these organizations that an International Coordination Council was set up to keep this huge machine in coordinated action. Frank Kingdon, an alien-born radical, is chairman of the council. An American Committee for International Information was also established for the purpose of "neutralizing propaganda resulting from the war." This is under the direction of William Jay Schieffelin. Frank Kingdon is a member of its board.

A World Armenian Congress was held in New York City in May 1947. In attendance were delegates representing three and one-half million Armenians in 26 countries. The Congress condemned the Truman doctrines in foreign affairs. Speakers included S. Edwin Smith of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, John Roy Carlson, and J. Raymond Walsh of Friends of Democracy.

The Free Italy Society, with offices at 3220 North Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif., is thought to be a State unit of a national having the same name, the headquarters of which are in New York. Vito Marcantonio is active among this element, and he addressed a meeting of the society at the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on December 10,

^{49a} See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 69.

1946. The four-page flier issued in conjunction with the affair was entitled: "Support the Tito-Togliatti Proposals for Trieste." It was printed both in English and Italian. It called on all Italians to protest to the Italian Embassy in Washington, D. C., the Secretary of State of the United States, and the Council of Foreign Ministers in New York. It demanded that Tito and Togliatti (Communists) be permitted to settle the future of Trieste. It asked that Anglo-American representatives to the Big Four Council be prevented from "considering themselves with vested powers, not only against the Yugoslav peoples, but also again the peoples of Italy." It declared that the American-British plan was that of "imperialists," aiming to "transform the Trieste territory into one of their colonial possessions." It attacked Secretary of State Byrnes and British Prime Minister Bevin, accusing them of playing the game of so-called "imperialism," and suggesting that they be deprived of their powers.

The dynamo of the foreign angle of Red front propaganda and agitational activity in the United States in opposition to the American foreign policy in South America is the Council for Pan-American Democracy. The council has reflected the Soviet and Communist Party line as it affects Soviet interests in South America. It attempted to force a change in our policies which may have been considered contrary to those of the Soviet. The offices of the council are located at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York, N. Y. Branches are active in other cities throughout the United States and in South America. The most recent report issued by the council in my possession lists Clifford T. McAvoy as chairman; A. J. Isserman, secretary-treasurer; Marion Bachrach, Frederick V. Field, and Joan Madison, executive secretaries. The executive committee is composed of Mrs. Edmond Barach, John Bright, Louis Coleman, Joseph Curran, David Efron, Hugo Gellert, Ben Golden, George Marshall, Charles Recht (chief counsel in the United States for the Soviet Government), Max Yergan, Ferdinand Smith (member of the national committee of the Communist Party), Arthur G. Silverman, Joseph Selly, Ruth Reeves, Samuel Putnam, and Herman P. Osborne. The council was formed in March 1939. The conference which was called to set up the council was held in Washington, D. C., in December 1938. Sponsors included the usual run of frontiers: Louis Adamic, Max Yergan, Maxwell Stewart, George Marshall, Rockwell Kent, Langston Hughes, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Evans Clark, and Erksine Caldwell. The council has agitated for the freedom of Puerto Rico and for a break in relations with Argentina. In the latter fight, the council circulated a petition signed by Serge Koussevitsky of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (Cultural Section), John M. Coffee, Olin Downes, Theodore Dreiser, Frederic March, Lewis Mumford, and Bennett Cerf.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

The membership of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is composed chiefly of southerners of varied political shades, many of whom were unquestionably first attracted by its openly stated program, and with no knowledge of its hidden intent to become, as Earl Browder stated, "one of the transmission belts of the Communist Party." Plans for the setting up of the conference were made at a

gathering of men and women from 7 of the 13 Southern States, held in Birmingham, Ala., on September 6, 1938. Permanent officers and standing committees were elected and created at that meeting. On October 15, 1938, Louise O. Charlton, previously chosen general chairman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, issued a call for the first general conference of the movement, to be held in Birmingham, November 20 to 23, 1938.

The national committee members elected for the ensuing year (1938-39) included a number of prominent men and women, among whom were Members of Congress, a Governor, newspaper men, educators, and State officials. Sandwiched among them were such frontiers, if not actual Communists, as John Davis, Mary McLeod Bethune, Clark H. Foreman, and a mixture of CIO leaders in the South. As far as the officials of the organization were concerned, the left-wing was seemingly quite in the minority at the beginning.

Communist interest in the setting up of such an organization in the South dated back to August 1938 when the New South, an organ of the party which was edited by Paul Crouch, Benjamin Davis, James W. Ford, Ted Wellman, and Henry Winston, was launched. It propagandized for certain issues which in time were taken over by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. New South, published in Birmingham, succeeded the Southern Worker which had been published in Chattanooga, the editorial board of which was made up of Jim Mallory, Robert F. Hall, Paul Crouch, and Ted Wellman.

The November 1938 conference of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare proved to be more of an institute on issues than anything else. Because of this, numerous individuals devoid of the Communist taint were persuaded to participate. In all, 15 vice chairmen were elected, one from each of the 13 States, and 2 at large. Also elected as general officers were 120 members. One hundred representatives were chosen, 7 from each of the 13 States. The States represented at the conference were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.

Commenting on the conference, the January 1939 issue of The Communist stated:

We can say that the southern conference was a brilliant confirmation of the line of the democratic front advanced by Comrade Browder at the tenth convention. * * * Comrade Browder anticipated the southern conference in his discussions on the national executive committee report. This is no coincidence. Our party has for many years given earnest study to the problems of the South on the scientific basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Southern State organizations of the Communist Party were represented at the conference by five southern delegates * * * The southern conference for Human Welfare has given a strong impetus to progressivism in the South * * * In strengthening this movement, our party has before it a great task. On this basis, our party can and must proceed to recruit from the progressive ranks many hundreds of new members. * * *

A call was issued for a second annual conference to be held from April 14 to 16, 1940, at the Memorial Auditorium, Chattanooga. This time the sponsors did not include known Communists or individuals who had front records. On the program, however, were Malcolm C. Dobbs, Edward E. Strong, John P. Davis, and Myles Horton. Officers elected at this conference were Louise Charlton, honorary chairman; Frank P. Graham, honorary chairman; John B. Thomp-

son, chairman; John P. Davis, vice chairman; Clark H. Foreman, secretary-treasurer; James A. Dombrowski, executive secretary; and Harold Katz, director.

The third conference was held at Memorial Hall, Nashville, April 19 to 21, 1942. Addresses were delivered by Frank P. Graham, Dr. Arthur Raper, Homer T. Rainey, and Jennings Perry, a newspaper man. Paul Robeson entertained the delegates. By this time 16 States were represented: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. An executive board composed of 11 members was set up of which Mary McLeod Bethune was chairman. Alvah W. Taylor was chairman and Ruth Cutler was secretary of the national committee, composed of 19 members.

The Communists were not exactly pleased with the slow leftward trend of the movement, for the Sunday Worker of February 9, 1941, had explained:

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, despite the apostasy of many of its former leaders, has stood for the strategy originally adopted in 1938 and confirmed in 1940 * * * The broad movement in Tennessee was not as spontaneous as it appeared on the surface. It was one of the consequences of the campaign for the repeal of the poll tax conducted by the Communist Party in Tennessee and other States since 1935-36.

In 1939 the Southern Conference for Human Welfare created a youth branch known as the Young Southerners, officers of which were Malcolm C. Dobbs, Helen Fields, Nena Beth Stapp, and Edward Strong. Sponsors included the leaders of the conference. In this group we find numerous Communists, pro-Communists, and frontiers.

Other annual conferences were held, of course, each showing a definite slide toward the left. By 1945 the officers included a large number of leftists. In addition to those previously mentioned, we find listed Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis Burnham, Helen Fuller, and Lillian E. Smith, and some of whom later also assisted in setting up the National Citizen's Political Action Committee. Seventeen of its present leaders have other Red front records; 10 have openly defended the Communist heads who have run afoul of the law; 14 have been affiliated with relief and propaganda agencies in behalf of Russia.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare has received funds from the Robert Marshall Foundation which has paid out large sums to other fronts. One check, dated April 4, 1942, was for \$1,000. Its activities receive favorable comment in the Daily Worker, the Worker, and the People's Daily World. Among its branches is the Washington (D. C.) Committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 935 G Place NW. The chairman is Virginia Davis, and the treasurer is John P. Anderson.

The Southern Conference has assailed the FBI and the congressional committee investigating un-American activities, and it has taken part in numerous united fronts with the Communists. Its organ is the Southern Patriot, a monthly publication.

The present headquarters of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare are located at 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans, La. The following are its officers: Clark Howell Foreman, president; James A. Dombrowski, administrator; Frank C. Bancroft and Mrs. Edmonia

Grant, assistant administrators; Paul R. Christopher, Roscoe Dunjee, Virginia Durr, Lewis W. Jones, William Mitch, and Harry W. Schacter, vice presidents; E. L. Abercrombie, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Louis Burnham, Sam Freeman, Helen Fuller, Percy Greene, R. L. Hickman, Myles Horton, J. C. Jacques, Lucy Randolph Mason, Mortimer May, George S. Mitchell, Frank Prohl, Samuel Rodman, Mrs. A. W. Simkins, Alvah W. Taylor, John B. Thompson, and Charles Webber, board of representatives; Henry Fowler, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Joseph L. Johnson, Lee C. Sheppard, and Aubrey Williams, ex officio; Melvyn Douglas, Mrs. Marshall Field, Kenneth DeP. Hughes, Michael M. Nisselson, Channing H. Tobias, Henry A. Wallace, and Palmer Weber, advisory associates; Tarleton Collier, secretary; and J. Daniel Weitzman, treasurer. I do not have a current list of State and local officers of the conference.

Clark Foreman was secretary of the National Citizens Political Action Committee in 1944. Eighty percent of its national members have records of affiliation with Communist and Communist front organizations. Foreman became secretary-treasurer of the conference in 1938. John B. Thompson, president of the (Communist) American Peace Mobilization, was chairman, and John P. Davis of the National Negro Congress was vice chairman at the time. Foreman was under Harold Ickes in the Department of Interior when he became secretary-treasurer of the conference.

As I have just stated, Thompson was president of the American Peace Mobilization, which was designed to keep the United States out of the war while the Stalin-Hitler pact was still in effect. At the moment of the break between Russia and Germany, representatives of the mobilization were picketing the White House in opposition to our entrance into the war. Two hours later the pickets laid aside their "anti-imperialistic war" placards, replacing them with "immediate second front for Russia" signs. Vice chairmen of the mobilization were Theodore Dreiser, Vito Marcantonio, Paul Robeson, Jack McMichael, Reid Robinson, and Katherine Terrill. Frederick Field of the Daily Worker was executive secretary of the Mobilization, and Howard Lee, executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was a member of the national council of the mobilization.

Another Red front antiwar group, set up in August 1940, was the Committee To Defend America by Keeping out of War. Thompson was also prominently connected with this committee, as was Lee. Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, executive secretary of the Young Southerners, the youth section of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was also affiliated with the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War.

Active in the Emergency Peace Mobilization, from which emanated most of the Red front antiwar movements, were Malcolm Dobbs, Howard Lee, Edward Strong, and John B. Thompson, all prominent in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

John B. Thompson, Charles C. Webber (regional director of the CIO in the southern district), Malcolm Dobbs, and Don West, all members of the conference, were connected with the People's Institute of Applied Religion, headed by Claude C. Williams, who has been classified by this committee as a Communist, operating under the

name of John Galey, former director of Commonwealth College in Mena, Ark., which was closed by the State because of its Communist teachings. The institute received funds from Soundview Foundation, a Communist outfit headed by Joe Brodsky. It applied for funds from the International Workers' Order, another Communist organization. It will be recalled that Brodsky was pay-off man for the Communist International some years ago, according to documents seized by the British Government in a raid on the Soviet Bureau in London.

Thompson has been connected with the Protestant Digest (The Protestant), a Communist antireligious and pro-Soviet organ published by Kenneth Leslie, formerly of Canada. Myles Horton of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is director of the Highlander Folk School. His wife, who is associated with him, was formerly affiliated with Communist Theater League projects. James A. Dombrowski, administrator of the conference, was in 1944 a member of the national committee of the National Citizens PAC. In 1931 he was with the League for Industrial Democracy. He was a member of the (Communist) Anti-Imperialist League, and he has often defended the Communist Party. He was among the signers of a petition sent to President Roosevelt in 1941 upholding the rights of the Communist Party. Dombrowski has been affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and he participated in its June 1939 conference held in Washington, D. C. He was prominent at the convention of the National Negro Congress held in Detroit in 1946.

Louis Burnham, member of the board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, was a member of the national committee of the International Labor Defense, a branch of the international with headquarters in Moscow. John P. Davis, connected with the conference, was also a member of that committee. He was former secretary of the National Negro Congress, and he was connected with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties at the time it was active in the fight against this congressional committee.

Charles Webber, a member of the board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, is the CIO district organizer in the South. He was a member of the (Communist) American League Against War and Fascism, of which Earl Browder was vice chairman and Harry F. Ward was the head. He was executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Service. He played a prominent part in the activities of the American Youth Congress. An article which appeared in the New York Times on May 19, 1930, listed him as a member of the (Communist) John Reed Club, which was at the time fighting congressional legislation aimed at the outlawing of the Communist Party. Webber has been associated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Committee. He was among those who attacked the Department of Justice for its indictment of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade. On May 11, 1936, Webber called upon the youth to abolish the capitalist system of government and to establish a planned social economy in the United States. He said his plan would rest on "social ownership." He has been active in Red ranks since 1930 when he was a member of the executive committee of the Anti-Imperialist League, a branch of a Communist international. He was secretary at one time of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, which advocated the

abandonment of our armed forces and our capitalist system of government. He supported Harry Bridges in his fight against deportation as an undesirable alien.

Red front records are available on the following members of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare: Roscoe Dunjee, Virginia Durr, Lewis W. Jones, Mary McLeod Bethune, Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Helen Fuller, Sam Freeman, William Mitchell, Lucy Mason, Aubrey Williams, Melyvn Douglas, and Channing H. Tobias.

In view of the apparent following along the Communist Party line of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the activity of its members and many of its officers in Communist and front movements, it may well be considered a "transmission belt," as it has been called by Earl Browder. At least five of the officers of the Conference were among those initiating the Civil Rights Congress, with which I will deal next.

Recently created to augment the activities of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the National Negro Congress, the Southern Negro Youth Congress, and the CIO in the Southern States is the Committee To Aid Fighting South, with national headquarters at 3 Leroy Street, New York, N. Y. This committee was set up on May 18, 1947. Its cochairmen are Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist Party Negro leader in New York; and Millard Lampell, previously mentioned in this report. Vice chairmen are Shirley Graham and Earl Conrad; secretary, Paul Malcolm Cain; treasurer, James J. Jones.

The publicly announced purposes of the Committee To Aid Fighting South are to furnish "aid to the Southern Negro Youth Congress in the battle against white supremacy"; to "assist in the defense of Don West, now charged with libel," "to provide funds for other civil rights cases," "to help finance the southern edition of *The Worker* (Communist organ), and to aid "the Communists and other militant forces in the South."

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

Over a period of several years the organized movements in defense of the Communist Party, its fronts and its leaders have been consistent in action and leadership, but the name changing in this field has been even more pronounced than in other fields. These organizations, too numerous to mention, many of which have been exposed by your committee and preceding committees, have undergone recent changes in name. Two of the most prominent of these, the International Labor Defense and the National Federation of Constitutional Liberties, combined with the Metropolitan Inter-faith and Interracial Coordinating Council of New York, operate now under the name of the Civil Rights Congress, with national headquarters at 205 East Forty-second Street, New York.

Officers of the Civil Rights Congress are: George Marshall, national chairman, who headed the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and a leader of the Robert Marshall Foundation which financially supports many Red fronts; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays and Harry F. Ward, honorary cochairmen; Raymond C. Ingersoll, treasurer; Milton Kaufman, executive director; Milton N. Kimmitt, field director; George F. Addes, Mary Bethune, Rev. Charles A. Hill,

Ira Latimer, Stanley Nowak, Lawrence Rivkin, and Vincent Sheean, vice chairmen; and Benjamin Goldring, secretary, legal committee.

The National Congress on Civil Rights, at which the Civil Rights Congress was born, was held in Detroit on April 27th and 28th, 1946. Initiators of the National Congress were the late Col. Evans Carlson, Norman Corwin, Dr. Kirtley F. Mather, Carey McWilliams, Edward C. Robinson, Paul Robeson, Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; George Marshall, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union, and Congressman Vito Marcantonio. These were joined by Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Jess Fletcher, Julius Emspak, Wesley E. Sharer, cochairman of the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee; and Prof. John F. Shepard, president of the Michigan Civil Rights Federation.

The sponsors of the National Congress included Susan B. Anthony II of the Congress of American Women, Louis E. Burnham, organizing secretary of the Southern Negro Youth Congress; D. A. Cameron, editor of Little, Brown & Co.; Prof. Emmanuel Chapman, chairman of the Committee of Catholics for Human Rights; Philip M. Connelly, secretary of the Los Angeles CIO Council; Bishop J. A. Gregg; Rabbi Ferdinand M. Isserman; Rep. Ellis E. Patterson; Michael J. Quill; Dorothy K. Roosevelt, executive secretary of the Michigan Citizens' Committee; Senator Glen H. Taylor; Max Weber; Louis Adamic; Elmer Benson; Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; and Francis J. McConnell.

Signers of the call to the National Congress were Anna M. Kross, Gene Weltfish, Saul Mills, Adam Clayton Powell, Vito Marcantonio, Johannes Steel, Lisa Sergio, Joe Curran, Joseph P. Selly, and Hulan E. Jack. The call announced that the conference would coordinate the action of democratic and progressive forces. Milton Kaufman, Louis Coleman of the International Labor Defense, and Milton Kemitz were elected to the continuation committee.

Among the local organizations of the Civil Rights Congress are the Illinois Civil Liberties Committee, 21 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill.; Civil Rights Federation, 609 Hammond Building, Detroit, Mich.; Civil Rights Congress of New York, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York, N. Y., and Civil Rights Congress of California.

The CRC announces that it is "a national membership organization formed by hundreds of national and community groups from all parts of the country." Its platform is as follows:

Fight terror against the Negro people, demanding justice in such cases as Columbia, Tenn., and Freeport, Long Island; defend southern workers in their right to organize; outlaw anti-Semitism; destroy Jim Crow; end the poll-tax; abolish the Thomas-Rankin Committee; secure a permanent Federal FEPC; protect the rights of the foreign-born; defeat antilabor legislation; investigate violations of labor's rights; end labor injunctions and police brutality against pickets; stop frame-ups of unionists as in Little Rock, Ark.

Officers of the Civil Rights Congress of New York are: Dashiell Hammett, president; James Egert Allen, Howard Dasilva, William Howard Melish and Stephen O'Donnell; Meyer Stern, chairman of the board; Louis Coleman, executive secretary; Lawrence Rivkin, director of organization; and Robert Freeman, membership director. Vivian Schatz is chairman of the Albany, N. Y., section of the congress. California headquarters are located at 206 South Spring Street, Los Angeles.

The congress recently sponsored a campaign in defense of Gerhart Eisler. It is also waging an agitational campaign for the dismissal of Attorney General Tom Clark. In 1946 it carried on a nation-wide publicity campaign in defense of the Communist Party politically. It is now fighting legislative action which might hamper Communist activities in the United States, and it is demanding the abolition of all congressional and State legislative investigating committees.

In May the Civil Rights Congress joined the Communists' "fight back" campaign, designed to arouse public sentiment against anti-Communist legislation. It engaged in a Nation-wide newspaper advertising campaign directly aimed against the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and in opposition to all legislative efforts to destroy Communist forces in the United States. Cooperating with the Civil Rights Congress in this fight were Franklin P. Adams, Prof. Thomas Addis of Stanford University, Stella Adler, James E. Allen, Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Zlatko Balokovic (American Slav Congress), Samuel L. M. Barlow, Bishop W. Y. Bell of Georgia, Elmer A. Benson (vice chairman of Progressive Citizens of America), Walter Bernstein of the Daily Worker, Prof. Lyman R. Bradley of New York University, Prof. S. P. Breckinridge of the University of Chicago, Prof. Edwin B. Burgum of New York University, Charles H. Colvin, Nick Comfort of the Oklahoma School of Religion, Prof. Archibald Cox of Harvard, Prof. W. H. L. Dana of Harvard, Prof. M. Davis (Associated Negro Press), Adolph Dehn, Prof. Frank Dobie of the University of Texas, William E. Dodd, Arnaud D'Usseau, Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University, Howard Fast, Harry Gottlieb, John C. Granberry (the Emancipator), William Gropper (Communist), Prof. Ralph H. Gundlach of the University of Washington, Robert Gwathmey, J. W. Haywood, Rev. Duncan M. Hobart of Mississippi, Prof. Ellsworth Huntington of Yale, Rev. Kenneth de P. Hughes, Carol Janeway, Frances Fisher Kane, Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Harry F. Ward, Prof. Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan, Max Weber, Dr. Harry N. Wieman of the University of Chicago, William Zorach, Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Margaret Sanger Slee, Vincent Sheean, Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago, Vida Scudder of Wellesly, Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, William Jay Schieffelin, Elbert Russell of Duke University, William Howard Melish (National Council of American-Soviet Friendship), Jack R. McMichael, Prof. F. O. Matthiessen of Harvard, W. H. Manwaring of Stanford, John Howard Lawson, Philip Loeb, and others.

The Civil Rights Congress strengthened the Communist agitation against the Taft-Hartley Labor bill barring Communists from union leadership. It encouraged violation of the law in all respects. The Congress announced that it would furnish free legal aid to all unionists and unions openly flouting the law. It participated in the legal and propaganda battles in behalf of Gerhart Eisler, Eugene Dennis, and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, all of which were cited for contempt of Congress and were found guilty.

Several additional movements have been organized within the past few months, the purpose of which is to defend the Communists. These include the Committee to Uphold the Constitutional Rights of Communists. Cochairmen are Benjamin Davis, Jr., and Peter Cacchione,

both members of the National Committee of the Communist Party. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Ben Gold, and John Gates, also party committeemen, are members of the board.

In the meantime, the use of pressure propaganda has been resurrected by the Communists, i. e., obtaining petitions assailing so-called Red hunts on the part of Congress. In this respect, I wish to mention only a few of the many thousands of releases assailing these so-called Red hunts:

Five Hundred Unionists Assail Red Hunt of Congress—attached to this are the names of hundreds of CIO members, a few A. F. of L. leaders, and heads of local CIO unions.

Noted Citizens Rap Attack on Communists—dozen of Red-fronters signed their names to this protest.

Noted Artists, Professionals Back May Day Attack Drive Against Civil Liberties and for War—the usual apologists supported this drive.

World's Biggest Local Hits Plan to Ban Communist Party—this refers to the Ford Local 600 of the CIO.

Fifty Prominent Americans Protest—the protest was over the so-called persecution of the German Communist-Soviet agent, Gerhart Eisler. Signers of the protest include left-wing professors, CIO unionists, and fronters.

Progressives Protest Ban on Communist Party—about 50 "progressives" signed this protest, many of whom are well-known fronters.

Public Figures Hit Plan to Ban Communist Party—25 or more CIO and front leaders signed this.

Minnesota Democrats Defend Rights of Communists—several of the delegates opposed the resolution adopted by a State Democratic Party convention.

Bay State Leaders Hit Attack on Communists—87 residents of the State signed this protest, most of whom are known to this committee as a result of their past front performances.

The Communist Party itself has contributed to the concerted attacks upon this committee and on other congressional and State committees which are uncovering the machinations of the Reds and their cover-ups by circulating some 4,000,000 leaflets, 2,000,000 pamphlets, and several hundred paid page and half-page advertisements in at least 125 large city dailies from coast to coast. In addition, it has sponsored more than 100 radio broadcasts.

Unquestionably, the Civil Rights Congress constitutes a coalition composed of the Communist Party and all its fronts, organized to battle every possible move against the Party and its leaders, as well as the fronts which are so active nationally.

Still another Red front, hatched in the fertile brains of the Communists and their fronters is the National Committee to Win the Peace. Jo Davidson has been its leader since its inception. He has been active in Communist circles over a period of years, and he was at one time an instructor at the Workers' (Communist) School in New York where he attempted to mold the minds of the students to the Communist pattern. He has also been alined with the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Independent Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, another Red front. He participated in the National Emergency Conference Against the Government Wage Program, set up by the Reds in 1935. Phil Frankfeld, at the time head of the Boston branch of the Communist Party, and currently the head of the Maryland-D. C. section, was national secretary of the conference. Frank Moser, Communist candidate for office in Philadelphia on numerous occasions, was its national chairman.

Davidson was the guiding light of the Win the Peace Conference which was held in Washington, D. C., April 5, 6, and 7, 1946, from which evolved the permanent National Committee to Win the Peace. The late leftist Evans Carlson, an often-used frontier, after his return from the war shared the permanent chairmanship of the committee with Paul Robeson, an activist in Communist ranks. It will be recalled that Robeson forsook the United States to reside in Russia for many years. Upon his return to this country he became prominent in the crusade in behalf of the Communists. His activities in Red circles are extensive.

The purpose of the National Committee to Win the Peace is rather vague, as far as its public statements are concerned. The initial committee meeting to issue the Call for the Conference to Win the Peace, it is understood, was held in the office of Congressman Adolph Sabath on March 5, 1946. The original Win the Peace Conference (April 1946) was held in the Department of Commerce Auditorium.

Some 712 delegates from 27 States attended the conference. Its report claims that the delegates represented 55 national movements and 26 local chapters of other organizations. Included among those listed were the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, another of Jo Davidson's outfits; the American Veterans' Committee, CIO Political Action Committee, 15 Communist-penetrated CIO unions, the Red-front Veterans and Wives (formerly known as WIVES), National Negro Congress, Federation of Scientists, American Association of Scientific Workers, Veterans of Equality, Jewish War Veterans, American Jewish Congress, American Lawyers' Guild, Church League for Industrial Democracy, International Workers' Order, Communist Party, American Youth for Democracy, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and a few Red-captured A. F. of L. locals.

The keynote address was delivered by Paul Robeson. He said that the conference had a "tremendous task" before it, that of forcing our Government to "cease its policy of propping up fascism," and of preventing our Government from hindering the "development of governments with new democratic forms." Robeson could only mean that the duty of the conference was to sustain the Russian and Communist drive for world rule. Former Congressman Coffee of Washington scored Franco of Spain, and he demanded a putsch to force a breaking off of United States diplomatic relations with Spain.

Other speakers included Millard Lampell, R. J. Thomas (CIO), Russell Nixon (CIO), Congressman Savage, Congressman Sabath, former Congressmen Hugh DeLacy and Ellis Patterson, Len DeCaux of the CIO News, Max Yergan, Marion Bachrach of the Council for Pan American Democracy, Clark Foreman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Dr. Higginbotham, atomic-energy scientist; Ira Gollobin, Mordecai Johnson, and Senator Claude Pepper. They all claimed that we had won a "people's war," and that a "people's peace" must be had. They cried against "imperialism" and "exploitation." They asked for the withdrawal of American troops from foreign countries. They prated against "economic royalists," a large standing army, "the war makers and our native fascists," "American world domination," policies in Latin America, and America's control of atomic energy.

Locals of the National Committee to Win the Peace were set up throughout the country. It is evident that the committee was

created for the purpose of propagandizing in support of the drive to win a pro-Soviet peace, and at the same time to lend aid to the Red revolutionary drive in the United States.

National headquarters of the committee were set up at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York, N. Y. Washington, D. C., headquarters are located at 1309 Fourteenth Street NW. Colonel Carlson became cochairman in 1946. Vice chairmen are Bertram Alves, Elmer Benson, Mary McLeod Bethune, Clark Foreman, Stephen H. Fritchman, Millard Lampell, Leo Kryczki, Bartley Crum. Marion Bachrach was elected national educational director (exhibit 70).⁵⁰

The Southern California Committee to Win the Peace, the last remaining branch of the National Committee to Win the Peace, became inactive on June 17, 1947. In its final appeal, this branch requested that its units go over as a body into the Progressive Citizens' Association. The national staff is winding up the affairs of the committee in the offices of Frederick Field in New York City.

Politically the leftists are in quite a quandary. The Reds and members of CIO Red-penetrated unions have gone on record favoring a united front in politics through a "strong third (left-wing) political party." However, strategists among the frontiers seem to be biding their time before going out on a limb too far in advance of the 1948 national political campaign. The PAC has announced that it is carefully reorganizing its field rank and program preparatory to waging a campaign in 1948, which it warns will start with grass-root tactics and will be more aggressive than any previously waged.

At this point I wish to refer more in detail to the Independent Citizens Committee, previously mentioned herein. While the last State unit of this committee discontinued activities in July in California, calling on its members to join Progressive Citizens of America, it still maintains its own identity as a section of the PCA. It is now known as the Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions of the Progressive Citizens of America.

The ICCASP was of Communist origin. It was set up by the Reds in January 1945 through their frontier, Jo Davidson, for 30 years a resident of France. He recently returned to Paris which has lately become the point from which Moscow temporarily directs its international movements. Davidson remained here long enough to teach in a Communist School in New York City, and to assist in organizing various fronts. His last job was that of coordinating in the organizing into the PCA, of which he became cochairman, with the British-born Red-frontier, Frank Kingdon. His post has been taken over by Robert Kenney of California.

ICCASP was behind the effort to purge Congress of conservatives in the last general election. It set up offices in New York at the Hotel Astor, and sectional offices in Hollywood, Chicago, New Haven, Washington, D. C., Minneapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and elsewhere. It operated some 300 locals in all sections of the country. It maintained a lobby in Washington, D. C., and in many State capitals, through which it attempted to influence Federal and State legislation.

ICCASP issued many publications, including the Independent, Hollywood Independent, Bulletin of Legislative News, and Reports

⁵⁰ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 70.

from Washington. Writers for these publications were Langston Hughes, Frank Kingdon, John Howard Lawson, Sam Farquhar, Carey McWilliams, and others well known in Communist and Red front ranks. It maintained special committees on art, radio, and the press. It set up special committees to support legislation in behalf of socialization of medicine and natural resources.

The officers of ICCASP were Jo Davidson and Frank Kingdon, co-chairmen; Frederic March, secretary-treasurer; Herman Schumlin, finance chairman; directors: William Rose Benet, Van Wyck Brooks, Louis Calhern, Marc Connelly, Morris L. Cooke, Norman Corwin, John Cromwell, Bartley Crum, Olivia De Havilland, Moses Diamond, Donald Du Shane, Albert Einstein, Florence Eldridge (Mrs. Frederic March), Rudolph Ganz, Moss Hart, Lillian Hellman, Howard Koch, Jr., John Howard Lawson, John T. McManus, William Morris, Alonzo F. Myers, John P. Peters, Martin Popper, Paul Robeson, Harlow Shapley, Herman Schumlin, and Carl Van Doren. Hannah Dörner was executive director, and Hila Meadow, membership director. The character of members of the sponsoring committee more clearly indicated the Red front design of ICCASP. They included Louis Adamic, Mary McLeod Bethune, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Howard Fast, William S. Gailmor, Langston Hughes, Canada Lee, Max Lerner, Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

At the Communist Party convention, held in New York City in August 1945, special emphasis was placed on the ICCASP by members of the cultural committee of the party. Reference was made to the fact that it was one of the organizations in which leading Communist factions were working with satisfactory results. One member of the cultural committee was honored for his pioneer work in setting up the ICCASP. The report of the cultural committee, presented to the convention by one June Hoffman, stated in part:

We built the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, and it is of great political import.

Early in 1946 the ICCASP and the CIO-PAC gave a \$12.50 plate dinner at the Astor in New York, at which Andrei Gromyko (Russian agent) was a speaker. The dinner was held on the first anniversary of the San Francisco Conference.

On April 13, 1946, the same clique—ICCASP and the CIO-PAC, with 2,000 New Dealers, Communists, pro-Communists, and "One Worlders"—gathered in New York and listened to the political proclamation of Henry Wallace. He called for the building of "a vigorous political organization in every country." He asked for complete cooperation with Russia in all matters. Claude Pepper, "Soviet First"; Dr. Frank Kingdon, and others of the same political shade also spoke. Organizations such as the (Communist) International Workers' Order and the Red dominated CIO Fur Workers' Union, as well as the Communist Party, purchased tickets in blocs at \$10 each.

The officers, nationally and locally, of the ICCASP were for the most part individuals with pro-Communist and pro-Soviet backgrounds, whose loyalty to the Red cause was clearly indicated by their past activities and affiliations.

Similar organizations existed in other countries, denoting an international front in this field. These included the Union Nationale des

Intellectuals (France), headed by F. Joliot-Curie, a Communist; and the Associations of Professionals and Cultural Organizations (Argentina), under the direction of Dr. Tamborini, a Communist-front candidate for office.

The conference which met in Chicago on September 28 and 29, 1946, to assemble the machinery for the operation of this organization was attended by representatives of the National Committee to Win the Peace, the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, the CIO-PAC, the National Citizens' PAC, the Youth PAC, the National Farmers' Union, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Negro Congress, Independent Voters of Illinois, Liberal Voters' League of St. Louis, Progressive Citizens of Ohio, Independent Voters of New Hampshire, Progressive Citizens of Cleveland, Progressive Citizens of Cincinnati, New Jersey Independent Citizens' League and Oberlin Political Action Committee and other left-wing groups. The sponsors of the conferences were the CIO-PAC, the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the National Citizens' PAC. These groups combined into one organization, the Progressive Citizens of America. Like the PAC, this is not a party, but it is the machinery through which other parties are to be penetrated, or a third party launched.

Members of the board of directors, who were appointed at the merger meeting, were selected in an equal number from the National Citizens' PAC, the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions, and the National Committee to Win the Peace. The other organizations were given vice-presidential posts. The Communist and the CIO press devoted much space to the merger since the movements merging had followed the party line faithfully on national and international issues. Harold Ickes, who had been co-chairman of the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, resigned immediately following the merger. He claimed his resignation was due to the communistic views of the movements.

Frank Kingdon and Jo Davidson were selected co-chairmen of Progressive Citizens of America, each having previously served as co-chairmen of two of the major merging groups. Both have extensive front backgrounds. Herman Shumlin, who has a record-breaking background of front activities, was elected secretary. Michael M. Nisselson, with some 12 Red-front affiliations, was chosen treasurer. Executive vice chairmen are C. B. Baldwin and Hannah Dorner. Both have participated in Red-front activities in the past. Vice chairman are Van Wyck Brooks, Elmer A. Benson, John Cromwell, Bartley C. Crum, Norman Corwin, Clark Foreman, Lillian Hellman, Gene Kelley, Robert Kenny, Frederic March, Paul Robeson, Harlow Shapley, A. F. Whitney, R. R. Wright, J. Raymond Walsh, Paul Tishman, and Marshall Dimock.

Progressive Citizens of America operates a Young Progressive Citizens' Committee, of which Gene Kelly, movie actor, is national chairman. Herbert Oppenheimer is executive vice chairman, and George Pepper is executive director of its arts, sciences, and professions council. Chapters are active in most universities and colleges. It has supported the Communist Party line in all issues. The YPPC is also an affiliate of the New York Youth Council. Two hundred members of its New York chapter were among the 1,000 leftists who

marched on Albany early this year (1947). Five hundred members from 17 States met in Washington, D. C., in June. The YPCC has sent delegates to the Communist International youth festival and meeting being held in Prague in July (1947).

Progressive Citizen's political workshops have been set up, at which students are being taught its brand of political technique.

Progressive Citizens of America enters into the political pressure propaganda campaigns and marches of the leftist variety. Members of its State of Washington section recently marched on the State Legislature in support of Red demands. They were joined by Communists and other frontiers.

The organization has been particularly critical of current changes in the foreign policies of the Truman administration, and advocates an appeasement attitude towards Russia and her satellite countries.

Aubrey Williams and Carey McWilliams are members of the board. The movement draws no line against outright Communists or front leaders, in fact openly invited them in.

Progressive Citizens of America published the PCA News Release, with offices located at 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y., and 1916 L Street NW., Washington, D. C.; and the Progressive Citizen, published in New York. Ralph Shikes is editor, and Milton Meltzer is associate editor. The Washington, D. C., office is in charge of Luke W. Wilson, former Orientation Officer in the United States Army.

Executive heads of the women's division of PCA are Helen Rosen and Grace Leidman.

Communists cooperate wholeheartedly in keeping the Progressive Citizens of America in the limelight, and the latter utilize considerable space in announcing scheduled gatherings in the Communist organs. Henry Wallace appears to be the organization's chief mouthpiece. The Political Action Committee of the CIO likewise openly cooperates with Progressive Citizens of America.

In States in which the Communist Party has been barred from the ballot, the Reds lend their support to so-called "progressive" candidates sponsored by Progressive Citizens of America. It is to be expected that this movement will assume the role of an iron curtain, behind which the Communists will parade in the political field in the States barring them from the ballot.

As an example of the manner in which Red frontiers operate through Progressive Citizens of America, I call attention to the 22 simultaneous public protest meetings held in New York City earlier this year in an attempt to "stop anti-labor legislation." The meetings were under the auspices of the movement. Speakers at these meetings included Norman Corwin, Dorothy Parker, Olin Downes, William S. Gailmor, Elinor S. Gimbel, Frank Kingdon, Canada Lee, Lillian Hellman, Dwight Bradley, Dean Dixon, Henry Pratt Fairchild, Goodwin Watson, Alfred Stern, and J. Raymond Walsh. The majority of these frontiers and Communists have previously been mentioned in this report in various connections.

In California a propaganda campaign against the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities is sponsored by the California section of Progressive Citizens of America and the Communist Party. The campaign by the former is headed by Robert W. Kenny, chair-

man. The committee is composed of the usual run of Red fronters. Advertisements publicizing the campaign appear in the west coast communist organ, *People's Daily World*.

A political call issued by Progressive Citizens in California appeared in several issues of *People's Daily World*. It asked for 10,000 one-day door-to-door campaigners in Los Angeles in an effort to elect a candidate to the City Board of Education. It is rapidly setting up chapters throughout the country, using to a great degree the organizations' locals which were absorbed by it. The California section is meeting jointly and openly with such movements as the Communist Party, International Workers' Order, National Negro Congress, National Association for Advancement of Colored People, American Veterans' Committee, and the American Jewish Congress. A joint meeting of these groups was held in California on July 3 (1947).

The Hollywood Arts, Sciences and Professions Council, a branch of Progressive Citizens of America, is active at this time in launching a Nation-wide campaign against so-called threats of silencing speech and controlling the thought of leftist movements. The council's officers and leaders met at the Beverly Hills Hotel in Hollywood, July 9 to 13 (1947). Among them were George Pepper, executive director of the council; Norman Corwin, John Cromwell, Hugh DeLacy, Howard Koch, Millan Brand, Dorothy Hughes, Donald Ogden Stewart, Irving Pichel, Hume Cronyn, Paul Henreid, Vincent Price, Roy Harris, Albert Maltz, Philip Stevenson, Vera Gaspar, Guy Endore, Arthur Laurents, Melvin Levy, Sam Ornitz, Wilma Shore, Arnaud D'Usseau, Alfred Noyes, Alexander Knox, Anne Revere, and Selene Royle.

At a meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, held in New York City on February 23, 1946, plans were laid for the immediate formation of a coalition of left-wing elements into a third party. The call, issued by Jack Stachel in behalf of the national committee, stated in brief:

If possible it is preferable that steps toward forming a third party should be taken early in 1947.

The September 1946 issue of *Political Affairs*, the mouthpiece of the national committee of the party, contains the text of a report for the national board of the party, made by Eugene Dennis at the plenary meeting of the party on July 16, 1946. The report stated in part:

To halt and defeat the offensive of imperialist reaction at home and abroad it is necessary for labor and progressive movements to build a great counter-offensive, to build up the organized strength of the workers and all popular forces. Above all, it is essential to weld the maximum unity of action of the political organizations of labor and the trade-unions in alliance with all anti-imperialist and democratic groups and elements.

In this report are listed the so-called democratic forces, considered the "essential forces," which must be brought together in a concentrated drive against so-called reactionary political trends in American domestic and foreign fields of action. These movements, according to the report, are among those having "high priority" in Communist circles because of their value in building up the "progressive mass" movement in the United States.

The organizations so listed in the report are the following: Southern Conference for Human Welfare, National Negro Congress, the CIO, National Win the Peace Congress, Independent Citizens' Committee

of Arts, Sciences, and Professions, American Youth for Democracy, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of American Women, American Labor Party, National Citizens' PAC, American Veterans' Committee, United Negro Allied Veterans of America, Farmers' Union, and "other progressive and democratic forces."

I have discussed the consolidation of these organizations which occurred after the issuance of these directions by the Communist Party to its forces. I do not know of one organization mentioned in this report that failed to participate in the conference held in Chicago at which the Progressive Citizens of America was set up. Neither do I know of any one of those organizations which is not, in some manner, active in the drive against the new labor law enacted by Congress. All of them are fighting for the abolition of this committee of Congress and are opposing the President's loyalty drive among Federal employees.

Immediately thereafter a reorganizing of political Red fronts was begun. This resulted in the forming of the Progressive Citizens of America, with national headquarters located at 205 East Forty-second Street, New York, N. Y.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question right there?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Is that the organization, Mr. Steele, of which one Henry A. Wallace is a spokesman and member?

Mr. STEELE. He is, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. And he is the alleged candidate for president of that group?

Mr. STEELE. Of that group; yes, sir.

Mr. MUNDT. Do you know anything about the connection between that group and a group in California which has recently announced through the press that they are inviting him to run as candidate for President?

Mr. STEELE. Well, the group out there is headed by Robert Kenny, who headed some of these other fronts which were brought into the convention that dissolved those movements and set up the Progressive Citizens of America. Jo Davidson was one of the original cochairmen. He has gone to Paris.

Mr. McDOWELL. The sculptor.

Mr. STEELE. Yes. Kenny has now been elected cochairman of this Progressive Citizens of America.

Mr. MUNDT. Is Mr. Wallace doing anything else at the present time besides editing—is it—the New Republic?

Mr. STEELE. He is editor of the New Republic Magazine.

Mr. MUNDT. The New Republic.

Mr. STEELE. Not the one I am with, the National Republic.

Mr. MUNDT. There is a great distinction. I am sure, in the editorial policy of the two magazines. Do you know anything about the ownership of the New Republic Magazine, for which Mr. Wallace is editor?

Mr. STEELE. I have the records on that in my office, which I have gone into very thoroughly.

Mr. MUNDT. I have heard it stated—I believe I am correct in this—that the New Republic is owned almost exclusively by foreign capital; is that correct?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; about 98 percent, I believe.

Mr. MUNDT. Ninety-eight percent foreign capital.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. Originally, I think the capital was in London. I think it is now incorporated in Canada. But I think the mother of the original editor of the publication is the one that owns the stock, as I understand. She lives in England.

Mr. MUNDT. Who is she?

Mr. STEELE. I can't recall her name.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Straight.

Mr. STEELE. That was one of her names; yes. She was married two or three times.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you supply the committee with your record on the New Republic?

Mr. STEELE. I can; I will be glad to.

Mr. MUNDT. I expect that stock is selling pretty high in the Moscow Board of Trade. [Laughter.]

At the National Board meeting of Progressive Citizens of America in Chicago on June 30 (1947), the organization went even further on record in behalf of Marxism when it adopted resolutions binding it to fight for the socialization of railroads, power, and coal mines. It had previously gone on record against President Truman's foreign policy, which the PCA criticized as antagonistic to Russia. It had openly opposed the Government's drive to oust Communists from Federal positions. It condemned the demands for the illegalization of the Communist Party. It demanded the renewal of wartime bureaucracy. Mr. Wallace, its mouthpiece, issued a statement a short time ago to the effect that workers of this Nation "look to Russia for inspiration."

The most recent recruits to the PCA's political front among unions are the railroad trainmen and the United Furniture Workers, both of which have endorsed a third party and Wallace for President in 1948.

Progressive Citizens of America announced in June (1947) that it had already set up 387 locals in 22 States, with Massachusetts at the top of the list, having 60 locals. New York and California were following closely with 50 and 30 locals, respectively.

People's Songs took its place on the political front in Los Angeles on May 19 (1947), on the occasion of Henry Wallace's address opposing President Truman's new foreign policy against Soviet aggression. The gathering was under the auspices of the Progressive Citizens of America. People's Songs presented the Bill of Rights, by Jay Gorney, sung by a chorus composed of 27 individuals from the CIO and Red cultural front ranks. The People, Yes, by Earl Robinson, was also presented. A few days earlier, People's Songs handled the entertainment for a meeting of the Communist Party at Madison Square Garden in New York (May 14, 1947). It presented Songs of Tom Paine, sung by the Greek Partisan Chorus. William Z. Foster, Gerhart Eisler, Eugene Dennis, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Robert Thompson spoke.

Members of this committee of Congress, gentlemen, may have noticed a slight change in the wording of the slogans of the Communists, a change, in my opinion, which is indeed significant, and which was first noticeable at the time Europe became embroiled in World War II.

The change to which I refer is that of the laying aside, to a great degree, of the words "worker" and "Communists." In their place the Reds have adopted the words "people's" and "democracy." In this respect I call attention to the numerous front organizations, the names of which include the word "democracy" or "people's," to many of which I have referred in this testimony. And now we have a so-called People's Party in the making.

The People's Party, a new force, maintains national headquarters at 726 Eleventh Street N.W., Washington, D. C. The national chairman at present is Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge (retired). He has also been mentioned as cochairman of the Armed Forces Committee of the American Veterans' Committee. Treasurer of the Party is Henry J. Sutton; secretary, Mrs. Minnie Frost Rands. The incorporators are Eleanor C. Curtiss, E. Stephen Gratten (former Communist Party leader and candidate for office in Columbus, Ohio), Bessie H. Michelsen, Robert A. Young, and Bessie H. Sheldon. The party claims that our free enterprise system is bankrupt, and that the party intends to save the Nation through what appears to be its Marxian program.

Holdridge is mouthing the Red party line in respect to opposition to military training, and a general disarmament of the United States. He states he is of the opinion that capitalism is decadent. He refers to the "drive to run Communists underground" as a "witch hunt." In this connection he criticizes the rantings of leaders coming to us "like echoes from the Tower of Babel." He is critical of our foreign policy in injecting this country in the affairs of nations "from the Dardanelles to Korea." He is opposed to "what amounts to a military alliance with Turkey," and our "glorified idea of competition" which "has set the hand of every man against that of the other."

Action for Human Welfare became the official spokesman for the People's Party in May 1947. This publication, a left-wing monthly, is printed in Norwalk, Ohio. The editor is Ray S. Kellogg. Writers for it are Scott Nearing, Elizabeth Miller, Fred Blair, C. P. Bradley. In the issue in which the announcement was made that it had become the official organ of the People's Party, it denounced President Truman, calling him "Adolph Truman." The article attacked the President for following Hitler "step by step." It gloriously defended Russia, and boosted Wallace. The publication unquestionably follows the Communist Party line. The publication charges that the United States suppressed an appeal against Franco; it is critical because the United States demanded that Russia return 90 ships which had been loaned to her; and charges that the United States labels all liberal groups unAmerican; that all leftists and labor groups are called foreign agents; that the United States, in a subtle manner, is trying to crush trade-unions; that the United States supports corrupt Fascist governments all over the world—in Greece, Spain, Iran, Arabia, China, and the Philippines; that the United States has railroaded a pro-Fascist government into power in Japan; that the United States has announced a program that is openly and blatantly imperialistic. In one of its issues, it printed a burlesque on "How To Spot a Communist," this taken from an official Communist Party organ.

Henry J. Sutton, treasurer of People's Party, contributed a signed editorial which appeared in Action (May-June issue) in which the above accusations appeared. He stated that the editorial policy of

Action for Human Welfare "will be determined by the People's Party in accordance with the stated program of the party." Holdridge writes in the July edition.

The party advocates the substitution of the Federal legislative powers by a new branch of government entitled the "Economic branch," to consist of a national board of directors, elected by guilds. It also suggested that a similar change take place in State government, and that the guilds be composed of cooperatives in various lines of trade.

Meetings of the party strategy board, held in Washington, have been attended by certain individuals affiliated with the United States Government, as well as those who are known to have in the past had Communist Party or front connections. The following, one known employee of the Library of Congress, have attended these meetings, Fred Blossom, Bessie Michelson, Eleanor Curtis, Bessie Sheldon, and Rowena Apsel.

I want to refer briefly to this: At the New Jersey meeting of the Progressive Citizens of America, the headline speaker there, whose name I have buried in here somewhat, stated that if Mr. Wallace was not accepted as a candidate by the Democratic Party there would be a third party movement organized and that this third party would be known as the People's Party. Now, the People's Party has already been incorporated here in the District. Their offices are at 726 Eleventh Street NW., Washington, D. C.

Mr. McDOWELL. Are they going to hunt votes here in the District?

Mr. STEELE. No; this is merely the national headquarters of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. They are going to hunt them in New Jersey.

Mr. STEELE. They are organizing in the various States. The national chairman at present is Brig. Gen. H. C. Holdridge, retired. The treasurer of it is Henry J. Sutton, Mrs. Minnie Frost Rands is the secretary. The incorporators include a former Communist leader from Columbus, Ohio, and a number of frontiers. Two weeks ago they adopted a publication called Action for Human Welfare as the official organ of the party. In that publication announcing that it became the official organ of the party was an editorial which was pretty critical of President Truman's foreign policy and referred to him as Adolph Truman. In other words, the editorial in the organ of the party was trying to smear the President as a Hitlerite. The organization follows much of the party line throughout. We have analyzed that. I have submitted the evidence there to show that.

The Minnesota Democratic-Farmer Labor Party is among many State units which have fallen in line with the PCA and its program and its proposed candidacy of Henry Wallace for President of the United States. George P. Phillips is chairman of this affiliate, with State headquarters in Minneapolis. Two other affiliates of PCA are the Farmers' Union Progressive Alliance, recently formed in North Dakota, of which Glenn J. Falbott is president; and the Rocky Mountain Council for Social Section, with headquarters in Denver, Colo.

Now as to the labor front.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, in connection with the Communist influence in the labor movement, how many unions, national or international unions, do you find Communist influence is predominant in?

Mr. STEELE. Forty.

Mr. STRIPLING. Forty?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. STRIPLING. Are they limited to any particular labor organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; they are all CIO excepting one union.

Mr. STRIPLING. What union is the exception?

Mr. STEELE. That was the painters' union, which I think recently—since I wrote this—voted Mr. Weinstock, or whatever his name is, out of control up there. That eliminates that one. The AFL seems to have cleaned house pretty well and have continued to hold the line. But many of these other unions, which started out under Communist domination, have continued and are today, as the elections come up, reelecting their Communist leadership.

At that point I wish to bring out the fact that Mr. Curran himself says—this is out of his own publication, of March this year:

Within the union—

that is the National Maritime Union

approximately 197 of the 150 elected officials of our union are Communists, who are more interested in assuring that your union become a stooge union of the Communist Party than they are in keeping it an instrument belonging to the rank and file seamen who built it.

Mr. STRIPLING. In view of the provisions of the Taft-Hartley labor law, Mr. Steele, what will happen in these 40 unions in which you claim there is Communist domination?

Mr. STEELE. Well, at this time they are ignoring the law. They are inviting court suits. I presume what will happen depends entirely upon the Supreme Court's opinion of the law, whether it is constitutional or not. On the other hand, there are a number of unions which I think will just disregard the act and the benefits of the National Labor Relations Act, which are forbidden them when they maintain Communist leadership, and force themselves upon the employer without National Labor Relations Board protection.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any information on the World Federation of Trade Unions?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

I also have the list of delegates that attended the international congress.

Mr. STRIPLING. You have them listed according to country?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; according to country.

Mr. STRIPLING. Mr. Chairman, I think that list should be included in the record, the list of the delegates to the World Federation of Trade Unions, according to country, which he says he has.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STEELE. Now, at this time, there is also an international film festival, which you will be interested in, being held in France, by the International Federation of Film Workers. American delegations have been invited from Hollywood, but since the Congress isn't on yet, we haven't had any evidence to show who the delegates will be, if any, from Hollywood. But it bears watching, because it is another one of the international set-ups which has Communist direction.

The CHAIRMAN. When is the Congress going to be convened?

Mr. STEELE. The date hasn't been set, insofar as I know. The call was issued in June. It appeared in California Communist Party daily newspaper, the only publication it appeared in.

The CHAIRMAN. People's World.

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir.

MR. STRIPLING. Mr. Steele, regarding the Communist influence in labor unions, do you have any evidence that any union has elected an officer since the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act?

MR. STEELE. Yes.

MR. STRIPLING. Who are Communists?

MR. STEELE. Yes, sir. I think you will have to agree that Alexander Balint is a Communist. In fact, I think you had him up before this committee. He is not only a Communist. He is a fellow that has never been naturalized and was finally, I think, refused naturalization because of his Communist Party connections. He has been elected regional director of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union of the CIO, and is secretary of the Cleveland Council. He has quite a Communist Party and front background.

Up in New Jersey, I think—your State, Mr. Chairman—early in July 1947, the Nutley, N. J., local, No. 447, at the time phone workers were on strike, elected Joseph Sprechman, a member of the Communist Party, business agent by a vote of 1,100 to 166. There are other instances referred to in here, but those are two examples, if you will accept them.

MR. STRIPLING. In other words, it is your opinion that they will challenge the authority of the Taft-Hartley Act?

MR. STEELE. I don't think there is a bit of a question about it.

MR. STRIPLING. Proceed.

MR. STEELE. Thank you.

REDS ON LABOR FRONT

With the exposure by this committee and other committees of the House and Senate, and in the face of proposed legislation (which has lately been enacted), anti-Communist laborites came to the front with increased force, and in many instances started cleaning house.

On the other hand, some of the former front leaders in CIO labor unions, in an effort to protect their own high positions in the unions, maneuvered themselves into the anti-Red union side, and even went so far as to help oust a few Communists from leadership.

While there are Communists in high office in the majority of the unions formerly under fire because of their Red leadership, these are becoming fewer with the passing of time, and with the recent enactment of Federal legislation they will be forced to resign from office, if their unions are to enjoy the advantage of laws which protect the rights of labor unions.

It should be remembered, however, that the Red master-minds who bored into their unions from the bottom and succeeded in reaching the top remain members of their respective unions.

An example of this is to be found in the National Maritime Union. Joe Curran, former Red-fronter and head of the union, was responsible for the ousting of two of the several Communists in the leadership of the international under his command. A more powerful and cunning stroke was his effort a short time ago to elect non-Communists to replace Reds in port agent positions, powerful posts in his union. However, Curran admits that no less than 107 of the 158 elected officers of his union are Communists.

It is to be expected that the Communists will bide their time in the unions until another more propitious day. One step left open to them now is to organize rank-and-file committees in the unions and new movements among the unions outside the unions' jurisdiction, as well as outside the plants in which they are employed. I refer to off-the-job movements, such as people's songs and choruses, grievance committees and anti-labor-legislation committees. The Reds will keep their customary close hold on union members, even though they may be barred from openly leading them. The danger thus continues.

It must be noted that the recent propaganda campaign against this committee and the passage of labor legislation barring the Reds from union leadership has brought to the fore hundreds of CIO leaders who continue to play the game, it is now evident, for the Reds. Of course, there are certain unions, such as the furriers' union, longshoremen's, maritime, transport, and farm unions which it is doubted will pay any attention whatsoever to any law designed to interfere with Red control of their unions.

In this respect I call your attention to the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers' disregard of the newly enacted law prohibiting unions from harboring Communists in official positions. Early in July 1947 the Nutley, N. J., local, No. 447, at the time phone workers were on strike, elected Joseph Sprechman, a member of the Communist Party, business agent by a vote of 1,100 to 166.

Another example of union challenge to the anti-Communist law is the recent reelection of Alex Balint, regional director of the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' Union (CIO), as secretary of the Cleveland council. Balint is not even an American citizen. He was refused citizenship some years ago. Members of this committee are familiar with his long Communist record, since he appeared before the committee some time ago.

There are at least 40 CIO labor unions which have been penetrated by the Communists, and in which Communist and Communist front leadership still exists, in the national as well as in many of the locals, although anti-Communist forces have been gaining a little ground therein during the past 6 months. These unions are, namely, the United Auto Workers; International Fur and Leather Workers; International Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers; International Longshoremen and Warehousemen; National Maritime Cooks' and Stewards' Association; National Maritime Union; United Rubber Workers; International Fishermen and Allied Workers of America; International Woodworkers of America; Food and Tobacco Workers; United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America; Transport Workers' Union; American Communications Association; United Furniture Workers of America; United Farm Equipment Workers; United Office and Professional Workers of America; United Shoe Workers of America; United Packinghouse Workers of America; United Gas, Coke, and Chemical Workers; Cleaners and Dyers Union; Federation of Glass, Ceramic, and Silica Sand Workers of America; National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association; Industrial Union Marine and Shipbuilding of America; American Newspaper Guild; National Lawyers Guild; United Retail and Wholesale Department Store Employees of America; United Steelworkers of America; Stone and Allied Quarry Workers of America; Textile Workers Union of Amer-

ica; Utility Workers Union of America; Hotel and Restaurant Workers of America; Jewelry Workers of America; International Moulders Union of America; International Hod Carriers Union; Bakery and Confectionery Workers of America; United Public Workers of America; and Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

As an outside-the-union influence I wish to call attention to the American Jewish Labor Council, with national headquarters at 22 East Seventeenth Street, New York, N. Y.

This was formerly known as the Trade Union Committee for Jewish Unity. Chairman of the council is Max Perlow, who is secretary-treasurer of the United Furniture Workers Union (CIO). He has an extensive Red front background.

He has been a member of the executive board of Morning Freiheit, the Free Browder Committee, and numerous other Communist and front movements.

Max Steinberg is executive secretary of the council. He has been a member of the central committee of the Communist Party, and in 1938 he was organizational secretary of the party.

He was business manager of Morning Freiheit, and a member of the general executive board of the International Workers' Order.

Additional Communist and Red-front leaders of the council are Abram Flaxer of the United Public Workers of America (CIO), with many Red front connections, including affiliation with the American League for Peace and Democracy, American People's Mobilization, and the Free Earl Browder Committee; Joseph H. Levy, vice president of the United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO), and a member of the Free Earl Browder Committee, Spanish aid movements, and other fronts, Sidney Mason, business manager of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers (CIO), who has been active in Red-front movements; Arthur Osman, president of local 65 of the United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers Union (CIO), who has been connected with the Free Earl Browder Committee and the IWO; Irving Potash, manager of the Furriers Joint Council (CIO), a member of the staff of Morning Freiheit, leader of Red May Day demonstrations, and other Red and front activities; Isidore Rosenberg, prominent in the old (Communist) Trade Union Unity League and other Red circles; Joseph Selly, president of the American Communications Association (CIO), and well known in numerous front organizations; M. Hedley Stone, treasurer of the National Maritime Union (CIO), and a participant in Red-front activities; Meyer Stern, district director of the United Packing House Workers (CIO), and former organizing secretary of district 2 of the Communist Party; Leon Sverdlove, manager of local 1 of the Jewelry Workers Union (AFL), and a member of the Free Earl Browder Committee and other radical outfits; Louis Weinstock, secretary-treasurer of district 9 of the A. F. of L. Brotherhood of Painters, and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party; Joseph Winogradsky, vice president of the International Fur and Leather Workers' Union (CIO), who took part in the Communist Party State convention (New York) in 1938; and Maurice Rosenberg, administrative secretary of the American Jewish Labor Council, who held this position in the old Jewish People's Committee branded Communist by another congressional committee investigating un-

American activities, and which the committee found was under the leadership of all those now composing the leadership of the American Jewish Labor Council.

Perlow was president of the Jewish People's Committee; Osman and Weinstock, vice presidents; Flaxer, Potash, Isidor Rosenberg, and Steinberg were members of the national board. Maurice Rosenberg was administrative secretary. The Jewish Labor Council was later denounced by legitimate Jewish organizations. This is another organization which tolerates Red influence and leadership.

The Council of Negro Trade Unionists, with headquarters in New York City, has been active in labor circles within the past few months. It has been mentioned in connection with its participation in southern affairs. Red control from without is noticeable in this group also.

On May 13, 1947, the radical left-wing forces among the Negroes of California organized the United Negro Labor Committee. The organizational meeting was held in Oakland, with 125 in attendance. It has been announced that the committee will act in the capacity of a political action group, in cooperation with other so-called progressives.

The chairman is Hursel Alexander, who is at the present time CIO Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Union organizer in Oakland. He formerly resided in Omaha, Nebr. At different times he has been organizer for the National Maritime Union and the Longshoremen's Union. He is reported to have been active also in Africa, India, and Puerto Rico. Alexander joined other leftists in calling a parley in California on July 19, 1947, to launch a campaign in support of the Communist organ, People's Daily World.

Members of the board of the United Negro Labor Committee include Lou Vanier, formerly of New Orleans and reported to be a carpenter by trade; Ethel Benford, a member of the CIO Steel Workers' Union Local 1798; Camille Arnas, AFL Cleaners and Dyers Local 23; Bob Neville, Electrical Workers' Local 1412; Alfred Bard, Longshoremen's Local 10; and Frances Albrier, Dining Car Workers' Local 456. Vanier is a charter subscriber to the People's Daily World.

The Citizens' Conference To Defend Labor, 205 East Forty-second Street, room 1515, New York, N. Y., organized the excursion to Washington, D. C., to oppose labor legislation before Congress. Those making the trip arrived in Washington on May 26. Frances Borden is executive secretary of the conference. Sponsors included Henrietta Buckmaster of the Congress of American Women; Peter Cacchione, New York Communist leader; Eugene Connolly, active Red-frontier; John W. Davis, Jr.; Muriel Draper; Leo Huberman; Langston Hughes; Rockwell Kent, head of IWO; Carol King; Ray Lev; Vito Marcantonio; William Howard Melish, of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship; Mike Quill; and Alfred Stern.

(Exhibit 71 was received.)⁵¹

On the west coast still another organization has sprung up, the Western Council for Progressive Labor and Agriculture, headed by Frank Scully, of California.

John Barnes is secretary; Raymond Ridle, treasurer; directors, Bartley Crum, S. K. Bennett, Emil Corwin, Willis Hill, and Frank Pellet.

⁵¹ See appendix, p. 176, for exhibit 71.

Among the sponsors are Oscar Pattiz, Charles Brown, Peter Kahn, Jr., J. M. Alkow, and Robert Opperman.

Participating organizations are the American Communications' Association, Retail Clerks' Union, International Ladies Garment Workers' Union, Farmer-Labor-Consumers' Association, Southland Jewish Organization, and the Berkeley chapter of the American Veterans' Committee.

The Western Council for Progressive Labor and Agriculture was formed in April 1946. Offices are located at 2063 Grace Avenue, Hollywood, Calif.

At the present time it is protesting the release of radical news commentators by radio networks, particularly Frank Kingdon and Johannes Steel.

It charges that the plot to have these commentators and other liberals fired was instigated by this committee.

The June "veto the Hartley-Taft bill caravan" from the west coast to Washington, D. C., was led by Communists. These included Robert O'Conner, of the editorial staff of the (Communist) People's Daily World, James E. Gillan, and C. E. Devine, who were leaders of the Red-instigated bonus march of 1931. Others on the caravan staff were Harry Lea, Bill Axelrod, Celia Wilby, Jack Steinhart, Mark Robinson, and Tony Nicol.

In New York, a Madison Garden rally against proposed congressional legislation on labor problems was fostered by Saul Mills, Phil Murray, and Louis Hollender. It was given impetus by the Communist New York publications, of which there are many.

A Labor and Citizens' Committee To Uphold Free Elections has been formed, with national headquarters at 23 West Twenty-sixth Street, New York City.

Dashiell Hammett is treasurer. Leverett Gleason, Canada Lee, Mike Quill, and Harry Reich are officers. Its primary purpose is to support the Communist Party and immediately arouse opposition to unseating Congressman Marcantonio.

On the international front in the labor-union field we find the World Federation of Trade Unions, with headquarters in Paris. It will be recalled that the name of the Communist Party of the United States was restored, after it had operated during the war as the Communist Political Association, and it resumed its prewar status as a militant revolutionary movement at the direction of Paris.

That city has become the center of the three postwar internationals which are now in operation—the above the International Federation of Democratic Women, and the World Youth Democratic Federation. All were organized at the direction of Moscow, and all are directing their activities from Paris.

The Moscow Reds have long striven to perfect a solidarity front among the unionists of the world. While they succeeded to an extent in this and other fields through previous internationals, they had not succeeded to any great degree in harnessing the unionists in the United States, France, and England to such a machine. Consequently, they have employed every possible trick to bring about the herding of unionists into their fold.

Prior to the formation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Moscow had put into operation throughout the world what was known as the Red International of Union Labor (RIUL).

The leadership was centered, and the international was quartered in Moscow.

Branches in England, France, and the United States were known as the Trade Union Unity League. The Reds then began to organize industrial unions in various industrial, transportation, and communication fields.

The membership of these was never great in the aforementioned countries, but they were powerful cells within any plant or unit of industry or trade.

They were clever in their maneuvering, and often brought out entire shops on strike in support of Communist demands.

Their chief purpose was to create unreasonable demands, raise them if attempts were made to meet them, and to prevent, through secret designs, settlement of their strikes. The purpose was to keep the strikers out until they were affected financially as a result of their unemployment, the blame being placed on the so-called bosses. In this manner the minds of the workers were poisoned against their employers and the "bosses" government, while the Communists gained strength and members.

The Red International of Union Labor claimed some 15,000,000 members, 12,000,000 of whom belonged to Soviet Russia's ruled unions. In Russia the worker has never been permitted to strike or to make demands. Neither has he been allowed to find fault with his "boss," the government.

A few years before the birth of the CIO in this country, the Reds changed their tactics slightly by abandoning their individual Red labor unions.

The members of those unions were instructed to join the large trade-unions.

They organized what became known as the A. F. of L. rank and file committees within AFL unions.

These rank and file committees made a series of demands on the AFL, including a call to discard craft unions and organize industrial unions.

They then attempted to undermine the leadership of those AFL unions, as well as the leaders of the federation itself.

Finally, these rank and file committees called a rump convention of the AFL, after their demands were turned down.

Many of those prominent in the committees were unseated at the legitimate convention of the federation, and they immediately expanded their campaign by demanding the formation of one large industrial labor union federation.

Through the efforts of the Hillman Garment Workers' Union, other independent unions, the Red rank and file committees, and the United Mine Workers' Union, which was also at loggerheads with the AFL, the CIO was established. The Hillmanites took over, although John L. Lewis temporarily held the throne. This terminated a 13-year dream of the Hillmanites, and a 15-year dream of Moscow.

Hillman had promised in 1922 that he would direct a drive toward the establishment of the one large organization of industrial unions within the United States. He had accepted an invitation from Moscow to join his union with the Red International.

Prior to this, and during the period the Red International of Union Labor was in operation, the International Federation of Trade-Unions was functioning from Vienna. This was the outgrowth of an International Trade-Union formed in 1901. The A. F. of L. belonged to the IFTU for 2 years, but it withdrew because of its extreme leftist tendencies.

In 1932 the IFTU was represented in 32 countries. The British unions had also withdrawn. Citrine of England and Jouhaux of France were its international officials. The A. F. of L. rejoined the IFTU when, in 1937, it amended its constitution to provide that affiliated unions need not be bound to the majority decisions. This enabled the A. F. of L. to oppose Red unions within the IFTU. Political dissension within the international caused its downfall.

In 1944 a call was issued for a world congress of labor, to be held in London in February 1945, with the thought that the IFTU might be revived. The congress was attended by 230 delegates from 35 countries who claimed to represent 60,000,000 unionists.

Representatives of the CIO attended, but the A. F. of L. refused to send representatives.

A statement appeared in the report of the Congress to the effect that the CIO represented 6,000,000 American unionists.

The left-wing British Trade-Union Congress claimed to represent 7,000,000 members in the coalition of British unions.

Russia claimed a representation of 27,000,000 unionists, and the General Confederation of Labor in France claimed it represented 4,000,000 at the congress.

The number represented by the delegates sent by Russia, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland was sufficient to throw the control to the Communists, with Russian Reds, of course, dominating the control. At this congress, arrangements were made for a second world congress to be held in Paris in September 1945.

Delegates to the congress adopted the Communist-Moscow party line in all of their resolutions. A committee to frame a constitution was appointed, and Hillman was made chairman thereof. An Anglo-Soviet-American trade-union committee was set up, the duty of which was to influence the British conservative unions and the American Federation of Labor in an effort to forge a united front (CIO-AFL in the United States) representation in the international in preparation for the second world congress in September 1945. Jack Tanner and Arthur B. Robert, British leftists, were given the task of promoting the accord in England and the United States.

The American Federation of Labor ultimately passed a resolution, introduced by Matthew Woll, turning down the proposal to join the international.

The resolution stated the A. F. of L. would refuse to be dominated by Moscow.

Woll had previously led the fight against Soviet and satellite unions in other countries in the IFTU.

However, the Anglo-Soviet committee succeeded in unifying the South American union-labor forces, bringing them into the international through the Confederation of Latin-American Workers, headed by Vincente Lombardo Toledano (pro-Soviet).

Leftist union leaders of the Latin-American countries were elected to a central committee, thus completing the South American front.

The countries bound to the international as a result of the efforts of the Anglo-Soviet committee were Mexico, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, Salvador, Puerto Rico, Haiti, Colombia, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Red unions in these countries, with the CIO in the United States, formed a front in the Western Hemisphere for the Reds' new international. The CIO played an important part in the Latin-American consolidation.

It might be well to digress briefly at this point. Prior to the Hitler-Stalin alliance a meeting had been called to prepare for a world labor-union congress. However, with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin alliance, the murder of Polish labor leaders, and the ruthlessness of Germany and Russia in Poland, Finland, and elsewhere, it was deemed best to abandon plans for the congress until after the war. After the Hitler-Stalin break, Russia had solidified labor, to an extent, through its appeal for unity during the war, and began to cash in on it.

Citrine and other leftist labor leaders from other countries attended conferences in Moscow, where plans were made to cash in on this new fraternal feeling brought about by the war. Similar meetings were also held in London. Moscow was first selected as the scene of the proposed international congress, but it was later decided that it should be held in London.

I list herewith the delegates who attended the World Trade-Union Congress, which was held in Paris in 1946:

REDS ON LABOR FRONT

Abt, John-----	United States	Bondas, Josep----	Belgium
Aguirre, F-----	Cuba	Braga, Pedro Car-	
Allen, Cliff-----	Great Britain	valho -----	Brazil
Amilpa, Fernando	Mexico	Bratfaleno, Victor	Rumania
Amar, M-----	Palestine	Bratschi, Robert_	Switzerland
An, P. T-----	China	Briones, Victor H_	Chile
Anderson, G-----	Swedèn	Brodier, Jean----	France
Androvioranu,		Brophy, John----	United States
Maria -----	Rumania	Burns, Tom-----	Do.
Amman, J. S-----	Gold Coast	Bussey -----	Great Britain
Antonini, Ramos_	Puerto Rico	Butler, M. (or P.)	New Zealand
Apostol, Gheorghe	Rumania	Buze, Edouard---	Poland
Arangis, Manual		Cajewski, Pierre_	Do.
R -----	Basques	Carey, J. B-----	United States
Arbid -----	Palestine	Carvasal -----	Bolivia
Armador, Arman-		Casparsson, R----	Sweden
do -----	Nicaragua	Charowa, Raina__	Bulgaria
Asriel, Adolph---	Rumania	Cheidl -----	Russia
Assale, M-----	France	Chang, T. F-----	China
Bakachowa -----	Russia	Chester -----	Great Britain
Bakkari, I. B----	Syria	Choulga, Helene_	Russia
Balice, Mihai---	Rumania	Christodouion, M.	Cyprus
Bara, Albino-----	Chile	Chu, H. F-----	China
Barrero, Filiberto	Colombia	Citrine, Walter---	Great Britain
Baskakov -----	Russia	Cofino, Angel-----	Cuba
Bassova, Mme----	Do.	Collins, C h a s.	
Bernstead -----	Great Britain	(observer)-----	United States
Beresine, V-----	Russia	Conley -----	Great Britain
Bernasconi -----	Switzerland	Conroy, Pat-----	Canada
Bertoletti, Gino_	Italy	C r o i z a t , A m -	
Betz -----	Switzerland	broise-----	Nigeria
Birar, Cristofor_	Rumania	Costerhuis, H-----	Holland
Bjarnason, B-----	Iceland	Croizat, Ambroise_	France
Blokzyl, B-----	Holland	Curran, Joseph---	United States

Damianof, Raiko	Bulgaria	Hill, Kindolfo	Brazil
Dange, S. A.	India	Hillman, Sidney	
Dauguy	France	(Chairman, dele-	
Deakin, Arthur	Great Britain	gation)	United States
deLandaburu, F.		Hlavicka, Josef	Czechoslovakia
X	United States	Hodgson, Sir M.	Great Britain
Dejace, Theo	Belgium	Hubbard, H. J. M.	British Guinea
deLandaburn, F.	Basques	Idelson, J.	Palestine
Del Rosal, Amaro	Spain	Iliason, L.	Russia
deStafano, Ma-		Jacova, Tuo	Albania
rino	Italy	Jarblum, M.	Palestine
D i a r, A m a r o		Jarman	Great Britain
Rosa	Spain	Jasinski, Casimir	Poland
diVittorio, Guis-		Jensen, Eiler	Denmark
seppe	Italy	Jeony, Dobromil	Czechoslovakia
deVries, M. J.	South Africa	Jiknavorian, S.	Lebanon
Dudie, Otto	Switzerland	Jimenez, Ramon C.	Dominican Republic
Dumas, J.	France	Jimeno, Arsenio	Spain
Dvorin, Ferdi-		Jnikhov	Russia
and	Czechoslovakia	Johnson	Sierra Leone
Eckerman, Erich	Czechoslovakia	Jouhaux, Leon	France
Eclisondo, Jean M.	Mexico	Jungmann, F.	Czechoslovakia
Edwards, E.	Great Britain	Jura, Josef	Do.
El-Ariss, Musta-		Jurac, J.	Yugoslavia
pha	Lebanon	Juraca, Joze	Do.
Erhan, Evzen	Czechoslovakia	Kantola, L.	Finland
Falino	Russia	Kariaguine, V.	Russia
Fara, M. Amr B.	Palestine	Karlin, O.	Sweden
Fawcett	Great Britain	Karnik, V. B.	India
Feliner, M m e.		Katio, Adam	Yugoslavia
J. C.	South Africa	Khedgiker, R. A.	India
Fitzgerald, A.	United States	Kliment, Angustin	Czechoslovakia
Franco, A. Ruis	Guatemala	Kollo, Etienne	Hungary
Frapport, J.	Luxemburg	Koluen, A. C.	Holland
Frayha, Georges	Lebanon	Kossa, Istran	Hungary
Garnier, M.	France	Krier, Antonine	Luxemburg
Gangen, Ingvald	Norway	K u y p e r s (K u-	
Gensen, E.	Denmark	pers), E.	Holland
Giannitelli, L.	Italy	Kuppero	Do.
Gibson, G.	Great Britain	K u r y l o w i e z,	
Giroda, Donato		Adam	Poland
Flores	Bolivia	Kuznetsov	Russia
Gittens, R u p e r t		Kuznetsov, M. or	
Alonzo	Trinidad	V. V.	Do.
Gonsalez, L.	Uruguay	Ladaburu	Basque
Goodwin, B.	Northern Rhodesia	Lakinetz	Russia
Grandi, A.	Italy	Lara, Juan C.	Colombia
Grant, M. C.	Sierra Leone	Lawther	Great Britain
Green, John	United States	Lazarus, Nick (ob-	
Grewin, J.	Sweden	server)	United States
Graciani, Hector	Puerto Rico	Lechi, J.	Bolivia
Cuzman, Rodolfo	Costa Rica	Lecker, M. B.	Palestine
Haas	Switzerland	Leiros, Francisco	
Hallsworth, J.	Great Britain	P.	Argentina
Harma, E.	Finland	Levin, Misa	Rumania
Harper, D. M.	British Guinea	Lindberg, August	Sweden
Harrison, M. M.	Great Britain	Liopis, Rodolfo	Spain
Hasar, G. M.	Palestine	Liu, H. T.	China
Hatu, Styak,		Lizzardri, O.	Italy
Joseph	Hungary	Loughlin, Dame	
Harustyak	Do.	A.	Great Britain
Haugen, Ingvald	Norway	Lynch, Gilbert	Ireland
Haywood, A. S.	United States	Lynich, J.	Do.
Heiman-Burski,		McBride, J o n a s	
Alexandre	Poland	(observer)	United States
Henaff, Eugene	France	Madariaga, San-	
Herrera, Victor M.	Samador	chez	Mexico
Hill, Ken	Jamaica	Maglajlio, Sefket.	Yugoslavia

Major, Louis	Belgium	Rables, I. R.	Guatemala
Maybank, F. S.	Northern Rhodesia	Ratko, Anna	Hungary
Maldonado, J.	Ecuador	Rodriguez, En- rique	Uruguay
Mandro, Dimitr	Albania	Rieve, Emil	United States
Manos, Domingo	Brazil	Robinson, Reid	Do.
Markov	Russia	Rogova	Russia
Marouf, M.	France	Rojas, John	Trinidad
Martinez, J. Ri- vera	Salvador	Ross, Michael	United States
Martorell, Salva- dor	Spain	Rubashow, Z.	Palestine
Marty, Bernard	Switzerland	Ruiz, A.	Guatemala
Medina, B.	Colombia	Rusinek, Casimir	Poland
Manson, C. W. P.	Gold Coast	Saad, Pedro	Ecuador
Millan, Alfonso	Mexico	Saborit, Andres	Spain
Millard, C. H.	Canada	Saillant, Louis	France
Miller, Martin (observer)	United States	Salsch, George	Yugoslavia
Modarrek, Ahmed El	Egypt	Salaj, Djuro	Do.
Moix, Jose	Spain	Sanchez, Guil- lermo	Chile
Mollander, H.	Sweden	Sanmugathesen, N	Ceylon
Monk, A. E.	Australia	Sanness, John	Norway
Montanios, Mi- chael	Cyprus	Santiago, Enrique	Spain
Molino, Lucien	France	Sassi, A.	Italy
Monmousseau, Gaston	Do.	Schevenels, Wal- ter (IFTU)	
Monkarsel, Edouard	Lebanon	Schon, Juraj	Czechoslovakia
Mukerji, A. K.	India	Sencovici, Alex- ander	Rumania
Murray, Philip	United States	Sergueieva	Russia
Mustertiu, Josif	Rumania	Sexasse, M. S.	Syria
Nahum, Daoud		Shaika, P.	India
Fouad	Egypt	Singhe, S. A.	
Nak, Dirk	Denmark	Wickrema	Ceylon
Nicola, Giovanni	Italy	Small, E. F.	Gambia
Nielsen, Einer	Denmark	Soloviev	Russia
Nordahl, K.	Norway	Srejo, Tomo	Yugoslavia
Nbye, A.	Gambia	Stanley, R. S.	New Zealand
O'Brien	Great Britain	Sulaj, D.	Southeastern Europe
Ogmundsson, S.	Iceland	Sweeny, Vincent	United States
Oldenbroek (ITWF)		Swift	Ireland
Olsen, Axel	Denmark	Szoznesniak, Jo- seph	Poland
Orenstein, M.	Palestine	Tanner	Great Britain
Palenzona, Ro- molo	Italy	Tarasov, M.	Russia
Pang, K. Y.	China	Teng, F. A.	China
Papworth, A. P.	Great Britain	Thornton, Ernie	Australia
Pena, Lazaro	Cuba	Toledano, V. Lom- bardo	Mexico
Pena, Ramon G.	Spain	Tolelson, L.	Poland
Perez, Bareto	Puerto Rico	Tomas, Belar- mino	Spain
Peteers, Rene	France	Tomas, Pascual	Do.
Petrovic, Dusan	Yugoslavia	Toros, Janos	Hungary
Pfeiferova-Hiav- kova Karia	Czechoslovakia	Tournemaine, Ry- mond	France
Pinter, Janos	Hungary	Tsoetkova	Russia
Pinter, Janos	Do.	Tubb, H. G.	Brazil
Poboreni, Alexand.	Rumania	Vahlberg, G.	Sweden
Popof, Michail	Bulgaria	Vaidialingam, A.	Ceylon
Prachoff	Do.	VandenLende, C.	Holland
Prakov, Thodar	Do.	Vargas, Juan	Chile
Pralyha, G.	Lebanon	Vechnikov, A.	Russia
Pressman, Lee	United States	Vermeulen, A.	Holland
Quintero, F.	Panama	Volan, Elias	Norway
		Wallace, Isaaq T. A.	Sierra Leone

Wickremasinghe, A-----	Ceylon	Zaharis, Dujmi- tru-----	Rumania
Wilson, Aristides P-----	Panama	Zapotocky, A-----	Czechoslovakia
Witaszewski, Cas- imir-----	Poland	Ziade, Cesar-----	Lebanon
Wunsch, O-----	Czechoslovakia	Ziartides, A-----	Cyprus
Yousef, Mohamed.	Egypt	Zing, R. A-----	Australia
		Zugravu, Misu-----	Rumania
		Zupka, F-----	Czechoslovakia

Later, this international, which has continued to follow the Moscow and International Communist line all over the world, was accepted as an advisory body to the UN. The Women's International, to which I have previously referred, is attempting to obtain similar recognition.

The international officers of the World Federation of Trade Unions are Walter Citrine, of Great Britain, international chairman; Louis Saillant, of France, general secretary; Jacob Potovsky, of the United States; Vasseill Knznetsov, of Russia; Leon Jouhaux, of France; Lombardo Toledano, of Mexico; Chu Hsueh Fan, of China; Giuseppe di Vittorio, of Italy; and E. Kuppero, of Holland, vice presidents. Philip Murray and Jacob Potovsky represent the CIO on the executive committee of the international, which is composed of 25 members.

Delegates attending the Paris congress from the United States, whom I have listed above, included Sidney Hillman, chairman of the delegation; James B. Carey, secretary of the delegation; Allan S. Haywood, John Green, Joseph Curran, Emil Rieve, Albert Fitzgerald, Reid Robinson, Lee Pressman, Tom Burns, John Brophy, and Michael Ross. Advisers were John Abt, Len de Caux, and Vincent Sweeney. Seated as observers were Martin Miller, Jonas McBride, Nick Lazarus, and Charles Collins.

The general council of the World Federation of Trade Unions met in Prague in June (1947). It passed a number of critical resolutions regarding the foreign policy of the United States. Frank Rosenblum was among the delegates from this country. Nina Popova was one of the Russian delegates.

An outgrowth of the 1946 International Film Festival held in Cannes, France, is the International Federation of Film Workers.

This was set up by film union leaders of Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, and other European countries.

As far as I have been able to learn, no official union representative from the United States attended the festival.

A call has lately been issued, June 1947, by the International Federation of Film Workers for the first congress to be held in Prague some time this year.

The Hollywood film unions have been invited to send representatives to the congress and affiliate with the international.

The proposed agenda of the congress includes discussions in connection with the use of films in the maintenance of democracy and peace, the protection of film work by copyright, unification of teaching methods, the establishment of international cooperation of film workers in special branches, and an exchange of technical knowledge. The IFFW is slated to become affiliated with the World Federation of Trade Unions, according to Communist sources in the United States.

Other organizations with Communist support are active at the present time which are stressing questions relative to rent control, labor bills, price rises, and housing problems, the Communist line.

The United Tenants and Consumers Organization, of which Bonita Williams is executive director, held a conference in New York City on June 6, 1947, at which plans were made to broaden the campaign in consumers' fields. Speakers were Benjamin Davis, Communist leader in Harlem; Alfred K. Stern, Jeanette Turner, Elsie Spencer, and Adelle Lockhart.

Still another group operating in this field is the Emergency Committee on Rent and Housing, headed by Alfred K. Stern, of New York. He promoted the march on Washington, D. C., in June, on the rent bill, as well as the march on Albany, N. Y., earlier in 1947, on the housing issue. He also heads a paper organization known as the Emergency Committee for Rent Control.

Joining his campaign on Congress in June were the Americans for Democratic Action (Joseph Lash, New York branch executive director), National League of Women Shoppers (Julia Algaze of the Congress of American Women, vice chairman); and Congress of American Women (Virginia Shull, executive secretary); National Progressive Citizens of America (Ralph Shikes, educational director), the National Consumers Association (Helen Hall, chairman of the New York City Consumers' Council), United Neighborhood Houses (Mildred Gutwillig, Consumer Committee chairman).

Mr. STRIPLING. Does that complete your statement?

Mr. STEELE. That completes my statement, excepting I want to refer briefly to some other types of movements. I think you might call them Fascist movements, or whatever you choose. There are other movements which I consider un-American, although they may not be in any manner controlled or guided by a foreign country or foreign power.

These have been guilty of inciting racial hatred, class hatred, or religious hatred.

A movement which was unquestionably organized along these lines was the Columbians. As a result of its activities, it lost its charter in many States before it was apparently forced to disband completely.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Steele, did you say it had disbanded completely?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir; in the States of Georgia and Indiana. As to other States, I couldn't say. Another organization of the same type was the Democratic Nationalists of Minnesota. This was designed to spread antiracial and antireligious hatred among youth. This was also killed off in that State.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Steele, could you tell us how many members there might have been in the Democratic Nationalists of Minnesota?

Mr. STEELE. Insofar as I can find, there were three or four. It had just gotten started. When it was raided, this paraphernalia was seized, which included revolvers, antiracial, and antireligious propaganda which was being circulated in Minnesota.

Mr. McDOWELL. You say three or four. You feel sure of the number of the people?

Mr. STEELE. No, sir; I am not certain of the number. Understand, I only know that the leader was the only one exposed by the arresting agents. The report we had was that it was just in its infancy and was more or less of a one-man proposition. As to the exact number, I don't know; no, sir.

Mr. McDowell. Would it be beyond the realm of possibilities that it is all one man?

Mr. STEELE. It might be; yes, sir. There was one man arrested and, I think, taken before a mental physician to see whether he was all there or not.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you have any other organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Still another group in this category is The State, which may be a take-off of Louis the Fourteenth. It is a teen-age movement, operated from Jackson, Mich. It sprang up in Michigan. It is reported that this group has also been broken up. I have no idea what the membership of that was, whether it was large or small. But nevertheless it shows a trend—Columbians, The State, and the Democratic Nationalists—which seemed all to be youth movements trending along the same Fascist line.

Mr. McDowell. Could you tell us what The State was for? What was the purpose of the group?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. The State was to operate among teen-age youth, for the purpose of racial and religious hatred and to—

Mr. McDowell. What sort of racial—

Mr. STEELE. It was both anti-Jewish and anti-Negro. The propaganda there [pointing] that was seized shows the nature of the propaganda they were issuing.

Mr. McDowell. How about the religious angle? Against what religion?

Mr. STEELE. Well, I considered, when I said, the Jewish religion.

Then there are adult movements, prominent among which is the Ku Klux Klan. Public sentiment, together with the alertness of many State officials, has been quite effective recently in discrediting it. It has recently lost its charter in California, Georgia, and Virginia. Since the Civil War it has had its ups and downs, but it is still operating secretly in several States. During the war it was discovered that some members of the Ku Klux Klan, particularly those in its New Jersey branch, took part in Nazi Bund gatherings.

The Christian Front, an adult group, had its fling before the war. However, it finally became inactive, although it is reported there have been recent isolated attempts to reorganize it, but with little success—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, may I interrupt there?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That point that you made, of the tie-in of the Ku Klux Klan and the Bund, came out at a hearing that the old Dies committee held.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. At Newark, N. J.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. We had one day's hearing on just that question alone.

Mr. STEELE. Yes. I have in my photograph files photographs of the Klan appearances at the bund meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Other people, particularly within the past 2 years, have been trying to take the credit for unearthing that, but the people that unearthed it were the old Dies committee, at the hearing at Newark.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. That is a fact.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Steele, are there States in the Union which grant official charters to the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEELE. I assume so. I noticed yesterday, I think it was, that some minister down in Florida that belongs to the Klan down there was arrested in connection with some Klan activities, and so on. They evidently are still operating in several States, either without charter, secretly or—

Mr. MUNDT. I think there isn't a question in the world but what they still operate in some areas in some States, but I was wondering whether some States still granted them charters or whether they were simply operating in more or less clandestine groups.

Mr. McDOWELL. Did you know, Mr. Steele, that the Klan died in Virginia many years ago?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir. I mentioned that.

Mr. McDOWELL. And it died also in Georgia?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. And this affair last week in Florida was, the minister was accused of preaching to a robed group of Ku Klux Klan members.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. And his congregation brought some sort of a charge down there.

Mr. STEELE. I am through, Mr. Chairman, excepting I would like to submit my 16 points for legislation.

Mr. STRIPLING. Did you have any other Fascist organizations?

Mr. STEELE. Yes; there is one other organization, called the American Shore Patrol.

Mr. STRIPLING. The American Shore Patrol?

Mr. STEELE. Yes. That was organized and incorporated in Alexandria, Va.

Mr. STRIPLING. Do you know whether there is any connection between that organization and the Ku Klux Klan?

Mr. STEELE. The ritual, of which I have a copy, is exactly the same in every respect with the Ku Klux Klan ritual; that is, the American Shore Patrol ritual isn't so extensive, but all of the ritual appears as part of the Ku Klux Klan set-up.

Mr. STRIPLING. All right.

Mr. Steele, have you heard any information to the effect that the Klan is disbanding as such in all of the States and reappearing under new names?

Mr. STEELE. I have had that information; yes.

Mr. STRIPLING. I believe Mr. McDowell, chairman of the Subcommittee on Fascism, has recently received testimony in that connection.

Mr. McDOWELL. That is right. In this American Shore Patrol, have you discovered any evidence that it is anywhere but Alexandria, Va.?

Mr. STEELE. It is incorporated in Virginia.

Mr. McDOWELL. Yes; but my question is have you discovered it anywhere else but there?

Mr. STEELE. No, I haven't, and I don't know of anyone else that has. In fact, I understand that the organization set out about 2 or 3 years ago and met with little success because Klansmen didn't want to belong to anything but the Klan and they couldn't find new timber for this group. As to how many members it has, I have no informa-

tion because it is a very secretive group. I have found no one that knows a great deal about it, excepting what information I have given you. I have been given a copy of their charter and a list of the incorporators.

Mr. McDOWELL. You know, also, Mr. Steele, that the Subcommittee on Fascism, of this committee, is now engaged in a study of activities such as you have outlined?

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. And have been for the last 6½ months. We will continue.

Mr. STEELE. I think it should. There is just as much danger of a revolution from the right as there is from the left. Consequently, I think any of these movements that spring up should be gone into very thoroughly because the European pattern was that one menace helps the other.

Mr. McDOWELL. You agree, Mr. Steele, the issue of fascism here in America has been badly clouded by the constant policy of the Communist Party to call every person who opposes communism a Fascist?

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. To call every industrialist a Fascist.

Mr. STEELE. I have been called one myself.

Mr. McDOWELL. To call every employer in America a Fascist.

Mr. STEELE. Yes.

Mr. McDOWELL. To even call the Congress Fascist.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. McDOWELL. And to call the Committee on Un-American Activities a Fascist committee.

Mr. STEELE. That is right. Anything that isn't Communist is Fascist, according to them.

Mr. McDOWELL. That has seriously clouded the efforts of the subcommittee to investigate the situation.

Mr. STEELE. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail?

Mr. VAIL. In your opinion, Mr. Steele, has a Fascist movement developed to a point in this country where it represents a serious threat?

Mr. STEELE. I haven't found that as yet, but I think it is well to keep it nipped at the bud, so to speak.

Mr. VAIL. What is your opinion as to the relative strength of the Fascist group as compared with the Communist group?

Mr. STEELE. Well, if you are speaking of the organized—

Mr. VAIL. Organized strength; yes.

Mr. STEELE. I would say the ratio is about 1,000 Reds to 1 Fascist.

Mr. VAIL. That bears out my own thought, but it doesn't seem to agree with the thought of some of the newspapers that have made comments on it.

Mr. STEELE. Yes, sir.

Mr. VAIL. That is all.

Mr. STEELE. I am through, excepting I have some recommendations.

Mr. STRIPLING. Yes.

I want to clear up the status of the record, Mr. Chairman, at the proper time, because some of the members who were not present at the various junctures of his testimony this morning, where the committee

took certain action. In order that all members understand the status of the record and for the press to understand the status of the record, I would like to clear that up.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. STRIPLING. I would like to ask that the entire statement which Mr. Steele has submitted be made a part of the record. However, with particular reference to that section dealing with Communists in the Armed Services, in which he attached a list of some 2,000 individuals who served in the armed forces, that list will not be made public by the committee until the committee has had an opportunity to study and go into the affiliations of the individual and then determine whether or not it desires to make it public. For example, Mr. Steele included in the list a number of people who were members of the International Workers Order. Now, the International Workers Order is a Communist front organization, as found by this committee and also by Attorney General Biddle, but the mere fact that a man was a member of the International Workers Order and was in the Army does not necessarily imply that that person is a Communist. Therefore, I think that that list should not be made public until the committee has made some decision about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. STRIPLING. Otherwise, I think the entire statement should appear.

Mr. STEELE. The recommendations are:

Keep our powder dry, our young men trained, our armed services modernized and strengthened sufficiently to meet any emergency from without, and the National Guard primed for the home front.

Guard the secrets of the atom bomb and other new implements of warfare which we and our immediate Allies—England, Canada, China, and South American countries—have perfected. Strengthen the forces and defenses of these Allies, including Greece, Turkey, France, and Austria.

Expand our intelligence forces in all branches, on the home front as well as on the foreign front, but guard against consolidation of these forces into one, permitting each to specialize.

Continue the policy of giving no further ground to Communist expansion in other countries. Petition the various States to outlaw the Communist Party, or any offspring of it, from the ballot. Petition the States to enact legislation requiring registration of names and addresses of members of the Communist Party and all fronts thereof operating in the States.

Enact Federal legislation requiring officials of the Communist Party or any offshoot thereof to file a complete list of names and addresses of all national, State, and local officials, organizers, and committee members, together with itemized receipts and expenditures, semiannually with the Clerk of the House—this information to be made available to the public.

Enact legislation requiring Communist Party officials to file with the State Department quarterly the names and addresses of members or representatives of the party who are leaving or have left the country, and their destination. They should also be required to furnish a list of the names and addresses of all individuals arriving from foreign countries to engage in party activities or to contact members,

directly or indirectly. This information should be made available to the public.

Enact legislation requiring all individuals, publications, and publishers carrying on propaganda in behalf of a foreign country or foreign cause, to register with the State Department, the information to be made available to the public.

Require an English translation of all messages to or from foreign countries, such as cables, sent by agencies with foreign connections, to be filed with the Department of Justice whenever intrigue is suspected.

Require all foreign-language publications circulated in the United States to publish in English the names of the officers of the publishing house and the editors, and to print in English all articles which favor an ideology of a foreign power in opposition to American ideologies.

Amend the law pertaining to treason so that it will be effective in time of peace as well as of war, and to cover current "fifth column" movements which always operate in advance of a foreign armed force.

Urge the Department of Justice to enforce the Logan Act, and to prosecute violators of the act, and of sections 10 and 11 of the United State Criminal Code.

Enact legislation strictly forbidding the recruiting, drafting, or acceptance of Communists or frontiers in our armed forces.

Amend laws favoring cooperatives, preventing cooperatives operated by Communists or frontiers, or cooperatives operated as blinds for communism and Communists from benefiting by such laws.

Amend insurance laws making it unlawful for any corporation, organization, or society operating wholly or in part as an insurance benefit to use any of its funds to promote legislation or to promote the interests of any political party or any subversive movement, or the interests of any candidate or any member of any member of any subversive movement.

Reenact, as separate legislation, the section of the so-called Taft-Hartley labor law which bars unions from benefits of the National Labor Relations Act which tolerate Communists in any capacity.

Petition States to bar Communists and frontiers from the faculty of colleges, universities, and all other educational institutions operating in all States, and to prohibit the dissemination of pro-Soviet and Communist literature and ideologies in our educational institutions.

Establish a Federal commission to direct investigations of the personnel of all Federal agencies and applicants for Government positions, empowering the commission to dismiss individuals in the employ of the Federal Government who are found to have or to have had subversive affiliations, and to bar applicants for such employment who have had such affiliations.

Require the Department of Justice to establish a special division to prosecute subversive elements.

Urge the Department of Justice to prosecute individuals and organizations violating the Voorhis and McCormack Acts.

Enact legislation requiring individuals and organizations raising funds, whether for relief or otherwise, in the interest of a foreign power or cause to register with the State Department, requiring such individuals and organizations to file a monthly statement of receipts and expenditures, subjecting records to State Department investigation, and barring the use of such funds for propaganda or organizational activities of a subversive nature.

Congress should restate its position, through resolution or amendments to existing laws, with regard to the barring of all Nazis, Communists, and anarchists from the United States and from becoming naturalized Americans.

Provision should be made for the revoking of the citizenship of any naturalized citizen who becomes active in any subversive movement following his naturalization. Immigration laws should be enforced.

Congress should prohibit the granting of Federal funds to any Communist or front school, college, agency, or project for GI education.

Atomic-energy control should be placed under the War Department, where efficiently trained intelligence forces are available to guard its secrets.

The CHAIRMAN. Any more questions? Mr. Mundt?

Mr. MUNDT. No; I have no more questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Steele, in behalf of the committee, the Chair wants to express its appreciation for your coming here today and making the very complete statement that you have. In my 8 years with the committee I have never seen a more complete and more documented statement on this subject than you have presented here today. You are to be congratulated. For all of us, I just want to thank you very much.

Mr. STEELE. I appreciate that very much, gentlemen, because I have worked very hard and very carefully. I have tried to submit evidence to prove my statements, because I know it is a fact-finding committee, and that is what you want.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. STEELE. You want evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. STEELE. I appreciate very much the attention you have given me, and also the press here and the audience.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Anything else, Mr. Stripling?

Mr. STRIPLING. That is all. Mr. Chairman, I think you should announce the witnesses for tomorrow.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to announce that tomorrow the first witness will be Victor Kravchenko, author of *I Chose Freedom*, former officer of the Red Army and an employee of the Soviet Purchasing Commission in the United States; and Dr. Mladen Giunio Zorkin, former member of the Yugoslav diplomatic service in London and former officer of the Yugoslav Army. They will be our witnesses tomorrow. Mr. Kravchenko is the first witness, to be followed, probably in the afternoon, by Dr. Zorkin.

Mr. STRIPLING. Will the committee meet at 10 o'clock?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will meet at 10 o'clock tomorrow, but there will be an executive session at 9:45. We stand adjourned.

(Thereupon, the committee adjourned at 4:35 p. m., to meet tomorrow, Tuesday, July 22, 1947, at 9:45 a. m.)

APPENDIX

EXHIBITS PRESENTED IN TESTIMONY OF WALTER S. STEELE, AMERICAN COALITION OF PATRIOTIC, CIVIC, AND FRATERNAL SOCIETIES, AND THE NATIONAL REPUBLIC

Exhibit

1. List of 84 societies cooperating with the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies.
2. Resolution adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic, Civic, and Fraternal Societies at its January 24, 1947, convention, Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.
3. Photostat copy of Red Front, May 1934, issued by Red Front, 95 Avenue B, New York, N. Y.
4. Letter from Pvt. Jerry Trauber to Max Bedacht, formerly general secretary, International Workers Order, of which Trauber is referred to as an executive board member.
5. Chart showing the organizational set-up of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade, from its publication, Volunteer for Liberty, November 1946.
6. Copy of Volunteer for Liberty, November 1946. Pages 1, 2, and 10 report the proceedings of the Fifth Convention of the Veterans of Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
7. Certificate of incorporation of Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, Inc.
8. Certificate of incorporation of New Century Publishers, Inc.
9. 1946 New Century Publishers Catalog.
10. Mastheads of party and party-line publications assembled by the National Republic, Washington, D. C.
11. Certificate of incorporation of The New Masses, Inc.
12. Certificate of incorporation of the Negro Publication Society of America, Inc.
13. Catalog of the Jefferson School of Social Science of New York, N. Y., spring, 1947.
14. Catalog of the California Labor School of San Francisco, Calif., spring, 1947.
15. Catalog of the Peoples Educational Center of Hollywood, Calif., winter, 1947.
16. Certificate of Incorporation of National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
17. Photostat of folder of National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, showing officers, sponsors, affiliated groups, local councils, and local committees.
18. Bibliography on the Soviet Union, compiled by the committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc.
19. Copy of letter dated October 19, 1942, from Max Bedacht, general secretary, International Workers Order, Inc., to all members of the general executive board, referring to the American Council on Soviet Relations.
20. Copy of letter dated October 29, 1942, from Max Bedacht, general secretary of International Workers Order, Inc., to the members of the general executive board, referring to the American Council on Soviet Relations.
21. Copy of letter dated October 27, 1942, from Maxine Wood, assistant director, Congress of American-Soviet Friendship, to Max Bedacht, executive secretary, International Workers Order.
22. Bulletin of the committee on education, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, volume 1, No. 1, June 1945.
23. Minimum kit for secondary schools compiled by the committee on education, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
24. Minimum kit of teaching materials on the Soviet Union, compiled by the committee on education, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
25. Photostat of pamphlet, Facts About the Soviet Union, committee on education, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.
26. Program of the American Youth for Democracy, adopted October 17, 1943.
27. Constitution of the American Youth for Democracy.
28. Chart showing the interlocking connection between leaders of the American Youth for Democracy and the Young Communist League.

29. Report of United States Delegation to World Youth Conference, London, November 1945.
30. Copy of World Youth, monthly magazine of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, issue No. 1.
31. Copy of World Youth, monthly magazine of the World Federation of Democratic Youth, issue No. 2.
32. Call to American Students to the World Youth Festival, Prague, Czechoslovakia, July 20 to August 17, 1947, issued by student division, United States Committee for the World Youth Festival.
33. Preliminary program of the World Youth Festival, Prague, Czechoslovakia, July 20 to August 17, 1947. Published by the International Festival Committee.
34. Leaflet—an invitation to the World Youth Festival, Prague, Czechoslovakia, July 20 to August 17, 1947.
35. Booklet containing information regarding the World Youth Festival, Prague, Czechoslovakia. Published by the International Festival Committee.
36. Photostat of booklet containing information regarding World Youth Week, 1946, sponsored by the World Federation of Democratic Youth.
37. Call to a conference on women of the U. S. A. and the U. S. S. R. in the Postwar World, auspices of the committee of women of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, held on November 18, 1944, Hotel Commodore, New York, N. Y.
38. Leaflet, What Is the Congress of American Women?
39. Certificate of incorporation of Congress of American Women, Inc.
40. Program of the Congress of American Women.
41. Bulletin of the Congress of American Women, July 28, 1946.
42. Growth of the International Women's Movement, by Nina Popova. From July-August 1946 issue, Soviet Women.
43. Pamphlet, The Negroes in a Soviet America, by James W. Ford and James S. Allen, Workers' Library Publishers, June 1935.
44. Map showing continuous stretch of dense Negro population in the South—the Black Belt.
45. Leaflet, Forward Through Unity to Full Citizenship for Negro Americans. Published by the National Negro Congress.
46. Officers, executive board, and advisory board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.
47. Pamphlet, Smash the Chains, by Louis E. Burnham. Published by American Youth for Democracy.
48. Certificate of incorporation of People's Songs, Inc.
49. Leaflet, People's Songs Presents a Hootenanny, February 16, 1947, at Long Beach, Calif.
50. Letterhead of the People's Songs, Inc.; anniversary issue of People's Songs, February-March 1947; Song of the Month, CIO News, July 15, 1946; Three Songs for Centralia, published by People's Songs, Inc.
51. Announcement—The International Film Foundation announces the release of seven Julien Bryan productions, issued by International Film Foundations, Inc.
52. Certificate of incorporation of Young People's Record Club, Inc.
53. Certificate of incorporation of People's Radio Foundation, Inc.
54. Six Songs for Democracy, published by Keynote Recordings, Inc.
55. Folder, Stage for Action.
56. Bibliography of available scripts, compiled by Stage for Action, March 1947.
57. Certificate of incorporation of International Workers' Order, Inc.
58. Leaflet, Fraternal Life, issued by the National Organizing Committee for General Lodges, International Workers.
59. Financial Report of the Front Line Fighters Fund of the International Workers Order, January 1, 1944. From the report of the general secretary to the Sixth Convention of the International Workers Order.
60. List of nationality group societies of the International Workers Order, with officers. From the 8-page rate schedule of the International Workers Order.
61. Letter dated July 23, 1941, from Peter Chant, national education department of International Workers Order to all district secretaries on the American Review of the Soviet Union.
62. Letter dated May 22, 1941, from Sam Pezner, national education department of International Workers Order, to all language and district secretaries, all executives, on the American Peace Mobilization.

63. Letter dated October 14, 1941, from Sam Pevzner, national education department of International Workers Order, to district and national group secretaries on Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and Facts for Farmers.
64. Check list of publications and periodicals issued by the national education department of the International Workers Order.
65. Copy of interoffice memorandum dated June 18, 1943, from Eugene Konecky to Max Bedacht re Fraternal Outlook, dealing with the Daily Worker.
66. Folder, Insurance for Democracy and Jobs, published by the Daily Worker for members of the International Workers Order.
67. A call to the Fourth American Writers' Congress, issued by Sam Pevzner, national education director, International Workers Order, May 12, 1941.
68. Copy of the Fraternal Outlook, June-July 1947. Official publication of the International Workers Order. Information on the 1947 conventions.
69. Folder—The Job to be Done, issued by the Council on African Affairs.
70. What CRC Stands For, published by the Civil Rights Congress. Don't Be Hoodwinked by the Thomas-Rankin Committee, What's Behind the Eisler Case? published by the Civil Rights Congress. Gerhart Eisler—My Side of the Story, published by the Civil Rights Congress.
71. Report of the First Citizen's Conference to Defend Labor. Announcement of Citizen's Delegation to Washington. List of sponsors of the Conference to Defend Labor.

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